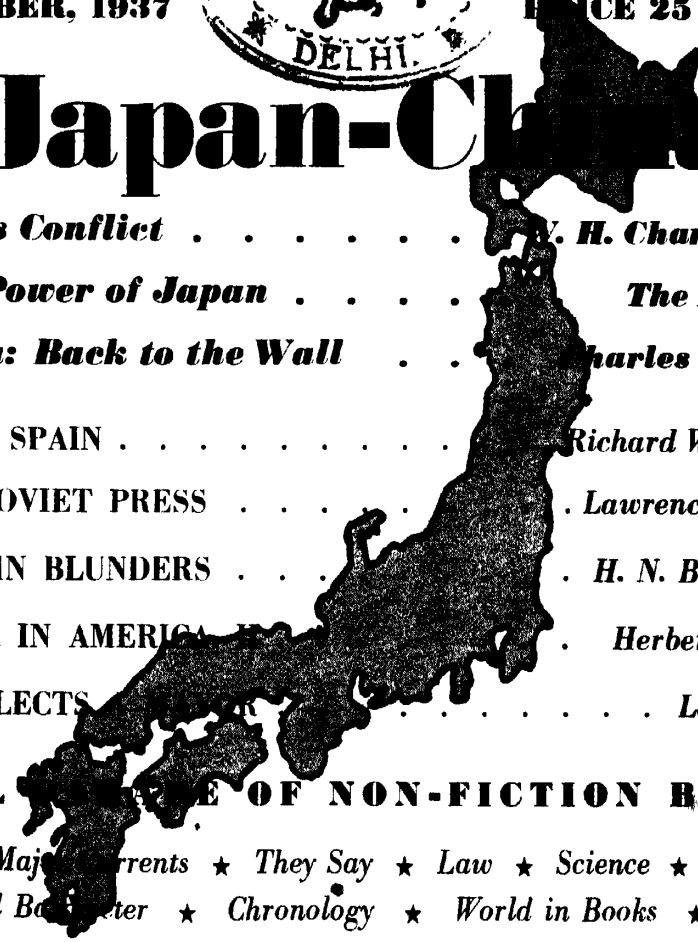
★ FAR EAST ISSUE ★

# Current HISTORY



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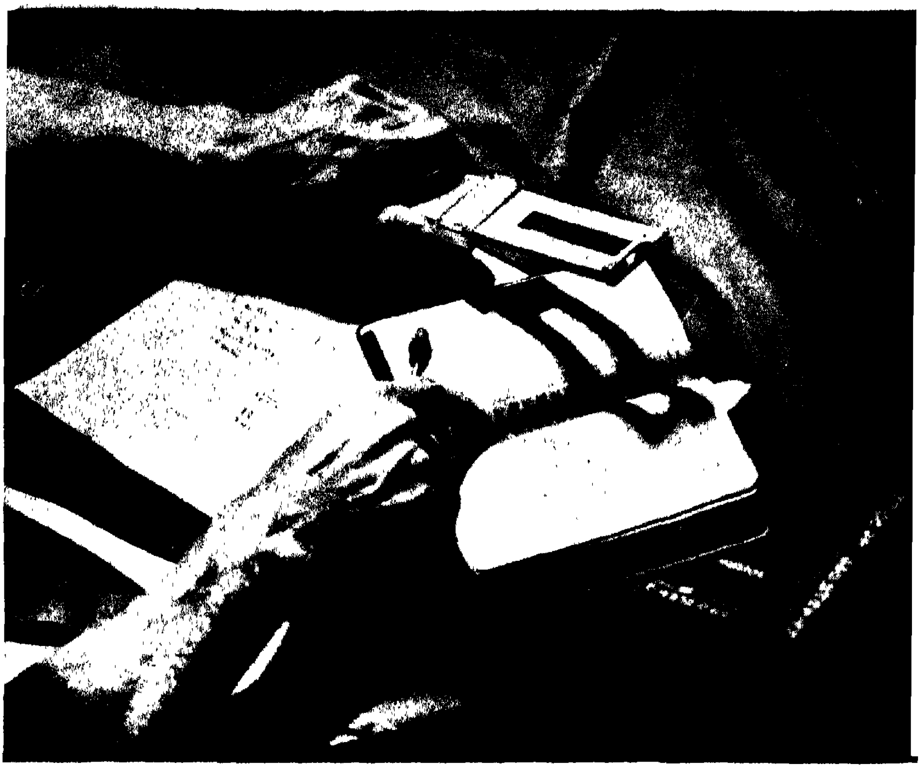




'ALL [illegible] OF NON-FICTION BOOKS

*og of Maj[illegible]rents* ★ *They Say* ★ *Law* ★ *Science* ★ *Religion*

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# CURRENT HISTORY

## OCTOBER 1937

ARTICLES



FEATURES





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FALL PARADE OF NON-FICTION

N. B. COUSINS
*Literary Editor*

# The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

**Books Reviewed in This Issue**

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Far East Comes Nearer* | Hessell Tiltman | Lippincott | $3.00 |
| *When China Unites* | Harry Gannes | Knopf | 2.50 |
| *Goliath: The March of Fascism* | G. A. Borgese | Viking | 3.00 |
| *Poison in the Air* | Heinz Liepmann | Lippincott | 2.50 |
| *Britain Faces Germany* | A. L Kennedy | Oxford | 1.50 |
| *England Expects Every American to do His Duty* | Quincy Howe | Simon and Schuster | 2.00 |
| *Moscow, 1937: My Visit Described for My Friends* | Lion Feuchtwanger | Viking | 2.00 |
| *Swords into Ploughshares* | Mary H. Jones | Macmillan | 3.00 |
| *The Crisis of Civilization* | Hilaire Belloc | Fordham Univ. Press | 2.50 |
| *Pope Pius XI and World Affairs* | William Teeling | Stokes | 2.50 |
| *Would Christ Wear Khaki?* | W. C. Snyder | Christopher House | 2.00 |
| *Syphilis: The Next Great Plague to Go* | Morris Fishbein | David McKay | 1 00 |

CREDIT it to coincidence, clairvoyance or just smart business, there is no denying that the book publishers have had a remarkable success in anticipating the shape of world affairs. Last year it was Spain. General Franco had hardly finished declaring himself before books on past, present, and future Spanish history appeared from out of nowhere, all aiming to fill the inevitable "long felt need." Now it's the Far East. No sooner did Japan's nibbling in China develop into large scale carving than the books on the Orient began to flow.

Happily, not all these new works on the Far East are obvious eleventh-hour attempts to capitalize upon the immediate and widespread interest in China and Japan. Some are particularly noteworthy and need no justification for being published other than that they are the results of sound scholarship and careful analysis. In this category are *The Far East Comes Nearer* by Hessell Tiltman, and *When China Unites*, by Harry Gannes.

The title of Mr. Tiltman's book suggests an unpleasant reality which is becoming more apparent with each passing day of what is certainly a major war, even though the formalities of declaration have been overlooked. The Far East *is* coming nearer and the Administration has at last announced its intentions to protect fully American life and property in China. Just how far the United States can or will go in the protection of these interests the author does not say, but we are not entirely at a disadvantage in dealing with Japan. Not as long as there is the big stick of the economic boycott, a weapon which can make it very difficult for the Rising Sun to rise much higher in the heaven of imperialism.

America's three major national interests in the Pacific arena, according to Mr. Tiltman, are (1) her island possessions in the Hawaiian and Philippine groups; (2) her traditional friendship with China, which she has nourished by money and missionaries and which she has so far protected under the principle of the "Open

[illegible]

[illegible] take the entire cake for herself. England [illegible] kindly to the idea of withdrawing in order to avoid a showdown with Japan— [illegible] the fate of Singapore, Australasia, Hongkong, her Southern Pacific island possessions, British Malaya, Borneo, and the Dutch East Indies in the balance. And so Great Britain, with serious worries already in Europe and the Mediterranean, faces no light threat to her far-flung empire. She can only hope that the late Field-Marshal Earl Roberts was wrong when he prophesied that the "history of the world will some day be fought at Singapore." This was one of two predictions made by Earl Roberts. In the other he predicted the World War.

Whether Earl Roberts may again be proved right depends, of course, on Japan. How far does Nippon intend to go in China? Will she carry through her plan of "Asia for the Asiatics" with the certain consequence of drawing Russia into the conflict? Mr. Tiltman had an illuminating interview with Eiji Amau, for nearly four years the Spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office, and covered a number of vital points:

*Q. Are Japanese aims likely to interfere with existing rights and privileges of other foreign powers?*

A. Japan does not aim at the exclusion of foreign interests from Eastern Asia, but in shouldering the burden for the maintenance of peace and order in East Esia, she would share the burden with the Asiatic powers, remembering that peace in Asia has been maintained precisely because Japan has acted as a watch dog there in the past.

*Q. Does Japan officially endorse the "Asia for the Asiatics" policy attributed to it?*

A. It has never been sponsored by the Japanese Government, and does not represent its views or aims. On the other hand, doctrines exist elsewhere which imply racial discrimination against Japan, such as the Monroe Doctrine.

*Q. Could Japan, if necessary, hold Russia in check in Eastern Asia?*

A. If Soviet Russia infringes or threatens any of Japan's rights and interests in Eastern Asia, [illegible] Japan will have to [illegible]

*Q. [illegible] military "understanding" exist between Japan and Germany?*

A. [illegible] been consistently denied, both in the [illegible] and here in Tokyo. I deny it [illegible]

*Q. Can Japanese aspirations be satisfied without violently disturbing the distribution of power and trade in the Pacific?*

A. If no undue pressure is brought to bear upon Japan, she will never resort to any action tending to disturb the present distribution of power in that area.

*Q. What is the future of China—political and economic—as visualized by Japan? And what are Japan's aims in that country?*

A. Japan's aim in regard to China has invariably been and shall ever be governed by the axiom of "live and let live." Japan will not interfere by force unless Japanese interests and property are threatened . . . Japan cannot be indifferent while hostile forces mass along the frontiers of Manchukuo.

Mr. Amau's remarks to the author, made long before the outbreak of the current hostilities, and considered in the light of what is happening today, are more significant for what they attempted to conceal than reveal. Japan can no longer deny that the only "pressure" which can force her into conflict is the pressure brought to bear by her industrialists.

For most of her raw materials Japan must comb the rest of the world. Year after year her boats carry out less goods than they bring in. The rest of the world does not take kindly to the "Made in Japan" label and has set up trade barriers against Nippon, the long-range effect of which is to cut down on the supply of raw materials. But having come so far "along the road to industrial power," as Mr. Tiltman points out, "she must go forward at all costs." Her direction is towards dominance of the vast Asiatic market in which her geographical position and lower costs of production "give her a pronounced advantage over her rivals in the scramble for orders."

*The Far East Comes Nearer*, it appears from Mr. Tiltman's preface, was sent to the publishers last March, or several months before the situation came to a head. But it is amazing with what accuracy his analysis is borne out by the present developments. Trends which he observed and which he was able to foresee are now shaping themselves into the pattern which he sees so clearly and explains so well.

### From Japan to China

Harry Gannes helps explain in *When China Unites* why China, with 450,000,000 people, is the underdog in the present war. He explains, too, what China is doing to give herself power and prestige commensurate with her size and population.

As with *The Far East Comes Nearer*, Mr. Gannes book is remarkable in that many of its observations—made before the present war—stand up under today's happenings. He has fore-

[illegible] common enemy for the [illegible]. If and when China unites—and he believes that a war against Japan would make the unification almost inevitable—she can call upon 2,000,000 armed men as the result of the merger of the eight separate armies. Included in the merger would be China's Red Army, with a force of 250,000 effectives and which, to further point out the lack of error in most of Mr. Gannes' statements—is already pitting itself against the invader. The author quotes Mao Tse-tung, leader of these forces, as declaring that in a war against Japan the Chinese would win:

"China is a very big country. It would not be conquered until every inch of its soil is under the sword of the invader. If Japan should succeed in occupying even a large section of China, getting possession of an area with as many as one to two hundred million people, we will still be far from defeated. . . . It would be impossible for Japan to isolate all of China: the Chinese Northwest and the Southwest and West cannot be blockaded by Japan, which continentally is a sea power."

Correctly anticipating the present conflict, Mr. Gannes adds that Japan could never devote itself exclusively to the problem of invasion of China. It would have to retain a huge army, he believes, in Manchuria, along the border of the Mongolian People's Republic and along the Soviet border to assist Nazi Germany's plans for war against the U. S. S. R. Further, while Japan at best can mobilize only 2,000,000 men, a united China can expand its army to 10,000,000.

Unification, the author says, will go far toward realizing Sun Yat-sen's hope for a truly democratic nation with an advanced constitution and a parliamentary form of government. Mr. Gannes is not too clear as to precisely what he means by "democracy," especially in view of his inference that China is not able to throw off the yoke of Japan without the aid of the communists. Are we to assume that the extreme social revolutionaries will be content to go along with a democracy? If so, how far and how long? And what kind of a democracy?

Mr. Gannes does not believe that there is a "Chinese wall between the ultimate achievement of national liberation, democracy, and economic and cultural progress in China and the question of China's development towards socialism." He cites the statement of the Communist Party in China disavowing all talk of revolution without the solution first of the problem of Japanese [illegible].

The [illegible] aspects of Mr. Gannes' work,

however, are confined almost entirely to his conclusions. For the rest, he has shown commendable objectivity in the face of numerous opportunities to express his preferences for an economic doctrine with which he closely identifies himself in his daily political writings. As a work on Chinese history and as background material, his book measures up to requirements and more than offsets the comparatively small space given to his conclusions, which may enthuse, puzzle, or disturb, depending on your personal prejudices, and reading across from Left to Right.

### *Supplementary Reading*

For additional books providing background material on the Far East situation, the reader is referred to the following works, all of which have already been reviewed in this department:

*Japan's Feet of Clay*, by Freda Utley, W. W. Norton, 1937.

*Eyes on Japan*, by Victor A. Yakhontoff, Coward-McCann, 1936.

*When Japan Goes to War*, by O. Tanin and E. Yohan, Vanguard Press, 1936.

*A Place in the Sun*, by Grover Clark, Macmillan, 1936.

*Can China Survive?* by Hallett Abend and Anthony J. Billingham, Ives Washburn, 1937.

*A History of the Far East*, by Harold M. Vinacke, Crofts, 1937.

### *Mr. Borgese and Fascism*

One of the reasons contributing to the steadily increasing popularity of non-fiction books has been the greater emphasis placed on writing requirements by the publishers. The extent to which a person will be influenced by what a book has to say depends largely on how it says it. Elliot Paul's *Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, reviewed here last month, is an example of an important story combining with a rare literary talent to make one of the outstanding books of the year. This month, literary distinction is again brought to the non-fiction field with the publication of *Goliath: The March of Fascism*, by G. A. Borgese.

G. A. Borgese is something of an Italian H. G. Wells turned American. He is philosopher-historian-journalist-novelist and accomplished on each count. His distinction in each of these fields has been largely brought about through his writings, which Pirandello once described as a "torrential force, like a rushing fire." Borgese does have force. Sustained force. Under conviction such as he expresses in *Goliath* you may be able to retain an opposing viewpoint but not without being shaken. And you cannot help but feel that

[illegible] somebody who [illegible]

Once he was an Italian subject, recognized as one of the foremost critics and writers. Fascism drove him into exile. Today he is professor at the University of Chicago. But he is not so sure that we are immune against fascism. It originated in Italy but in 1933 it "conquered Germany; two and three years later, with the Ethiopian war, the fight against the League of Nations and the invasion of Spain, it challenged the world . . . the wave of its influence easily reached Japan; its breakers went as far as Louisiana in these United States."

Fascism, what now? we ask. But we must wait. Professor Borgese wants us to begin at the beginning. "Italy was the last born among the nations, the Benjamin of Europe. . . . She was born late, but on her birthday she was adult, a Pallas among the nations: with self-knowledge and purpose." She was born of the phantom of five centuries: there had been a Dante, a Machiavelli, a Garibaldi, a Mazzini, a Cavour. She assumed body as the daughter of nineteenth-century philosophy and poetry.

But that Italy died in fifty years and again became a phantom. It died without fulfilling Mazzini's dream of nobility among nations. It died in 1922. Fascism sat in at the kill while a small, dark-faced man lingered briefly over the corpse and dreamed dreams of empire—his empire.

Mussolini did not create fascism. He "acted upon the Italian mind, and conquered it; then, made strong by this conquest, he tried to win the world." Germany, peering over the Alps, watched this strange new doctrine, saw it work, and decided to adopt it on a larger scale, just as Bismarck watched the technique of Cavour more than a half-century earlier and appropriated it for his own—in the customary Bismarckian manner. Germany served to acquaint Il Duce with his own virility, and he made plans for spawning a colonial empire. As the first thrust, Ethiopia would be serviced or sacrificed or both.

But though Mussolini tipped his hand early in the game, Great Britain and the League did nothing but bristle, bluff, and blunder. By the time they got around to sanctions and learning how to apply them, Il Duce was proclaiming an empire to the populace—an empire with all the trimmings, even an emperor, who stood on the balcony and took his bows—high above the street where the crowd could not see that it was really a marionette show, with Mussolini manipulating the strings and Victor Emmanuel responding.

The next act, for which the final curtain has not yet fallen, finds Mussolini conducting a war

against Spain with the assistance of a military rebellion. But Italian losses have been heavy and the act may end with fascism the loser not only in Spain but as a world doctrine. In the spring of this year, in fact, when Professor Borgese began his closing chapter, he cheerfully observed that fascism was on the run.

But within a month the situation had turned for the worse again. If world war should come and fascism should win . . .

". . . then the blackness of the coming age would make the so-called Dark Ages of the past seem as bright as sunshine. They never at their darkest wilfully rejected the unbroken tradition of man."

*Goliath: The March of Fascism* is a valuable examination not only of the genesis of fascism but of the Italian mind and Italian culture. The reader who wishes to supplement Mr. Borgese's fine work with material on the economic and political developments under fascism in Italy is referred to Gaetano Salvemini's *Under the Axe of Fascism*, published last year.

### *The Coming War*

IF YOU are easily disturbed about war horrors, spend an anxious evening with Heinz Liepmann's *Poison in the Air.* Mr. Liepmann goes out of his way to avoid any encouragement to those who have faith in the defensive mechanisms of a nation against an attack upon its lay citizens. His unpleasant thesis is that there is no adequate defense against poison gas. He contends that no mask has yet been devised which will protect against all known gases.

Scraping dry the well of despair, Mr. Liepmann seems convinced that this is the end. "Within a few years this cherished Europe of ours will be nothing more than a desert, depopulated by venomous clouds in which neither man nor beast nor plant can live and breathe." How can it be otherwise? he asks. The leading powers are spending millions in their chemical laboratories brewing new horrors in poison gases—gases that will (a) collapse the lungs; (b) cause uncontrollable vomiting, severe colic, and diarrhœa; (c) turn faces blue; (d) bring on blindness; (e) induce paralysis; (f) disintegrate the human body. Ad infinitum. And all, of course, with vivid descriptions, a department in which he exhibits a greater ability than he does in his knowledge of chemistry, medicine, and military strategy.

The truth of the matter, as Captain Liddell Hart pointed out in *Europe in Arms*, reviewed last month, is that there is no agreement among authorities as to the effectiveness of gas upon

either armies or civilian population Many reject the alarming picture of whole cities wiped out by poison gas. None deny that gases can kill and that in time of war poison gas attacks will not be uncommon, but most of them, and this includes the chemists engaged in gas research, are most conservative in describing its practical efficiency.

Nobody will deny Mr. Liepmann that war is tragically stupid and that another world conflict would seriously cripple and even destroy civilization as we know it. But it is difficult to accept precise definitions as to just how large a part poison gases will play in that destruction, in the face of inadequate evidence and uncertainty among qualified observers. Mr. Liepmann implores that "something should be done," even though he is obscure as to just what and how. But are we to consider seriously his concluding suggestion:

> Do something to avert these evils.
> If not, make an end of yourselves quickly and painlessly. That will be an easier death than the death that is coming to you from the skies.

Speculation upon war horrors holds a certain grim interest and if it is Mr. Liepmann's purpose to serve or exploit this interest, his book is a success. It has the benefit of fertile imagination, vivid conception, and dramatic writing—qualities which the author has used more appropriately, perhaps, in his several novels.

### *Presents for Germany*

IT MAY come as a pleasant surprise to Herr Hitler to learn that Great Britain is advised by one of its political writers to give Germany a sizeable portion of land in Africa as an overture to insured peaceful relations between the two countries. The advice is given by A. L. Kennedy in *Britain Faces Germany.*

Mr. Kennedy professes to take a realistic view of German aims. It was a mistake for England to continue its opposition to practical revisions of the Versailles Treaty. Germany has brought about the entire destruction of the treaty and it was only by the narrowest of margins that a European conflagration was avoided. And now that she asks for the return of her colonies, Great Britain should take the lead in restoring them to her. For if she does not, war may not be so easily avoided this time. Or so Mr. Kennedy argues.

Great Britain can give its land in West Africa to Germany without sacrificing her standing as a dominant empire, he contends, asserting that "if we can bring Germany into a new interna-

(*Continued on page 126*)


"Yes, Mother! I can hear you perfectly"

# LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

## Third Party Line Up

LABOR DAY, 1937, was to the nation at large more significant than ever before in history. It was a day, not only of recapitulation, but of defiance and optimism. Within the year the organization of mass-production industries has succeeded to the point where its future is apparently assured. And concurrently the American people have awakened to the important and inevitable part that organized labor must play in the nation's economic life.

From labor's number one man came definite assurance that the mass of American workmen were determined to assume the role commensurate with their strength and objectives. For all to hear, John L. Lewis epitomized labor's attitude toward the political shilly-shallying during the last year. Without equivocation he identified those politicians who, in labor's opinion, have betrayed their pledges. He referred pointedly to the failure of Congress to pass the Wages and Hours Bill at the last session. And in one sweeping paragraph he voiced labor's opinion of such tactics: "The spectacle of august and dignified members of Congress, servants of the people and agents of the Republic skulking in hallways and closets, hiding their faces in a party caucus to prevent a quorum from acting upon a labor measure, is one that emphasizes the perfidy of politicians and blasts the confidence of labor's millions in politicians' promises and statesmen's vows."

It was a strong speech and nowhere more pungent than in an indirect reference to President Roosevelt's attempted middle-of-the-road attitude during the recent steel strikes. Inferentially Mr. Lewis made it clear that placing a curse impartially upon both capital and labor was not labor's idea of friendship. And at this point Mr. Lewis threw down the gage for the future. While denying that the objectives of the C.I.O. are political in a partisan sense, he declared that labor will no longer tolerate those politicians who exchange insincere pledges for labor's support at the polls.

### *Labor and Politics*

In this declaration, Mr. Lewis certainly characterizes himself, and indirectly labor, as being somewhat naïve. Of course this is not true. Labor never has depended upon the politicians to win its victories. Long years of bitter betrayal have taught them political lessons that are unforgettable in the short space of a year. They have won their battles alone, and then only in the interest of permanent victory have they turned to the politicians to help them consolidate their gains. And as for President Roosevelt, he has delivered that particular assistance; and delivered it handsomely.

However, labor is not satisfied. With its growing strength it can no longer content itself with politicians who are only able to assist in the consolidation of positions. In the future, it must have political allegiance

that can be employed as a positive offensive weapon. Specifically that is labor's objective in the field of politics. And it is an ancient tactic that capital has used for many years and with such great success.

Labor cannot forget the number of national administrations successively running the country in the interest of the employer. The Hardings, the Coolidges, and the Hoovers were so far from being friends of labor that they ignored even a division of interest between the employers and the men they hired. Such eras set an all time high for employer interest, and inspired labor with the desire to make a record of its own in the field of political favoritism.

### *Third Party*

John L. Lewis proposes a third political party incorporating farmers and trade unionists, and general malcontents from the present Democratic Party. In fact he proposes to catch the same political phantom that all liberals have been pursuing for the last two decades. In 1924 the elder Senator La Follette led the last hybrid group representing both farmers and industrial workers. The platform on which La Follette made his bid was one calculated to appeal to these diverse interests with a pledge to end "usurpation and tyranny in the Federal Courts," a demand for public ownership of railways and waterpower, a promise of labor legislation and "fair prices" to the farmer. And yet, despite this "radical," platform he received only enough of the farm and laboring votes to carry his own State.

Such experience has shown the formidable obstacles to putting a new third party into the field successfully. Farmers and trade unionists are not natural allies. The farmer is directly interested in high prices that add to the living costs of the industrial worker, while the industrial worker is directly interested in high wages that add to the cost of manufactured goods that the farmer buys. Such objectives are incompatible. In fact they are so antagonistic that Democratic and Republican partisans would have everyone believe that they constitute an insuperable obstacle. However, Mr. Lewis and the ranks of labor apparently don't think so. They envisage both groups working out their diverse problems for mutual benefit. They believe the time has come to end the divide-and-rule tactics with which the conservatives have split the farmer-labor blocs. They argue further, that in forming a third party nothing can be lost, since neither the farmer nor the laborer has gained anything from conservative leadership in the past. This is labor's approach to the problem.

### *Farmer's Reply*

As for the farmers, they have recently surprised their apologists by showing a temper entirely at variance with popular conceptions. Too often the farmer has been described as a property-loving soul shrinking in horror from industrial sit-down strikes and mass-picketing. Actually he is nothing of the sort. He is a hard-headed man, intelligent enough to know that high farm-prices are only possible in those industrial areas where the worker is paid a high wage. This is his particular answer to those who point out to him the antagonistic nature of high factory wages. For never in his history has he known the time when low industrial wages produced manufactured goods equally commensurate with his return from bed-rock farm prices. Somewhere along the line there was a differential, but not in his favor.

It is to these farmers that Mr. Lewis refers when he speaks of a third party.

# American Neutrality

IT IS supposed that a general war in any part of the world will injure the interests of the United States in spite of, and somewhat because of, our neutrality. Since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese hostilities there has been a frantic capitulation as to how much, and to what extent Americans will suffer financial losses in the Orient.

There is a popular belief that the United States has vast financial interests in both Japan and China. The facts prove the contrary. Today, although the United States ranks first in China's foreign trade, American investments in that country amount to something less than $200,000,000. Japan, however, is one of our best cotton and petroleum customers, while we import huge quantities of Japanese silks. But compared with our total trade neither Japan nor China make an impressive showing; Japan absorbs less than 9 per cent and China less than 2 per cent of our exports.

Briefly then, our financial interest in the zone of hostility is small, despite the beloved hope nurtured by our business men that China will one day be the world's largest market.

### *International Obligations*

Our political rights and international obligations in China are larger and more intangible. Under the Boxer protocol of 1901 the United States, in combination with other powers, forced the Chinese people to submit to the indignity of armed legation guards at Peiping, and such other garrisons between Peiping and the sea necessary to insure uninterrupted communication. At present the United States has a force of 500 marines guarding the Peiping Embassy, an American regiment at Tientsin, and about 2,000 troops in Shanghai. Additionally there is an Asiatic Squadron composed of the cruiser *Augusta*, a number of destroyers, and submarines, and gunboats patroling the Yangtse. To further complicate matters there are some 8,000 Americans working and living in China.

Under such circumstances the American position in the Orient is a precarious one. Should a national be killed or a unit of the Asiatic squadron be sunk it is highly probable that American public opinion, fanned by sensational publicity, would be aroused to a dangerous pitch where an accident might lead to war.

### *Courses of Action*

The realities of the situation permit but three courses of action. The United States can withdraw from the Orient, recall the Asiatic fleet to home waters, abandon extraterritorial rights in China, grant immediate independence to the Philippines and recognize Japan's suzerainty in the Far East. This action, many people contend, would be far cheaper in money and human lives than to risk a war with Japan.

The second course is admittedly more dangerous. It entails American coopera-




*United Feature Syndicate*

***THE POOR LITTLE RICH BOY***

tion with European powers to check Japanese aggression, and to preserve the territorial integrity of China. Coupled with pressure from France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States would be the necessary economic concessions to Japan insuring, at least, her internal stability. The proponents of this policy envisage a new Washington Conference, or in plain language, a new economic division of China.

However, there is little chance that either the first or second alternative will be employed. At present the United States is unable to withdraw gracefully from China. And, because of the European situation, neither Britain nor France is in a position to successfully cooperate in checking Japanese aggression, even if President Roosevelt's hands were not tightly bound by the Neutrality Act. Nothing remains but the third course of improvisation. Apparently we will protect our nationals as best we can, hoping at the same time that none of them meets with an accident capable of arousing public opinion. Such action is expedient, but highly dangerous.

# Lewis Breaks With Roosevelt

SINCE the advent of the sit-down strikes and the more violent tie-ups in steel, observers have waited for the parting of John L. Lewis and President Roosevelt. From now on that cleavage may be considered a reality. And the question before the country is whether President Roosevelt and his followers stand to gain or lose by antagonizing the most militant, and most effective pressure group in the United States.

Inspired with a holy zeal to organize all mass production industries, the C. I. O. presents a formidable front on election day with tight and purposefully knit political organizations capable of delivering 3,000,000 votes of members and dependents. As spokesman for this group, John L. Lewis personifies the hunger of labor—hunger for more political power, for more political favors. Opposed to this insatiable spirit is the temperance of President Roosevelt and his followers responsible to a whole people, and firmly convinced that labor has devoured more than its share of the Administration's influence.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

**COME OVER AND PROTECT OUR BUSINESS**

### *The A. F. of L.*

But the C. I. O. is not all of labor. For the public has learned the most bitter struggles are not between employers and labor, but between labor and labor. The enmity of William Green for John L. Lewis is historic. And their utterances reflect the division of labor. Thus it was no more than natural that Mr. Green speaking for the American Federation of Labor, should assail the C. I. O. chairman for his attack on President Roosevelt, characterizing it an "autocratic and dictatorial denunciation" of "the greatest friend of labor who ever sat in the White House."

In losing the C. I. O. the President ostensibly gained the support of the A. F. of L., a labor group claiming an equal strength at the polls to its C. I. O. protagonist.

Through this affiliation the President may win the support of the conservative middle class, for the A. F. of L. counters the antagonistic mass-militancy of the C. I. O. tactics with a conservative appeal both to the employer and the public, stressing above all, its contractual responsibility.

Yet, in losing the C. I. O., the President also loses the unlabeled vote, a powerful integer, ballotting, since 1933, definitely left of center. Such are some of the considerations, with the practical corollaries: How big are these groups? How well disciplined? What will they poll? As a practical politician the President will weigh carefully the losses and counter-gains, as will John L. Lewis, before either one will make the present rift irreparable.

# China: Progress of War

NOW that well over two months have elapsed since the opening incident of the present Sino-Japanese war, the main lines of Japanese strategy are becoming apparent. The headlong attack on Shanghai quickly evaporated the earlier impression that Tokyo was merely continuing its policy of the gradual absorption of North China. The latter was expected as a logical development (see *Asia's Irrepressible Conflict*); as such, the Japanese could confidently anticipate the acquiescence of the Western Powers, particularly Great Britain. But to plunge boldly into Shanghai was to extend immeasurably the sphere of conflict and also to dump the war right in the lap of British and American interests. Tokyo's cavalier treatment of the strong British note protesting the wounding of their Ambassador, suggests that the doctrine of "Asia for the Asiatics" is in the ascendant.

Now comes the statement from Koki Hirota that Japan's ultimate aim is to displace General Chiang Kai-shek himself; in the words of the Japanese Foreign Minister: "We are fighting anti-Japanese movements in China. These exist largely in the Chinese Army, and General Chiang Kai-shek is their spearhead." This, then, is the ingenious explanation of the war which has not yet been declared.

### *Japanese Strategy*

Towards the achievement of her aims Japan has embarked upon four main lines of military strategy. In the North, she has gained the Peiping-Tientsin area with little trouble, partly thanks to the failure of Chiang Kai-shek to lend support to the 29th Route Army. Nipponese troops are now advancing down the Tientsin-Nanking and Peiping-Hankow railways in an effort to clean up the remainder of Hopeh province.

The second move in the North has been the capture of Kalgan and most of the Nankow Pass. For China this has the serious result of cutting off the main route to Soviet Russia through Outer Mongolia; whatever the implications of the recently signed Russo-Chinese non-aggression pact, this situation removes from China one source of needed supplies. A "South Chahar Autonomous Government" has already been set up in Kalgar, at the request of 100 "in-



*Il Travaso*, Rome

***COURTESY IN VALENCIA***

***"Excuse me, could you favour me with a light?"***

fluential persons," headed by Prince Te, a pro-Japanese Mongolian. And a short advance furthur west into Suiyan will give Japan her desired stranglehold on the five northern provinces.

The third, and now the most important, line of Japanese attack is upon Shanghai itself. Success in this venture would give Japan control of far the most important commercial city in China, as well as the rich trade of the Yangtze River; it would also give her ready access to Nanking, seat of the Central Government and the opportunity to cut the Nanking-Tientsin railway, depriving Chinese troops in the North of supplies. Finally, the attack on Shanghai serves the purpose of engaging thousands of Chinese troops which might otherwise be effectively employed in the North.

The final Japanese move has been the naval blockade of 2,150 miles of the China coast, excepting Hong Kong and Tsingtao. The object of this move is to cut off customs revenues, the chief source of income for the Nanking Government.

***China's Resistance***

So far, Tokyo's outstanding successes have been in the North. But the Chinese have shown stubborn resistance at Shanghai, where despite the enormous damage inflicted by Japanese planes, they have held their own and even forced the invaders to retreat in some areas. The main hope of the Nanking Government would seem to be the arming and organizing of the peasantry for guerrilla warfare of the type employed so successfully by the Chinese Communists. Here the Nanking Government faces one dilemma. Agrarian reform is one prerequisite for the enthusiastic loyalty of the peasants. But agrarian reform, of any value, would be directly contrary to the interests of the landowning classes which provide one of the main pillars of Chiang Kai-shek's support.

# Rebel Gains in Spain

WITH the capture of Santander by three crack Italian divisions—Black Arrow, Black Flame, and 20th of March—and an assortment of Moors and royalists, General Franco virtually assured himself of the control of the north coast of Spain. The strategic importance of this would be the release of an estimated minimum of 50,000 troops for action on the southern fronts.

As General Franco presses on into Asturias, the impression grows that the rebels have the civil war pretty well in the bag. That is a premature conclusion. True, the conquest of the north of Spain is a substantial advantage, especially in view of its iron resources. But, if it is not completed with expedition, it will involve an expensive and arduous winter campaign in mountainous territory. Again, Santander, the summer capital, was the weakest part of the loyalists' northern defences and, with its large noncombatant refugee population, was an expensive item to maintain.

In the South, the rebels are no nearer to taking Madrid; the loyalists have shown considerable offensive ability, although the outcome of the series of salients and counter-salients now being waged is still in doubt. Government morale is still high, and officials claim an adequate supply of foodstuffs for the winter.

On the diplomatic front, the loyalists may gain from the sentiments stirred up in England by "pirate" submarines in the Mediterranean, which, after the 15th of such incidents, resulted in a note saying that further attacks would be dealt with as piracy. Mussolini's jubilant telegram to Franco after the fall of Santander, referring to the "now-intimate fraternity of our arms," and the Italian press' exultation in an Italian victory may have the same effect on English opinion.

The rebels, however, have received *de facto* diplomatic recognition by the Vatican —a not unexpected development. Last month Cardinal Pacelli, the Papal State

Secretary, accepted the credentials of the rebel's representative.

### *The Church and War*

The Vatican, too, indirectly endorsed the lengthy pastoral letter signed by two Spanish Cardinals and 46 other prelates of insurgent Spain, which declared the Franco revolt to be a "legitimate" one. This lengthy document argues, in the main, that under the Republic Spanish history was being diverted from its proper course, that the elections of 1931 produced a result not in accordance with the will of the people, that the Popular Front not only formed "a political machine in conflict with the majority of the nation," but also entered into an alliance with Communist Russia to bring about atheistic revolution. Finally, the letter argues, "because when legal means were exhausted the idea entered the national conscience that there was no other recourse except to force to maintain order and peace." Thus compelled to choose the path of violence, the letter explains that "the war is therefore like an armed plebiscite."



*United Feature Syndicate, Inc.*

*FISHERMAN'S LUCK*

This document, however, fails to convince in its attack on the Popular Front, which was chiefly concerned with the secular and not the spiritual power of the Church; it is hysterical in its attack upon the relationship with Moscow; it fails to present a clear case as to why the temporal powers of the Church should not have been attacked in the interests of reform; and in its discussion of "atrocities" the letter is, if nothing else, utterly devoid of the spirit of Christian charity. The letter, extensive though it be, fails to demonstrate just why, even if democratic elections and the Popular Front perverted the spirit of Spain, it remained preferable that the course of Spanish history should be determined by the bloodiest of "armed plebiscites," the outcome of which will largely be decided by Moorish mercenaries and German and Italian Fascists, conscripted by their masters to grasp a share of the peninsula's mineral wealth.

# Mediterranean Piracy

IT IS quite obvious that the fate of any Mediterranean "agreement" is to be consigned to the bottom of the ocean as soon as it has been concluded. Thus, for instance, the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Italian agreement of last January was the landing of further consignments of Italian "volunteers" in Spain and the consequent hailing of the battle of Malaga as an Italian victory. There is an even more marked distinction between precept and practice in the recent "piratical" events in the inland sea. Beautiful Anglo-Italian sentiments were still flowing after Neville Chamberlain's and Mussolini's exchange of *billets-doux;* the air was still resounding with Mussolini's peace plea of August 20. At the same time, Italian submarines, flagless, were quietly picking off British merchantmen and even attacking warships.



*Welt am Sonntag*, Munich

***THE NON INTERVENTION COMMITTEE. John Bull, The Driver: "You foolish fellow! If you keep doing that I shall have to speak sharply to you."***

The motives behind these "piratical" maneuvers were twofold: In the first place, the rebels had been unable to conclude a deal in the London Non-Intervention Committee to gain full belligerent rights. France and Russia had insisted upon the withdrawal of "volunteers" as a necessary condition for such recognition—a concession which the Spanish insurgents were unwilling to grant. Consequently, General Franco's forces were unable legally to enforce a blockade. In order, therefore, to cut off loyalist supplies, particularly of oil and gasoline for tanks and airplanes, nothing could be simpler than to attempt to enforce an illegal one by means of unidentifiable vessels which could be—and were—attributed to the loyalists or Russia.

Secondly, a few indiscriminate torpedoes could be counted upon to drive up the war-risk rates upon British and British-insured shipping and substantially cut down on the amount of such tonnage in what the Italians like to refer to as "Mare Nostrum."

At first, there was little effective protest in Great Britain. The Government was not disposed to exert itself in the interests of those supplying the Spanish loyalists, and the large shipowners, jealous of the Spanish trade enjoyed by the tramp steamers, brought no pressure to bear upon the powers-that-be. It was not until the Admiralty pointed out the dangerous consequences of "piracy" for British shipping in the Mediterranean in case of war that the Government decided to take action.

Just what that action will be is to be decided, but the British Government made clear that it would be strong; the fascist advance, hitherto anemically tolerated by Great Britain and the other democratic powers, has apparently reached close enough to the British nerve-centers to induce a change of front.

London called a conference of Mediterranean powers to devise measures against Mediterranean "piracy," to meet either at Nyon or Geneva. Russia took the stand that the conference should be held as an indictment of Italy but decided to attend never-the-less. The fascist powers, Italy and Germany, for their part, raised once again the old communist bogy and declared that they could not sit at the same table with Soviet delegates since Moscow had condemned Italy before the conference even started.

The shift away from the London Non-Intervention Committee, which has simply been used as a forum of angry discussion and which has mainly sought to remain all-inclusive, will leave the new conference free to take action; there is, for the first time, an anti-fascist front—a development for which Russia's shrewd diplomatic move, which excluded Germany and Italy, can be given credit. Cooperative naval action against the offending submarines has been envisaged; the brunt of this will probably be borne by Great Britain, who has the major interests to protect and the most experience in anti-submarine warfare. The experiment is almost another attempt to enforce collective sanctions, but with one substantial difference: the "pirates" have been sailing flagless and ostensively nationless; Italy and Germany have disclaimed them and will be perfectly free to back down without loss of face. This would be a fittingly hypocritical conclusion to a situation manufactured by hypocrisy.

# THE POWER OF JAPAN

## *The Army, a bridge between high capital and the masses, threatens to crush both*

By THE EDITORS

WITH Japan at grips with China, the average observer is confused at the disparity of opinion as to the relative strength of the Land of the Rising Sun. He reads of Japan and is lost in a flood of adjectives. Japan is mighty. Japan is powerful. Japan is weak. Japan is cracking. These are but a few descriptive phrases that add to the confusion.

To examine an individual Japanese soldier campaigning in China might be enlightening. Superficially, he is no more formidable than his Chinese opponent. He has an excellent rifle, and 50 rounds of cartridges. He has a steel helmet, four hand-grenades, a gas mask and a durable uniform. But so has his Chinese enemy. What then is the difference? If by chance these two hypothetical soldiers were to fire 50 shots at each other, thus exhausting their immediate ammunition, the difference between Japan and China would be immediately apparent. At once, the Japanese soldier would receive an issue of ammunition. At best, the Chinese soldier would have to wait 24 hours; and, under the circumstances, no matter how brave he might be, would be forced to retire or be killed. This, then, is the difference.

For behind that new issue of Japanese ammunition is an industrial organization more complex than a spider web, and extending from the individual Japanese soldier, however unimportant, to the corners of the globe. Briefly, the soldier received his ammunition from a company base that in turn received it from a divisional depot, that received it from a Shanghai wharf, that received it from a ship out of Tokyo, and so on. . . . And all this is the product of an organization of industry, an industry not startling in its complexity, but an industry that is amazing in its efficiency.

Japanese industry is so efficient that it makes other industries—whether communist, fascist or capitalist—seem ponderous and ineffectual. However, at this point the comparison of Japanese industry with other countries ends. Its structure is vastly different, in so far as Japan has surpassed other nations in going forward to the logical conclusion of capitalist production—monopoly. In the hands of fifteen interests lies a 70 per cent control of Japanese industry. This is ideal capitalism, understandable to anyone who enjoys remarkable efficiency, no matter what the cost to humanity. Imagine this condition extended to 70 per cent of business in the United States. Then you approach a conception of the oil-slick workings of Japan's industry. But with this difference: Japanese industry is decidedly small potatoes by comparison with U. S. or British enterprise. And this comparison cannot be ignored since Japan's industry is primarily foreign trade. On the average, Japan's foreign trade is scarcely one-third that of the United States and only one-quarter of Great Britain's total, while in 1935 Japan cornered no more than 3.7 per cent of the total world trade. Such evidence hardly admits the adjective mighty in any discussion of Japan's industry.

### *Other People's Raw Materials*

Further evidence continues to reflect Japan in progressive diminution. Briefly, Japan's industrial structure is one in which

she buys other people's raw materials and processes them to meet other people's needs. And this structure is erected upon the most barren ground, for Japan must import about one-third of the raw materials and semi-manufactures that she uses in industry. In recent years she has imported materials to the value of almost 2,000,000,000 yen annually, or approximately 80 per cent of all imports. Raw cotton, the fibre for her number one industry and export business, comes entirely from abroad, as does rayon pulp which supplies her third largest industry.

It is axiomatic that the test of a nation's wealth is measured by its possession or access to the industrial triumvirate—coal, and iron, and oil. In the possession of two of this trinity Japan is poverty stricken. She has neither oil nor iron in any more than trifling quantities, and her coal is thin. Ninety per cent of her petroleum products are imported. As for iron, she must import 75 per cent of her ore, 50 per cent of her scrap, and more than 25 per cent of her pig iron. In coal supplies Japan does better, although very badly in comparison with the United States with its 20,000 tons per capita, as against her 200 tons per capita. Coking coal, so crucial to the working of metals, is also imported by Japan, along with 50 per cent of her anthracite.

Certainly this makes a dismal list for a nation so anxious to talk blood and iron. Making it even more dismal is the fact that Japan has almost no wool, nor any nitrates, antimony, mercury, bauxite, nickel, or resins. These are the significant lacks. And of such overwhelming importance that observers recently were amazed at the wasteful use of the exquisite instruments of war in Japan's bombardment of Shanghai. Cannon shells, costing a small fortune apiece, were hurled indiscriminately and with poor aim. For a nation rich in materials such antics would have been conspicuously wasteful, but for the Japanese it was simply amazing.

On the credit side of the ledger, Japan, of course, has some natural advantages. She can furnish anywhere from 10 to 60 per cent of her needs in tin, zinc, lead, salt, jute, flax, and hemp. And also supply 80 per cent of her copper requirements. She has the greatest supply of raw silk in the world and makes this the stuff of her second largest industry and export trade. In addition she has an exportable surplus of sulphur, camphor, vegetable oil, peppermint, and arsenic. Such items complete Japan's credit list, although, from any perspective, such a list is distinguished by its inadequacy. Where then lies Japan's power and her claim to fame?

### *Human Resources*

Perhaps there is no real answer to this question. Her efficiency has already been mentioned. But efficiency alone won't suffice, since naturally there must be some materials upon which to be efficient. And on the subject of materials most people, including the Japanese, are agreed that her lack of raw materials in peace-time is overwhelmingly outweighed by her resources in human labor. This is a fact, and the cheapness of such labor is a marvelous fact.

To realize to the full the importance of such cheap labor it is necessary again to cite some figures. Japan imports nearly 30 per cent of all industrial raw materials used in manufacture. From 1931 to 1934 such materials rose 12 per cent in volume and 85 per cent in value. Superficially this rise in value would seem disastrous. Not so with Japan. At this point she demonstrated the workings of her world-famed efficiency. With material costs rising, Japan drove down her labor costs. In 1931 Japan's labor cost per unit of production was 53.2 (1924=100) as against 83.1 for the United States. However, by 1934, when material costs were reaching ever higher



Pictures Inc.

*THE POWER OF JAPAN: This is what it did to some Chinese soldiers mown down by machine guns while in a vain defense of Tientsin.*

levels, Japanese efficiency had managed to make labor costs reach the incredibly low level of 45.2, as compared with a drop in the U. S. to 77.7.

Certainly this is efficiency of the most primitive sort. And yet it doesn't tell the whole story by any means. Coupled with low wages has been Japan's insatiable adaptation of labor saving machinery and a trend toward the manufacture and export of goods in which low wage-costs have a particular advantage. Added to these factors is the prime integer of yen depreciation. Naturally the yen factor is a mercurial one. But yen depreciation is frequently mentioned whenever economists gather to talk about Japan's export trade. Specifically, they speak of export dumping on the basis of an undervalued yen. At one time this statement had validity. But it has been canceled by the recent rise in the cost of imports to Japan, despite the fact that the yen has dropped from $.4837 in 1932 to $.2894 as of recent date.

## *Manufacturing Efficiency*

In turning again to the much publicized Japanese efficiency, it is interesting to note that actually there are two kinds of manufacturing efficiency in the Land of the Rising Sun. One is of the modern kind, large scale, mass-production units owned and operated by the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and other large interests. The other kind of manufacture is more obscure and little spoken of. For out of 5,000,000 industrial workers in Japan more than 2,500,000 of them work for employers of less than five persons, and

an additional 1,000,000 work for themselves. Nor do these figures include the countless hundreds of thousands of family factories in which father, mother, son, and daughter labor long hours on a piece-work basis.

It is impossible to minimize the importance of these obscure hand workers, since in 1936 they produced over 65 per cent of Japan's entire export volume. They are the major factor in Japan's startling export boom. And the product of these people is also owned and controlled by the great interests through their trading companies.

Patently, when investigators speak of Japan's cheap labor they speak of these people. And they also speak of another numerous group even more lowly, even more put upon. Since Japan's factory hands must work at low cost, it is necessary to have food for their needs at an even lower cost. At this point we come to the unfortunate peasant. He must raise food at a low cost to feed the low-paid factory labor which must manufacture cheap goods for the profit of the great interests, who employ this profit to buy more raw materials to make more cheap goods, etc., until somebody gets sick and tired of it and either quits or smashes up the whole nasty business. But for the present, the peasant happens to be down at the bottom of the pile. And it is often said that he is still unaware that being on the bottom of Japan's pile is anything but the most healthful and natural place for him to be. However, this last glib generality is not borne out by the facts. The Japanese peasant has become increasingly restless.

### *A Shaky Base*

Thus, if, as many say, the might and prestige of Japan rests upon her peasant base, it wouldn't take much of a blow from without or within to dissolve the base and topple the pinnacle. Even the Japanese capitalists are apprehensive concerning the future of their agrarians. In 1932 they studied a preview of what might happen. While in 1934–35 in the midst of famines and distress the agrarians again revolted as best they could. In widespread localities they rioted in protest against their miserable condition. Without central leadership, the riots were localized and suppressed by the police.

In the strictest use of the word, it would be unfair to characterize the bulk of the Japanese population as slaves. And yet in loose construction the word is applicable. As already indicated, a mere fifteen family dynasties control some 70 per cent of Japan's capital investment, and through these investments control all of Japan's industrial resources, both natural and human. This situation is at once Japan's strength and weakness.

Quite naturally, since these few men own Japan, one supposes that they run Japan. This is an easy assumption, and yet a confusing one if a person is to believe what he reads in the daily press. He is told of the Emperor wielding unlimited power, of the Army running the show, of the Navy stealing the spotlight, of the great interests influencing the Army, the Navy and the Emperor. On such evidence of internal dissension the reader is doubtful that Japan can possibly be a formidable power despite her reservoir of usefully controlled citizens.

### *Oligarchy Rules*

However, a brief review of the Japanese set-up will suffice to show that no matter who waves the scepter of power, the oligarchy is always served. Ostensibly all sovereignty is centered in the Emperor of Japan by virtue of the Ito constitution, a document drafted in 1889 to consolidate the commercial victory of the great industrial families over the clans of the Shogunate. The state is the Emperor and the Emperor is the state. There is a Diet composed of a House of Peers and a House of Representa-

tives. There is a Cabinet responsible to the Emperor, though, peculiarly enough, not as a Cabinet but as individual Minister-subjects. In addition, the Emperor has the power to veto legislation and to originate it, and to issue, during the nine months the Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the interest of public safety. Thus, in the words of the constitution, the Emperor is "the source and fountainhead of legislative power." Only in outward form is the Diet a representative assembly. The power and the glory is concentrated into the hands of Hirohito, the present Emperor, or as he is called humbly in Japan, O-Tenshi-Sama, Son of Heaven. Naturally such a man, however exalted, is not permitted to wield this tremendous power. That is left to the influential persons who, by force or cunning, gain access to the Imperial ear and exercise in the Emperor's name the power delegated to him under the constitution.

In Japan these influential persons may be divided into three general groups. First, the great interests, financial magnates and wealthy traders, scarcely twenty in number. Second, the new bureaucrats of a permanent civil service. And third, the Army, with its generals, and young officers who are in fact well along in middle age.

Of these three power groups, the Army and the bureaucrats are very much out in the open, while the great interests, as is their custom throughout the world, work from concealment. With the protective instinct of all good capitalists, the great interests exert their influence through the offices of both the bureaucrats and the Army generals, with, perhaps, a preference for the bureaucrats. At present the Army seems in the ascendent, although it is a safe bet the little generals are fighting as much for the profit of the great interests as for the glory of Nippon. More so, in fact, for the adventure in Manchukuo demonstrated that the army could no more dispense with the co-operation of the financiers and the industrialists if the country was to be of any use to them, than they could conquer Manchukuo without the arms and munitions made in the capitalists' factories.

Despite the reports that the army in occupation goes off on wild rampages without permission from the home government, the reader of such reports can rest assured that no such condition exists. For it so happens that with the exception of the capitalist interests the Army just doesn't have to get permission from anyone. And in the relative status of the Armed forces to the civilian rulers, the Ito constitution is revealed in all its eccentricity. Since, under most constitutional governments, the army is rigidly controlled by the civil government, it is always confusing to the observer to discover that in Japan no such control exists. Although the Diet may regulate the service budgets, it must, whenever there is a disagreement (easily arranged), continue the previous year's budget in effect.

### *Japan's Unique Army*

The Army may not only act without governmental authority but may, whenever it chooses, issue proclamations of foreign policy independently of the Foreign Office. And, since the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, Ministers of the Army and Navy and Colonial Governors must always be Generals and Admirals on the active list; this regulation gives the armed forces the power to make and break governments—a privilege of which they have frequently taken advantage. In effect, the Army is equal in every way to the civil government.

It calls for no extraordinary powers of deduction to conclude that the Japanese Army is unique. It is not true to say that the Army is Japan; but it is certainly relevant to inquire what part of Japan the Army is. There are two answers to this, for there is a cleavage in the Army itself. This cleavage, at first definition, exists between the moderates and the extremists. This im-

plies common objectives, but insistence upon different tempos in the achievement of military and imperialist supremacy. Upon further analysis, however, the schism reflects a more profound difference—the clash between differing economic and social classes in Japan itself. The moderate group, headed by General Ugaki, represents the old *samurai* class; it is the military aristocracy, and it has traditionally represented monopoly capital. It sees the Army as predominant at home and as an instrument abroad for the extension and glory of Japan —which means more resources and larger markets for Big Business. The limits to this policy are seen in the budget figures, for the moderates see no point in taxing out of existence, nor regulating out of profits, the powerful forces which support them.

On the other hand are the Army extremists, with whom the name of General Araki has been linked. These are the younger officers, who can count on the support of the rank and file—for what little it is worth. Here is no traditional aristocratic class, but the sons of farmers and small capitalists, who have seen their brothers and fathers sweated to the bone and their sisters sold into prostitution to put profits into the pockets of their economic rulers. Army life has brought them into intimate conflict with wealth, and they resent the contrast. Hence, imperialistic expansion to them is the means of achieving for the Army the glory and prestige that will make it all-powerful at home. State debts and taxes are of little concern to these; they are perfectly ready to bleed the capitalists. And a state of war has the accompanying advantage that it will assist them in putting through measures of state control to bring Big Business to heel. These so-called Military Fascists want a Showa Restoration to deliver the Emperor from "self-seeking capitalists and corrupt politicians" and to advise—that is, command—him themselves. And it was this group that was responsible for the insurrection and terrorism of the February 1936 outburst of patriotism.

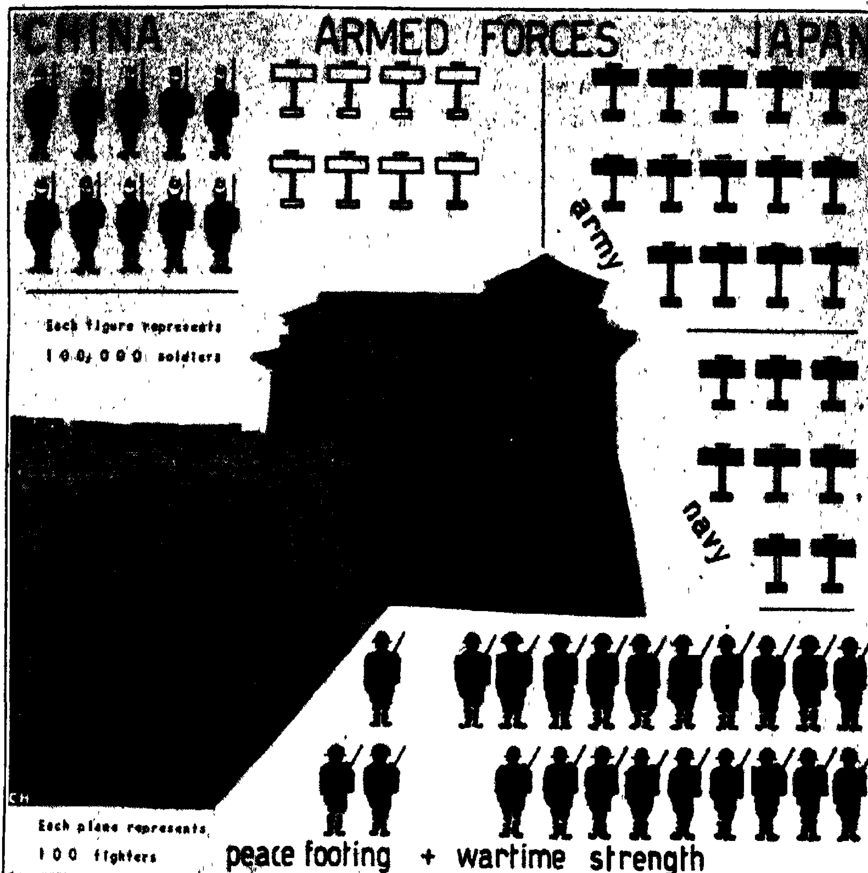
While General Araki once sponsored measures of agrarian reform, it is not true that the eventual victory of the military extremists would mean the attainment of Utopia for the peasants. The young officers are anti-capitalist in work rather than deed; they would impose severe restrictions upon business, even though their policies now reap a handsome return for certain interests, such as the arms makers. In sum, their inarticulate economic philosophy would probably do little less than add to the weight now being carried by the Japanese workers and peasants.

Just now, the Japanese Army, including as it does many of peasant origin, and yet embodying all the ambitions of Japanese imperialism, represents a strong bridge between two crumbling banks—monopoly capital on the one hand and agricultural and industrial slavery on the other.

The Army and Navy, at the special session of the Diet called on September 3, asked 2,000,000,000 yen to cover their costs until next March; they have already received 500,000,000. The 1938-9 budget promises to be at least three times as high as that of 1931-2. Taxes are not likely to be increased above figures which now bear heavily, especially upon the salaried and working classes. But financing by borrowing will bring the total national debt up to 66,000,000,000 yen (approximately $19,-000,000,000). On July 31, 1937, the unfavorable trade balance reached the unprecedented figure of 720,000,000 yen; fears grew about the gold reserves.

The Army has precipitately attacked Shanghai in the hopes of a quick victory over China. It needs just such a victory to maintain its prestige and to prevent the crumbling of both banks beneath the bridge it has so expensively and aggressively built.

# CHINA — BACK TO THE WALL



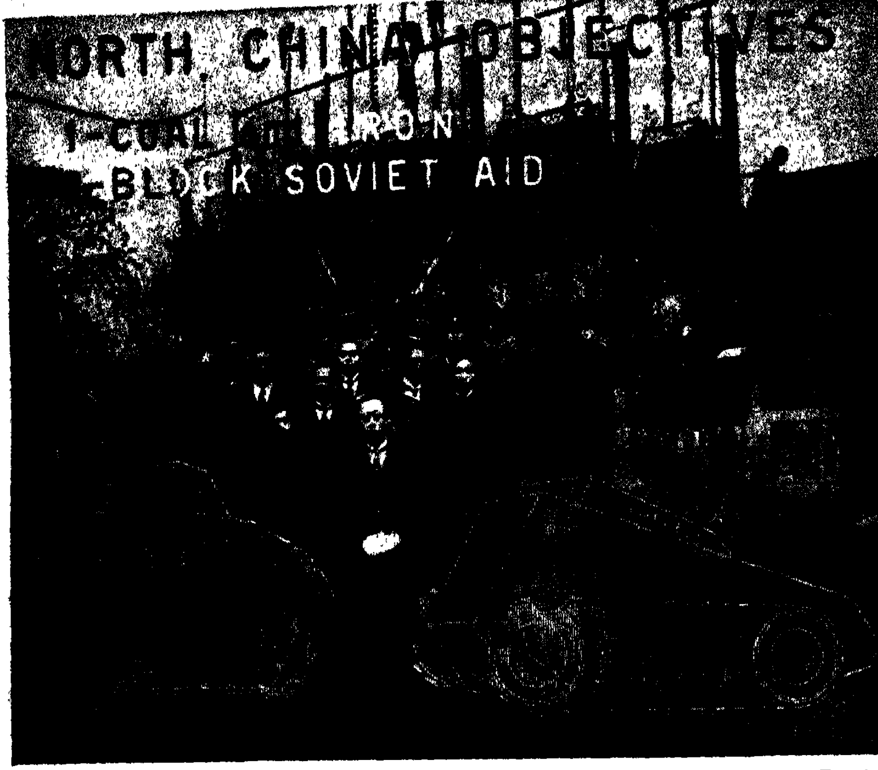

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* Ten of pre-war construction

THE net result of Japan's second undeclared war upon China has been the discovery of a new Chinese Wall.

Though breaching the historic Great Wall once again, the Japanese militarists have found themselves up against a psychological instead of an antiquated physical barrier. It is the new nationalism of the Chinese people, an iron will to survive, that Japan's advocates of expansion hoped to crush before four hundred million human beings could be modernized in thought, equipment and action.

The popular sentiment against Japan stiffened the Nationalist Government's program of resistance so that all the original

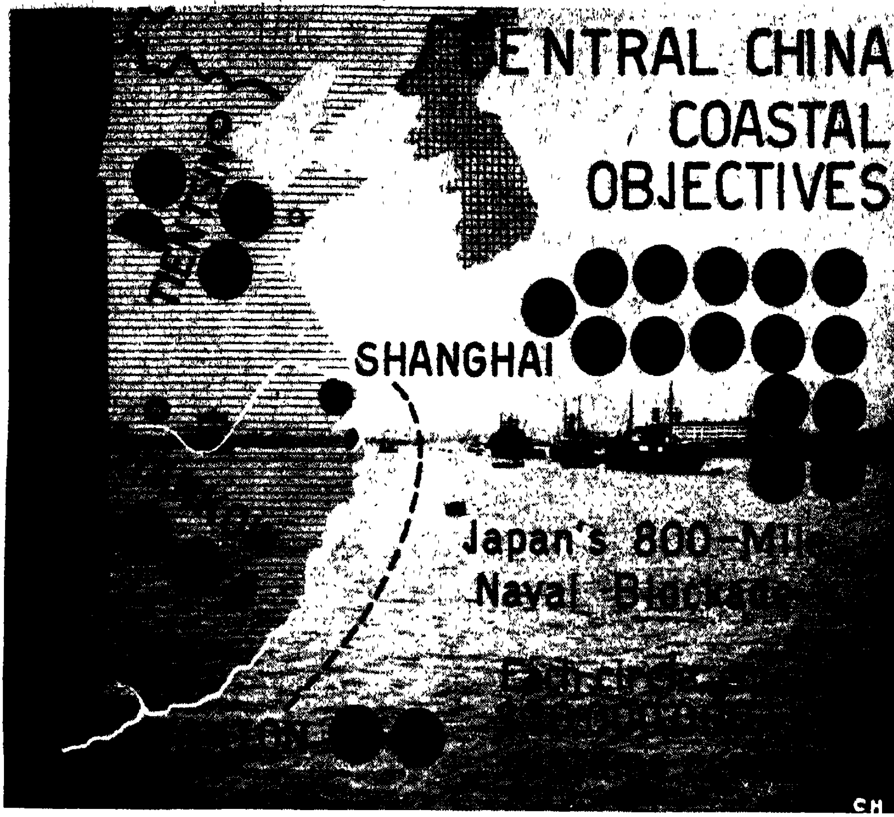



***JAPANESE AIMS IN NORTH CHINA:** Tokyo wants coal and iron, a barrier against Russia, and a Manchu puppet. Behind Henry Pu-yi, Emperor of Manchukuo, are some of his Japanese advisers, and in the background the Dragon Throne.*

strategy of the Nipponese militarists has been riddled literally. Instead of quickly crushing Chinese opposition to the Japanese intervention in North China, designed to break off the five northernmost provinces, Tokyo's warlords find themselves embarked on a major conflict.

That the Nationalists, backed by mass hate of Japan, have a war machine whose capabilities are far beyond foreign expectations is the real military news to date. More important than places fought over is the new bitter fighting quality of the Chinese forces. The spread of warfare from North China to Central China therefore is a strategic setback for the Japanese militarists.

Much to the amazement of Japanese sabre-rattlers, Nationalist forces have been moved effectively into the northern provinces which were supposed weeks ago to a "push-over." Instead, the Chinese are forcing a major campaign upon the would-be empire-builders from across the Yellow Sea. Henry Pu-yi, puppet-emperor of what Japan, El Salvador and Germany recognize as "Manchukuo," may still be brought south by armoured train and machine-gunned back upon the dusty Manchu throne of a Nipponese-manipulated North China. However, the widening sphere of operations forced upon the Japanese, instead of a quick, face-saving acquiescence from Nanking, has obliged Tokyo's high command to develop a fan-like offensive of growing proportions even to maintain a grip upon China's defunct capital. Japanese forces in the north already are far




***JAPANESE DESIGNS ON THE CHINA COAST:** An extensive naval blockade would cut off the rich customs revenues of China's seaports.*

beyond anticipated strength; they must be augmented further; and they are apparently destined to campaign on a major scale for the Yellow River Valley.

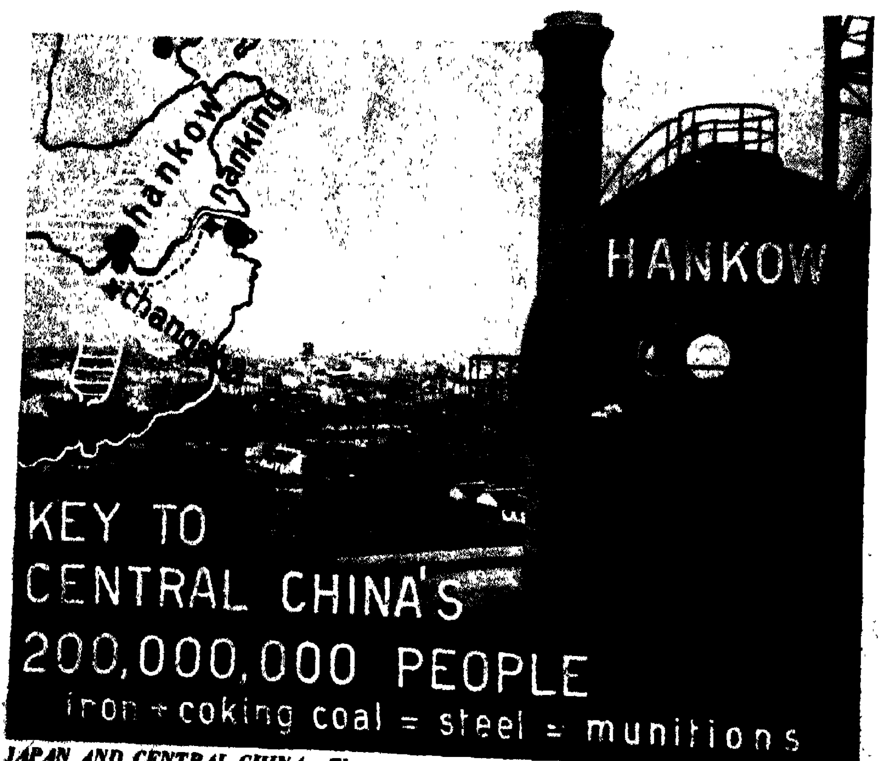
More serious to Japanese plans is the second battle for Shanghai. Repeating the blunders of 1932, when a local incident was permitted to grow into a full-size engagement with inadequate preparation and troops, the Japanese Navy again has proved its poor judgment in the same terms. Whereas the War Office envisaged the attack upon China in strictly predetermined confines, a general conflict has been generated, thanks to Chinese resistance and the Navy Ministry's Shanghai blunder. Given the present temper of the Chinese, the Japanese command cannot escape an extension of military operations on a grand scale in the Lower Yangtze Valley.

Assuming that Japan can—indeed, must, for her international prestige—reduce Shanghai, we therefore face the crucial moment of decision. If Chiang Kai-shek cannot be killed and he refuses to make terms with the Mikado's militarists, the real war will open. This is because Nationalist China, blockaded and driven from outlying territory in the north, can present Japan with a military poser. So long as Chiang Kai-shek's government continues resistance and commands popular support, there can be no peace for Japan.

Therefore even if the Japanese consolidate themselves at the mouth of the Yangtze Valley, which contains one-half

of China's millions and vast resources shown by the Chinese Reds to be capable of maintaining armies of from 100,000 to 300,000 rifle strength, the Nipponese will find war on a continental scale by early winter. Every sign points to just this move from the Nationalists. They are prepared to leave Shanghai a shambles, having permanently damaged the reputation of Japan's vaunted military machine, and withdraw up-river from the present capital. Thus Nanking will become meaningless, an empty political shell from which Chiang Kai-shek and his fellow Nationalist leaders have withdrawn. A seasoned military machine, I suspect, will cover their removal to Changsha, just south of Hankow, China's combined Pittsburgh and Chicago. Japanese forces, constantly stretching over-extended communications, will be obliged to follow where all the advantages of the terrain are with the Chinese defense.

To summarize this phase of the Sino-Japanese conflict, a local military push in North China has failed because the Nipponese militarists have been drawn into a major continental conflict. The extension of warfare to Shanghai has done two things: First, it marks the opening of a struggle for the Lower Yangtze Valley, completely outside Japan's original strategic objectives, which will widen rapidly unless a truce is patched up within weeks; second, the institution of a naval blockade and air raids on Canton, 906 miles southward, in an endeavor to cut China off from over-seas contacts, plunges Japan into international complications again outside the calculations for a North China settlement as a strictly local maneuvre.




***JAPAN AND CENTRAL CHINA:*** *The next stage of warfare may extend to industrial Hankow, key to the Chinese interior.*

# ASIA'S IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

***A distinguished correspondent analyzes the background of the present battles***

**By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN**

THE Sino-Japanese conflict that began with the exchange of shots at the Marco Polo Bridge, near Peiping, that led up to the forceful occupation of Peiping and Tientsin by Japanese troops, and that now threatens to assume still wider proportions, was both inevitable and irrepressible. The question of who fired first in the skirmishes at the Marco Polo Bridge and in the later clashes at Langfang between Peiping and Tientsin, and at the Kwanganmen Gate of Peiping is of minor importance.

For incidents of this type were certain to occur somewhere, sooner or later, so long as the Japanese and Chinese viewpoints and policies remain so fundamentally irreconcilable as they are at present. One of the paradoxical questions of physics is what will happen when an irresistible force meets an immovable object. East Asia has an equally formidable political problem. For a phase of outward expansionism in Japan coincides with a period of intensive nationalism in China; and the consequent sweep toward ultimate conflict is irresistible.

The present conflict will go on, perhaps with lulls and breathing spaces, until one of two things occurs, until Japan gives up its dream of an expanded continental empire or until China resigns itself to a position of subordination within the sphere of paramount Japanese political and economic influence.

The firing at the Marco Polo Bridge was very probably not an act of premeditated aggression on the part of either side. It came about not as an isolated, sporadic "incident," but rather as a link in a long chain of similar occurrences.

While there is no proof that Japan deliberately precipitated the firing at the Marco Polo Bridge there could be little doubt, after the announcement of the Japanese Government's intention to send heavy reinforcements to North China, that only a settlement corresponding with the demands of the Japanese Army officers on the spot could be made. The stubbornness which both Japan and China displayed after this affray is understandable if one briefly reviews the course of Japan's continental expansion since 1931. Every year has seen some new milestone on Japan's road to Asiatic empire.

1931 and 1932 were the years of conquest and pacification of Manchuria, a region where Japan possessed large economic interests, dating back to the Russo-Japanese War, but where the population, especially after the wave of migration which set in during the twenties, was overwhelmingly Chinese in character. 1933 witnessed the incorporation into the new Japanese protected state of Manchukuo of Jehol, with its rich coal mines and its strategic mountain passes leading into the North China plains. At the same time, under the provisions of the Tangku Truce, a demilitarized zone, where China was not permitted to maintain any troops, was created between Manchukuo and North China.

A feature of 1934 was the Amau State-

ment, in which the spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Office asserted for Japan a right of veto against any "political" loans which might be extended to China from other countries. The process of nibbling away at North China was resumed with vigor in 1935. Threats, accompanied by suggestive troop concentrations on the border of Manchukuo, were sufficient to bring about the evacuation of the troops of the Northeastern Army which had been stationed in North China. The so-called Ho-Umezu agreement, concluded after negotiations between the Chinese War Minister, Ho Ying-chin, and the Commander of the Japanese forces in North China, General Umezu, laid down the rule that Central Government troops should not move north of a certain line.

Since the agreement has never been published the precise location of this line is uncertain. Moreover, it is the Chinese contention that the compact lacks binding validity, since it was only initialed, but never signed. Ho Ying-chin abruptly left Peiping and went to Nanking, leaving the negotiations more or less suspended in mid-air. But the agreement, whatever its legal significance, has been frequently mentioned during the present conflict, as the Japanese maintain that China has broken it by sending troops as far north as Paoting-fu, about ninety miles southwest of Peiping.

With the removal of the Central Government troops Japanese pressure for the creation of some kind of autonomous status for North China was redoubled. Toward the end of 1935 the Hopei-Chahar Council, headed by General Sung Che-yuan, came into existence. Japan regarded this body as a semi-independent régime for the Peiping-Tientsin area; the Nanking Government, on the contrary, insisted that it was merely a local administrative body, subordinated to the central authority. Pressed in this way from two sides the Council dragged on a troubled existence until its régime was definitely overthrown, at least in its two main cities, as a result of the Japanese military offensive in July.

### *Miniature Manchukuos*

About the same time two miniature Manchukuos were set up with the active co-operation of the Japanese military authorities. One of these was in the demilitarized zone, where Yin Ju-keng, a Japanese protege, proclaimed himself the head of an "autonomous anti-Communist" régime. The other was in the northern part of the Mongolian province of Chahar, north of Peiping, where Mongolian forces, coming from Manchukuo, drove out the Chinese forces and created another enclave where Japanese military influence was predominant.

The process of penetration went further in 1936. In the spring of that year Japan took the very significant step of substantially increasing the garrison which, along with other powers, it is permitted to maintain in the Peiping-Tientsin region under the terms of the Boxer Protocol. The strength of the Japanese force was brought up to eight or ten thousand men, outnumbering all other foreign troops put together and increasing the pressure which could be brought to bear on the Hopei-Chahar Council. At the same time smuggling, on a scale so vast that it was ironically characterized as "free trade," began to develop in the North China ports. The smugglers were, for the most part, Koreans and Japanese, who were protected from serious punishment by their extra-territorial status. The customs preventive service was virtually paralyzed by restrictions on the carrying of arms by guards which were imposed by the Japanese military authorities.

From this brief review it may be realized that a pretty broad wedge had been driven into Chinese administrative sovereignty in the Peiping-Tientsin region even before the recent hostilities commenced. For a time, indeed, during the latter part of 1936 and

the first part of 1937, it seemed that the Japanese advance had been checked.

There were several murders of Japanese by Chinese mobs and individuals during August and September 1936. Japan talked of strong action, concentrated naval units near the scenes of some of the murders, endeavored to use the killings as a lever with which to extract concessions on other points from the Nanking Government. China, however, stood firm in refusing to go beyond the payment of an indemnity to the families of the victims of the assassinations. And an attempt to repeat in Suiyuan, the province which borders Chahar on the west, the *coup d'état* which had led to the establishment of a pro-Japanese Mongolian régime in Chahar miscarried. Japanese troops did not take part in this attempt; and the local Chinese troops were able to repulse the irregular Mongolian forces.

Chinese self-confidence was notably strengthened and developed, in some cases, into overconfidence. It was perhaps too easily assumed that Japan would not resort to force under any circumstances. During the spring of 1937 Japan, through a liberal and very Westernized Foreign Minister, Mr. Naotake Sato, adopted an unusually conciliatory tone toward China, dropped threats and demands and began to talk in terms of economic collaboration. At the same time negotiations were set on foot in London, through the Japanese Ambassador there, Mr. Yoshida, a moderate and experienced diplomat, with a view to promoting better Anglo-Japanese relations. Inasmuch as China had been a main stumbling-block in the way of these good relations it seemed that a new orientation of Japanese policy toward China was under way.

However, this brief conciliatory interlude led to no concrete results. China showed a disposition to evade all proposals for economic concessions in North China and to insist as a prior condition on the abolition of the East Hopei and North Chahar régimes. It was probably the conviction that moderate methods were interpreted by the Chinese as a sign of weakness, combined with the belief that their hold on North China was being undermined, that disposed the Japanese Government to adopt a vigorously assertive policy after the first skirmishes around the Marco Polo Bridge.

### *War Potentialities and Limits*

Just how far the Sino-Japanese conflict will go is still far from clear now, more than a month after the first shots were fired. Optimists cling to the idea that some kind of localized settlement can be made, perhaps after a little more "face-saving" bloodshed. Pessimists foresee a major test of national strength between Japan and China, with a full-dress war protracted over a period of years and seriously affecting other powers.

What makes dogmatic prediction uncommonly risky is that China to-day is the only large country where a war of limited liability may be waged. If any European power had seen two of its main cities forcibly occupied by foreign troops the reaction would have been swift and instantaneous: warfare with all the means at its disposal. In China, however, not only has there been no declaration of war; diplomatic relations have not even been severed.

One reason for this slow and gradual development of a conflict that seems, in the last analysis, unavoidable, is that both in Japan and China, while public statements generally breathe an uncompromising character, there are powerful, if inarticulate forces which hope, if not to avoid war altogether, at least to limit its scope as far as possible. There are important financial and diplomatic considerations which discourage Japan from embarking on a major war in China.

A few weeks of relatively minor military operations have cost Japan over half a

billion yen (about 150,000,000 dollars), which is not a small sum to a country which has never, up to the last fiscal year, been able to raise more than a billion and half yen from taxation. Ever since 1931 Japan's budgets have been heavily in the red; about a third of the state expenditures, on the average, have been covered from loans. As a representative of one of Japan's largest corporations recently said to me: "Japan to-day is not what it was at the time of the Manchurian Incident. Its credit has been mortgaged, and mortgaged heavily."

Should the war assume such proportions that general mobilization and the widespread use of the Navy would become necessary, much larger sums than the half billion yen which have been voted for initial expenses would be needed. Japan enjoys little prospect of foreign credits. It has floated no foreign loans in recent years, when its budget has been thrown out of balance by large military appropriations and its credit rating would certainly not be improved by participation in a large war.

Japan's international trade balance, like its budget, is not in a healthy state. The unfavorable balance of trade up to August was in excess of 700,000,000 yen. China is normally one of Japan's six best markets; even the threat of war has been sufficient to bring about a virtual suspension of trade with China. Japanese merchants and traders have been generally evacuated from the interior of China.

Large-scale war will also bring its diplomatic dangers. One of Japan's chief military and economic advantages over China is its command of the sea. China could be sealed up, except for slow and doubtful overland caravan contacts with the Soviet Union, as a result of a Japanese blockade of its coast. Yet such a blockade, in a sense, would be a two-edged weapon, increasing the likelihood of disputes with Great Britain, the United States and other foreign countries. The complications of applying a blockade are greater because, of two of the chief ports for the China trade, Hong Kong is a British possession and Shanghai is an autonomous international foreign settlement.

***Restraints on China***

Restraining influences on the Chinese side are at least equally potent. By far the most important of these is China's manifest inferiority to Japan in every element of modern warfare except sheer manpower. Once the full striking power of the Japanese Army and Navy is unloosed, China will certainly sustain heavy casualties and immense material damage; and, as the war will be fought on Chinese territory, almost all its direct sufferings will fall on the Chinese people.

Moreover, despite the growth of national spirit which has impressed every foreign visitor to China during recent years, that country will be hampered in any sustained war effort by the existence of strong regional particularism. There will be disputes as to which armies are to be sacrificed. There may be local warlords who will try to make their separate peace with the Japanese, although the unmistakable bitterness and strength of anti-Japanese feeling may serve as a check on such defections until and unless the course of hostilities becomes very unfavorable.

China is also immensely handicapped by its scanty railway mileage and lack of rolling-stock, by the backward character of its industry, much of which, incidentally, is concentrated in coastal towns like Shanghai and Tientsin, which are exposed to Japanese occupation, by its susceptibility to blockade. And of course large-scale war will mean the suspension, if not the permanent abandonment, of a national program of economic reconstruction which had been vigorously pressed forward in recent years.

and which, in the course of the next decade, would perhaps have placed China on more even terms with Japan.

These restraining factors must be taken into account in considering the slowness with which both sides have been placing themselves on a full war footing. Had Japan mobilized swiftly and completely it could have undertaken more ambitious operations than the occupation of the Peiping-Tientsin area. And, more than a month after the first skirmish of the present conflict, there has been no aggressive military activity on the part of the Nanking Central Government troops. The whole brunt of the initial fighting fell on the 29th Army, a local force. Chiang Kai-shek did not send to its aid a single regiment, a single gun, a single airplane.

This fact is capable of the cynical interpretation that the Nanking Government proposes to leave the fighting to local troops, keeping its own armies out of the battle. But it is also defensible on strategic grounds. A rash, ill-prepared Chinese offensive would probably be welcome to the Japanese military leaders. The Abyssinians made out fairly well in their war with Italy when they adhered to guerrilla tactics. They doomed themselves to defeat when they began to rush the Italian machine-gun nests in close formation. It is quite possible that China's best chance of wearing Japan down in a long-range war is to avoid large battles, to fight retarding actions, and draw the Japanese ever deeper into the country, meanwhile developing guerrilla activity in the rear of the invaders. It remains to be seen whether the Chinese will display the discipline and tenacity which would be necessary to realize such a plan of campaign without either crumbling up under the depressing effect of loss of territory or letting themselves be tempted into rash and useless offensives.

At the moment of writing (August 11), despite the existence of restraining factors on both sides which might even now produce some kind of eleventh-hour compromise, the omens seem to point to an extension of hostilities. The prestige of both countries is deeply involved.

### *Statesmen on the Spot*

War spirit on both sides has been cultivated to a pitch where it would be not only difficult but dangerous for the leaders on either side to show the yielding spirit which would be necessary for some compromise settlement. There is a long list of Japanese statesmen who have been murdered or attacked by nationalist extremists on the suspicion of being "weakkneed" in foreign policy. And Chinese politicians suspected of Japanese sympathies have been poor life-insurance risks in recent years. A situation seems to have arisen where it is more risky for the leaders of both nations to go back from the positions which they have taken than to go forward to warfare with all its unknown possibilities.

The occupation of China's historic capital, Peiping, and of its main northern port and industrial centre, Tientsin, has created a condition where further bloodshed, if only for face-saving purposes, seems unavoidable. Chiang Kai-shek, in one of his first public statements after the fight at the Marco Polo Bridge, emphasized the danger that Peiping would become a second Mukden and that North China would go the way of Manchuria. More than that, there could be no assurance that the Japanese advance would stop at North China. "If Peiping could become a second Mukden," the Chinese Generalissimo continued, "what is there to prevent Nanking from becoming a second Peiping?" The idea that Japan is bent, in one way or another, on swallowing all China sooner or later and that no advantage can be expected from yielding is a very strong consideration in the minds of almost all Chinese statesmen

with whom I have talked and obviously weights the scales heavily in favor of war.

Japan also has now gone too far to recede. Instead of withdrawing from Peiping and Tientsin, the Japanese troops, who are constantly being reinforced, are much more likely to push on, southward at least as far as the Yellow River, northward into Inner Mongolia, westward to the coal fields of Shansi. The Japanese Army, which wields a stronger influence on the shaping of policy as military operations become more extensive, regards North China as an indispensable cover for its left flank in the event of war with the Soviet Union. By getting a firm grip on Inner Mongolia, which flanks Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia along a frontier of thousands of miles, by obtaining control of the North China network of railways the Japanese military leaders believe that their strategic position *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union will be greatly bettered. Moreover, if they can drive a wedge of Japanese-dominated territory between China and Russia they can, as they hope, prevent the infiltration of Communist propagandists and Soviet munitions into China and place the latter country in a position where it can scarcely escape complete dependence on Japan.

The Japanese leaders have consistently repudiated any intention of annexing Chinese territory. But the example of Manchukuo is a vivid illustration that political control can be achieved without formal annexation. One may anticipate the emergence of one or several new Manchukuos in North China. Economic considerations also bulk large in Japan's aspirations. Parts of North China are very well adapted to the growing of cotton; and Japan would welcome the opportunity to reduce its dependence on America and British India for this commodity. Shansi has coal and Chahar iron. Both minerals have thus far been inadequately worked by primitive methods. But Japan, lacking the mineral base for a heavy industry in its own islands and disappointed in the quality of the Manchukuo iron deposits, hopes to find compensation in an intensive development of North China. Japanese nationalist economists also maintain, pointing to the example of Manchukuo, that North China will prove such a valuable market that the loss of trade with the rest of China may be discounted. To be sure, trade with Manchukuo has largely been financed by Japan itself through loans and investments; but nationalist economists are not much influenced by old-fashioned views of sound finance.

If North China is the immediate prize which is being fought for and if the ultimate irrepressible issue is whether China shall become an independent state or pass entirely into the orbit of Japanese influence, the current situation which seems most likely to generate strife is the military position of the contending forces in North China. The Japanese are in a central position after occupying Peiping, Tientsin and a strip of territory on both sides of the railway connecting these cities. At varying distances from the Japanese Army, the strength of which at the present time is apparently between fifty and one hundred thousand men, are three concentrations of Chinese troops, on the Peiping-Suiyuan, Peiping-Hankow, and Tientsin-Pukow railways. Even in the Orient, with its amazing capacity for procrastination, it scarcely seems possible for hostile armies to maneuver in such close proximity without ultimately coming to blows. Very probably before these lines can appear in print the Japanese will have launched one or more major offensives, designed to clear China north of the Yellow River of Central Government troops. Their military ability to do this is scarcely open to doubt. And the mere possession of Peiping and Tientsin, without an extensive hinterland, would be of little value, strategically or economically.

# NEW YORK ELECTS A MAYOR

*Mr. LaGuardia is the key figure in a local campaign which has a national significance*

By LEON SILER

A NATIONAL importance has been attached to the New York City mayoralty election next month—not because New York City is the largest government mechanism outside Washington, D. C., nor because its budget is second only to the Federal Government and is larger than a handful of states combined, nor because its chief official receives the highest government salary outside the President—but because out of it may emerge the leader of a national party.

Fiorello Henry LaGuardia ran off from Congress in 1917 to join the army but was rejected at first because of his height—or lack of it. Today, New York's five-foot-two Italian mayor has become a political giant. Regardless of the outcome of his fight to succeed himself on election day—and political observers will tell you that all the signs are in his favor—he is being prominently mentioned as the standard bearer of a number of parties. William Allen White confides all the way from his editorial office in Kansas that he would like to see Mr. LaGuardia as the "modern Lincoln" of the Republican Party. Others have selected him as one of the Crown Princes of the New Deal Royal Family.

But there is no certainty that LaGuardia will consent to march in or at the head of the political parades of either Republicans or New Dealers. There is reason to prophesy that if he does any marching at all, it will be as the number one man of the American Labor Party, an organization which has thrown itself into the fight for his reelection and which has promised to deliver the labor vote of the nation's largest labor city.

There are other national implications. In addition to the backing of the American Labor Party, LaGuardia has the support of a great number of Republicans, independent Democrats, and fusionists, and the official blessings of the Communist Party. Yet a victory for LaGuardia will be interpreted as victory for the New Deal. For the underlying philosophy governing municipal government in New York City the last four years has been progressive with a distinct New Deal tinge.

The New Deal figured largely as an election issue in the pre-primary days of the campaign. Senator Royal S. Copeland, seeking both Democratic and Republican designation and flying under the colors of Tammany Hall, conducted his campaign for nomination as if it were a continuation of the Presidential fight of 1936. New Deal legislation and philosophy were all brought into the issue. Tammany dissenters and New Deal Democrats came into the open with a candidate of their own to vie with Copeland for the Democratic nomination. He was Jeremiah T. Mahoney, former Justice of the New York State Supreme Court, who, as head of the Amateur Athletic Union, led the fight against participation in the German Olympics.

The selection of Justice Mahoney, believed to have been inspired or approved by the White House, is hardly a repudiation of the LaGuardia administration. Above everything else, it was conceived in the hope of giving James A. Farley the

juiciest political patronage plum outside the Federal Government itself. Opposition to the anti-New Deal Copeland was only a minor consideration, as was the apparent paradox of pitting a candidate against a man who had already shown strong sympathy for the New Deal, and whose re-election would be interpreted as an endorsement by the voters of that very same New Deal. This even though his opponent might have official New Deal backing.

It is all very confusing to the voters. They will have been confused beyond advance prediction if the Democratic and Republican primaries of September have come and gone and all three candidates—LaGuardia, Copeland, Mahoney—still are out pleading for votes.

The possibilities of confusion were manifold in late August. Mahoney and Copeland were rivals in the Democratic primary; Copeland and LaGuardia were entered in the Republican primary; it was certain that regardless of the Republican primary outcome, LaGuardia would be on the general election ballot as the candidate of various minority groups under a Fusion banner. The reader is at liberty to concoct his own political jigsaw puzzle out of these ingredients.

### *A Clean Administration*

Going concern value was high on the LaGuardia side. Its elements were diverse, and about few of them did the mayor's opponents offer any argument.

Against neither LaGuardia nor any of his department heads had complaints involving personal integrity been raised in a four-year regime. Pages are reserved regularly in the records of New York City administrations for major and minor scandals, but in the case of the LaGuardia era the pages have remained virtually blank.

A new charter, modernizing the city government's structure and procedures in many respects, had been drafted by a LaGuardia-appointed commission, adopted by the city's voters with an effective date of next January 1, and upheld by the courts in the face of bitter Democratic attack.

To those who gave the charter a resounding majority when its adoption was voted the LaGuardia supporters could say: "Keep the new charter's friends in office as it goes into effect; don't turn it over to its enemies."

Most of the city department heads responsible to the mayor had functioned with unquestioned efficiency. Complaints of police graft, whether whispered or shouted, had ceased. Quality of the city's health and hospital services, vital needs in such a teeming population center, had been visibly improved. Methods and facilities for distribution of the 25,000 tons of food entering the city daily had been improved, and food racketeers suppressed.

Tenement house evils had been attacked, and new low-rent housing projects launched. The Corporation Counsel had rooted out evils in condemnation procedure which cost the city uncounted millions under less scrupulous control. The merit system of appointment and promotion of subordinate city employees had progressed.

Public improvements had multiplied at an unprecedented rate—in a city where the clamor for more and more municipal equipment for the comfort, protection, and convenience of citizens will never be fully satisfied this side the millennium. Construction programs, federally aided or otherwise, had provided new park and playground facilities, rapid transit extensions, bridges, boulevards, schools, hospitals, health stations, beaches, docks, markets on a scale never achieved before.

Thomas E. Dewey, the phenomenally successful rackets prosecutor, had allied himself with LaGuardia on a Fusion nomination for district attorney of New York county, which is the borough of Manhattan. If the mayor's drive for "honest, efficient,

non-political" city government needed a fresh punch to give it fresh vote-gathering quality, underwriting of the Fusion cause by Dewey potentially provided it. When Dewey, in accepting his nomination, indorsed LaGuardia and struck at "an alliance of long standing between crime and certain elements of Tammany Hall," it appeared certain the young prosecutor would be an ace of the campaign.

Their own virtues as honest administrators of the people's business failed dismally to win re-election for Fusion Mayor Seth Low in the first decade of the century, and for Fusion Mayor John Purroy Mitchel in the second. It boded no ill to the LaGuardia chances of succeeding where Low and Mitchel failed when Dewey lined up beside him with the promise of "specific disclosures" of more Tammany wrongdoing.

A fortune that had served LaGuardia unhappily during his first term, by robbing him of two of his highest Fusion associates, perhaps was making amends in the Dewey alliance. The mayor's losses were his comptroller, the city's chief finance officer, and his president of the Board of Aldermen. Both of them died in office. As a result, control of the Board of Estimate, which is a sort of board of directors for New York City, was lost by Fusion to the mayor's Democratic foes. The Board of Aldermen, which shares its legislative powers with the Board of Estimate, already was 95 per cent Democratic. The mayor, therefore, was left in the position of a president who faces opposition majorities in both branches of Congress.



*WHITHER LA GUARDIA? New York's dynamic mayor is fighting for reelection. But win or lose, it seems likely that the future will see him play a prominent part in national politics.*

### *LaGuardia and Economy*

LaGuardia could lay no claim to an economy record, in the sense of an economy which reduces total expenditures. If the Fusionists were correct in the contention that the city as never before was getting a dollar's worth for every dollar it paid out, critics of Fusion were correct in charging that pledges to pay out fewer dollars had not been kept.

Budget slashing to save the city from bankruptcy had been forced in the last year of Democratic rule. The LaGuardia years saw budget totals start climbing again. The climb may be to a record-breaking figure when the mayor submits to the Board of Estimate and Board of Aldermen his expenditure proposals for 1938.

Economy doctrines for the government of such a city as New York, with its 7,000,000 souls, are essentially tricky, LaGuardia



Knott in *The Dallas News*

***"BRING ON THE TIGER!"***

has learned. The pressure for more and more public services is relentless; there is no successful formula for political resistance to it. Fusion emphasis was on the economy which gets the most out of the city's spending, this year. Democrats could not criticize effectively; their majorities in the two governing boards had been free-handed.

Youth was on Fusion's side. LaGuardia turned fifty-five this year; Thomas E. Dewey is thirty-five. Mahoney is sixty-two, Copeland sixty-eight.

A dying hand placed Copeland in the race. It was the hand of the late James J. Dooling, Tammany Hall leader, who had barely managed to fight off the designs of rival Tammany powers and save his job during a year of severe illness.

Dooling first sought Senator Robert F. Wagner as his candidate. Of the New Deal, Wagner and LaGuardia are similarly staunch friends. Dooling made no disclosure of the sort of reasoning which sent him to Copeland, the New Deal arch-critic, when Wagner smilingly declined. Copeland also declined at first, then accepted; Democratic leaders in the four boroughs other than Manhattan severed diplomatic relations with Tammany, and unveiled their own candidate—Mahoney; Dooling suddenly died.

Copeland and Mahoney went into a primary fight for the Democratic nomination with Copeland forecasting that LaGuardia would win the general election "in a walk" if he had only Mahoney as an opponent.

LaGuardia professed to be but little concerned over the Republican primary result. The American Labor Party nomination remained for the mayor; the Non-Partisan Citizens' Committee which gave birth to the Fusion campaign of four years ago reconstituted itself and set to work to align independent votes. The mayor felt that he needed no other organization indorsements than these. It was certain that election day in November would find many "regular" Democrats and Republicans joining his independent strength—enough, the mayor thought, to shatter the tradition that a Fusion executive could not be re-elected.

### *Voice from the Dead*

Former Mayor James J. Walker, the Jimmy Walker of sartorial and wise-cracking fame, splashed into the campaign in its early days. Five years ago Walker resigned the mayoralty, toward the end of a State investigation of his regime which many New Yorkers expected to result in his removal from office by Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor. Walker went to England for a lengthy residence, and returned to New York at about the time Democratic plans to turn out the Fusionists began to take form.

A city pension of $11,000 a year or more awaited Walker if he could obtain another city job before five years of separation from the municipal payroll had expired. The job was provided for him three weeks

before that critical time. It came from the Transit Commission, a sort of half-State, half-municipal agency having to do with subway control. Walker, the commission said, was to serve as an expert on grade crossing eliminations.

Purists lost no time in taxing both Tammany Hall and the Mahoney Democratic group with responsibility for the appointment, and forecast that out of public reaction to the transparency of the favor to Walker would come a telling new Fusion gain of Democratic ballots.

The opposition to LaGuardia withheld specific criticisms of the mayor's record until the primaries were over with, for the most part. That the mayor had failed to curb the strike tactics of labor groups, notably groups with a tinge of leftism, was about the only complaint which recurred with any emphasis in the early anti-LaGuardia sparring. From Republican organization leaders committed to Copeland came the candid grievance that LaGuardia's past listing of himself as a Republican was bogus, because he had appointed few organization favorites to office, and had subscribed to Rooseveltian ideas.

It was a far less effervescent LaGuardia who sought a second term as mayor than the one who served New York's Harlem in Congress for many years. The flamboyance, the furious strictures and dramatics of his Washington crusading gave way to businesslike industriousness and to calm logic when he entered the mayor's office and put into operation his formula for non-political city control. His anti-Hitler outburst of a few months ago, when he suggested that a wax figure of Hitler be placed in a "chamber of horrors" exhibit at the 1939 New York World's Fair, was one of his few departures, as mayor, from moderation of demeanor and speech.

Whether his custodianship of the mayoralty has in fact been non-political, whether the city is better off as a result, whether the opposition to the "little man" is just venality and corruption knocking once more at the City Hall's venerable doors, are questions on which the New York City voters soon will have their say.

# BRITAIN BLUNDERS IN SPAIN

## *Unreasoning fear of the Spanish "reds" explains the enigma of British policy*

### By H. N. BRAILSFORD

ENGLAND'S policy in Spain is an enigma, not merely to her Continental neighbors, but to many Englishmen as well. A frank exploration of this mystery should start with the assumption that Downing Street was entirely sincere when it proclaimed its neutrality in the Civil War, and set up a system of impartial control. But its measures have visibly failed. What we have witnessed since January has been no longer a Civil War, but an open Italian conquest of the Peninsula with some German assistance. If one assumes honesty, one must also presuppose intelligence. The British Government must perceive the trend of events. Is it, then, content that the two fascist powers should become the masters of Spain, with its rich mineral resources and its keys to the strategy of the Middle Sea? How shall we explain this tolerant passivity?

Spain, after all, is a detail in the policies of a power that must operate on a world-wide stage. Our enquiry must start by asking how the British Government under its new Premier envisages the general problem. Mr. Neville Chamberlain inherits the ardent Imperialism of his more dynamic father. He was never, like Mr. Anthony Eden, an enthusiast for the League of Nations. In a notable speech, delivered while Mr. Baldwin was still at the helm after the League's collapse in the Ethiopian affair, he argued for a policy of limited commitments. The Empire, he said in effect, could not go crusading for Ethiopia or any other remote cause; it armed for its own defence and the safety of its sea-roads; apart from that, it acknowledged only the obligation to come to the aid of its immediate neighbors on the other side of the Channel. This was, of course, a recognition of the fact that the League's Covenant is now a lapsed document; it carried also the implication that England is rearming on general principles, for power and for safety, rather than from any specific antagonism towards Germany or Italy. The former would be the enemy only if she attacked France or Belgium, the latter only if she menaced the sea-road to the East. Since he became Premier, Mr. Chamberlain has twice intervened to give a new direction to British policy. His first speech in the Commons was business-like and brief; apart from the usual commonplaces, it contained only one substantial point, but that was an overture for Anglo-German friendship. This he repeated a few days later in a speech at Birmingham, and the sequel was an invitation to Herr von Neurath, Hitler's overshadowed Foreign Minister, to visit London. Nothing came of that proposal. A few weeks later came the news that Mr. Chamberlain had sent a personal letter to Mussolini, suggesting a complete reconciliation. Soon afterwards the British Fleet paid an unusual visit of courtesy to Venice, while Italian warships were enforcing on Franco's behalf a piratical blockade over the whole extent of the Mediterranean.

Neither overture seemed to prosper. Three German journalists were expelled from London, and the *Times* correspondent was evicted from Berlin. A British destroyer and an Italian submarine exchanged

depth-charges and torpedoes off the Spanish coasts. Amid these pin-pricks, however, the two parallel efforts towards happier relations were never interrupted. Mr. Chamberlain had evidently modified the earlier policy of the Foreign Office. It had been trying rather clumsily to break the "Rome-Berlin axis," by attempts first to lure Berlin away fom Rome, and then (by the "Gentlemen's Agreement") to detach Rome from Berlin. Now simultaneously an approach was made to both poweıs. The "axis" was accepted as one of the bases of the European structure. Some of the commentators who usually write under official inspiration began to look forward to the revival of the old idea of a four-power coalition. England and France, Germany and Italy would unite in an elaborate pact to ensure peace in Western Europe. As for the East—well, the East must look after itself. Hostile critics gave to this conception a more sinister interpretation: it implied, they suspected, a free hand for German expansion in Central Europe or at Russia's expense. The answer came plausibly enough. Mr. Chamberlain aimed at peace and nothing less or more, and he started in the right place, at his own door-step. He made overtures to the two fascist powers, not because they are fascists, but because they are potential enemies. If one aims at peace, it is one's enemies that one must reconcile.

### *Peace the Main Consideration*

This background may give the clue to British policy in Spain. The over-riding consideration is European—nay, world—peace. Spain is a mere detail when viewed in the light of the bigger problem—how to avoid a fatal clash between the "have-not" Powers and the "haves." Certainly British policy has been patient—perhaps to a culpable degree. It has preferred, one must suppose, to tolerate almost anything in Spain, rather than abandon its efforts to achieve solidly friendly relations with Italy and Germany. Another consideration influenced it. Mr. Eden began one of his numerous defences of his Spanish policy in the Commons with a rather naïve reminder that British military preparations are backward. The pace in the past year has been hot, but when the Spanish conflict broke out, the rulers of the Empire had a paralyzing consciousness of its relative weakness in the air and at sea. No sober expert doubted that during the Ethiopian affair or at the outset of the Spanish struggle, the British Navy could at need have defeated Mussolini. But for his sea-planes and submarines every expert felt a wholesome respect. If it were to come to a trial of strength, the British Fleet would emerge victorious indeed, but with notable gaps in its roll-call. Thereafter, since it takes time to build a battleship, the margin of the Navy's superiority over Germany and Japan might sink dangerously low for a year or two. Thus a state of mind that some would call proper caution and others craven timidity, reinforced the Government's disinterested concern for peace.

### *Mr. Chamberlain's Three Crises*

With Mr. Chamberlain on the bridge British policy has had to steer through three crises of the Spanish struggle. The first centred in Franco's campaign against Bilbao. The Basque capital, which possessed precisely one anti-aircraft gun for its defense, was conquered from the air. But Franco's navy, officered and manned in part by Germans and Italians, played no small part in its reduction. This blockade, never official and never wholly effective, served to check the despatch of arms from Valencia for the isolated defenders. Throughout the siege the city lived on half-rations, and tens of thousands of noncombatants daily haunted the quays in search of some ship that would carry them to plenty and safety. The British Govern-

ment, when Franco's forces drove over the first obstacles, took a step that amounted morally to a recognition of the blockade. It warned British shipping not to attempt to make Bilbao or any other Biscayan port. At the same moment the Home Office was holding up its sanction for the reception of some thousands of Basque refugee children in England. Public opinion reacted violently. It had been stirred by the barbarous destruction of the undefended city of Guernica by German bombers. It was, moreover, justly indignant over the one-sided working of the system of non-intervention. An elaborate international mechanism of inspection prevented the despatch of anti-aircraft guns to Bilbao. But German planes flew daily without hindrance by way of Genoa, Majorca, and Seville, to take part in the destruction of Basque cities. A daily duel went on at question-time in the Commons, and some awkward facts emerged. The "blockade," it seemed, was wholly ineffective. Several ships had dared it without mishap. There was no real danger from mines. The coast-batteries of the Basques could and did keep Franco's ships outside the three-mile limit. The only danger therefore was on the high seas. Did a British Government really refuse to protect British ships on the high seas carrying legitimate cargoes, notably food, to a friendly people? The Government retreated ungraciously step by step. It did at last instruct the Navy to protect British ships on the high seas, and withdrew its opposition to the reception of the refugee children in England. But to the end it contrived by words and acts to convey the impression that it consented only half-heartedly and against its judgment to the rendering of any services whatever to the Republican side, whether by the despatch of food or the transport of refugees.

The second crisis followed the attack by Republican bombing planes in circumstances that are still disputable upon the German cruiser *Deutschland*. The two Fascist Powers withdrew from the system of naval patrols. Italy's intention was, as the sequel revealed, to carry out a ruthless blockade of the Republican coasts with submarines, sea-planes and destroyers. The British Government has re-inforced its Fleet in the Mediterranean which has orders to protect British shipping: and will doubtless join in some general concerted action against the pirates. But if this had happened in the Nineteenth Century, by some means both swift and drastic Franco and Il Duce would have been made aware of Britain's displeasure.

### *Non-Intervention Collapse*

Finally, after interminable debates in London, the whole scheme of non-intervention has broken down. Mr. Eden made a last attempt to save it, by suggesting a balanced compromise. Both sides should agree to the withdrawal of foreign volunteers and troops; when "substantial progress" had been made in this evacuation, the Western Powers would agree to recognize Franco's rights as a belligerent. Assuming that Franco has about 10,000 German technical troops, and perhaps 70,000 Italians of all arms, while the Republic has about 10,000 volunteers of all nations in the International Brigade and perhaps 300 Russian technicians, the latter stood to gain by evacuation. But what did "substantial progress" mean? On the other hand, the grant of belligerent right would mean the legalization of his blockade. That might well mean the early end of the Republic, for it depends entirely on imported oil and mainly on imported wheat. This dubious scheme never had a chance, and even before the discussion was formally ended, Italy threw off the last pretence of neutrality by publishing the Duce's orders and congratulations to the Italian troops that took Santander under 13 generals of the regular army. British policy took its diplomatic

defeat and this cynical Italian defiance with smiling courtesy. So far from modifying its policy, it did its utmost to cool the indignation of the French, who but for its diplomatic pressure would probably have opened the Franco-Spanish frontier to the passage of arms and even of volunteers. In effect British neutrality has worked one-sidedly. The Republic, though it is the recognized Government of Spain, is effectively isolated and cut off from foreign supplies of all kinds. The rebels, without recognition, draw all they require from Germany and Italy.

### *Britain Fears the "Reds"*

This survey has only sufficed to deepen our bewilderment. Is love of peace, even if it be re-inforced by caution, a sufficient explanation? We began by assuming the honesty of these professions of neutrality. But for a mainly Tory Administration to be in its own inner mind impartial is barely possible. A Conservative authority with intimate knowledge has described Mr. Eden as "the only neutral in the Cabinet." Society and the official world feel an inevitable solidarity with the class that Franco leads. They may not positively admire his dictatorial regime, but if they must choose, they prefer it to that of the "reds." As to the character of the Republic, which is a liberal democracy with moderate socialist leanings, they are ill-informed. They do not realize the change that has come over Communist strategy, or grasp the fact that this party is now in Spain the most implacable opponent of social revolution and every extremist tendency. Nor were they influenced by the fall of Premier Caballero, which meant the decisive defeat of the extremer Left. It may count for something that the English propertied class has investments to the extent of about $200,000,000 in Spanish enterprises, notably in the iron ore field of the Basque country and in the copper mines of the Rio Tinto. The Spanish People's Front is not as "red" as Tory England supposes, but is based on the labor unions, and its purpose is assuredly to raise the wages, the standard of life, and the political influence of the working masses.

Such considerations are enough to account for a bias in the professed neutrality of this British Government. But can it be indifferent to the consequences, if Spain should become in effect a protectorate of the two Fascist Powers? Germany, as Hitler has blurted out, is fighting for iron ore. The strategical outlook is even graver. All of us know something, though less than we would wish to know, about the German guns that are said to dominate the Straits of Gibraltar. No one doubts that Majorca is now an Italian aerial base. With Portugal under her wing, will not German sea-power threaten the Atlantic routes, if Franco can establish himself with German aid as the dictator of Spain? For in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies on the African coast bases for submarines and sea-planes could readily be located. Not one only but both the alternative sea-roads to India may thus be endangered. France faces the cutting of her communications with her African colonies, and this democracy may find itself encircled on three frontiers by Fascist Powers.

### *The Government and the Future*

British policy is commonly realistic. Can a mere "ideological" distaste for "reds" (who are in fact only pinks) balance these formidable strategical considerations? The fact is that the Foreign Office disbelieves in the possibility of a complete victory for Franco. It may silently cherish some such vague projects of mediation and compromise as Mr. Churchill has ventilated. Secondly, it trusts in Spanish pride: Franco will shake himself free from his German and Italian backers. Spain, moreover, will be a smoking ruin; it will have to be rebuilt. But where could Franco borrow capi-

tal for such a purpose? Neither Rome nor Berlin have gold or credit to spare. So there emerges a consoling picture of the future. British policy would buy back the influence it has now lost in Spain. It would use it to moderate Franco's ultra-reactionary extremism. But, above all, it would use it to detach Spain from military dependence on Rome and Berlin, unless indeed these capitals had meanwhile become the reconciled friends of London. Finally, in two or three years the whole military outlook will be changed by British rearmament.

That, so far as this observer can discover, is the official vision of the future. To him it seems a mere rationalization of complacency and indecision. There can be no compromise in this civil war, and if Franco wins, he will decimate not the left only, but the liberal center. One doubts whether, against the hatred of the masses, he could maintain himself without foreign aid. It may be true that Rome and Berlin lack gold and credit for the re-building of Spain, but are they necessary? Machines and the services of good executives and engineers are all she will need. These Germany commands, and will gladly supply in exchange for copper and iron ore. Finally, without under-estimating the immense British effort of rearmament, is there any reason to suppose that Germany or Italy will abandon the competition?

It is not dubious reasoning that explains this ineffective policy of one-sided neutrality. Class sympathy and strategical realism pulled this government in opposite directions. In such a situation neither man nor minister can act effectively.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*(The answers to these questions will be found on page 68)*

1. How far back does Chinese history extend?
2. What is the Capital of China?
3. What was the old Capital of China?
4. Name two other large cities whose names have been changed in recent years.
5. How large is Shanghai?
6. What is the International Settlement?
7. How old is the Japanese dynasty?
8. What is the Japanese Diet?
9. What is meant by the Japanese "Elder Statesmen."
10. Why is Russia, with no coastline thereon, considered a Mediterranean power?
11. What countries have possessions in Africa?
12. What is the Union of South Africa?
13. What are the "ABC" countries of South America?
14. What was the Chaco dispute?
15. What was the origin of the Monroe Doctrine?
16. What are often considered the three great newspapers of the world?
17. If the United States is 161 years old, and the present Congress is the 75th, how do you reconcile this discrepancy?
18. Is Gibraltar a part of Spain?

# MADRID'S VICTORY COMPLEX

***The Madrilenos remain confident and calm as the new cabinet brings greater unity***

**By RICHARD WATTS, JR.**

THE greatest quality of the human race is its gift for adjustment. There is no condition too terrible for it to face; no hardship too great; no danger too terrifying. The spirit of man, which often seems so frail and so pitiable, so ignorant and so cruel, can somehow steel itself to the most dire crisis and prove so unexpectedly gallant as to put the cynics, who have it their own way so much of the time, to utter shame. It should not surprise a visitor to war-wracked Madrid, therefore, to find how quietly and calmly the Madrilenos go about their business, taking their ease at their cafés, permitting their children to play unconcernedly in the streets, and visiting the forty or so theaters that enliven the afternoon life of the Spanish metropolis.

Nevertheless, there is something so stirring and memorable in the sight that it never ceases to be fascinating, even after a considerable stay in Madrid. Here is a city that has been closely and mercilessly besieged for almost a year, that is even at the moment surrounded on three sides by the enemy and has but one road open to the hinterland and the sea, that has undergone almost daily shelling and innumerable air raids, and yet remains strangely undisturbed by it all. You might think that the daily accompaniment of shot and shell would supply excitement enough for the populace, and yet somehow the theaters are crowded every afternoon and the cafés are usually filled with laughing and chattering people. An air battle over the city merely causes interested attention, and while a shelling drives the Madrilenos to shelter it is not more than half an hour after the bombardment has ceased that they are calmly walking through the streets again.

At night, however, Madrid becomes a city of the dead. All of the cities in government Spain are darkened in the evening for fear of air raiders, but while the rest of them leave a few street lights burning Madrid does the thing completely and turns them all out.

Just because the Madrilenos go about their affairs quietly and with apparent unconcern, there is no reason for believing that they take the war lightly. On the contrary, there is a certain grimness of purpose about them that is unmistakable and you soon feel in them a quiet certainty of victory over the fascist attack. You are more likely to find a waverer or a doubter of ultimate success in Valencia or Barcelona than you are in Madrid, which is in the thick of things. In fact, so high is the morale in the beleaguered city and so all-pervasive is the feeling of confidence among soldiers and civilians alike that when you return to Paris and London and New York and hear the opinion widely expressed that the fascists are winning the war you are likely to be overcome with astonishment.

Elsewhere in loyalist Spain you may occasionally find a doubter, and it is curious to note that you encounter more of them the farther you get from Madrid. Even the pessimists, however, do not believe, so far as I could discover, that the loyalists can be conquered by force of arms. It is the blockade that they fear and a complete desertion by France and England, which would permit the fascist dictators to send unlimited troops into Spain while the loyal-

ists suffered and died for lack of arms and ammunition.

Unquestionably loyalist Spain is still dependent on materials from the outside. More and more munitions are being manufactured within the country, with small factories throughout the land adding their mite to the military resources of the Government. So far, however, they cannot supply all that is needed if all the available men are to be properly armed and if the offensive that is to bring victory is to be properly equipped. Gasoline and various raw materials are required, and there is a particular lack of heavy artillery, which cannot be supplied in the country itself. If Franco couldn't get arms freely from the outside, the Government would not be bothered by the blockade for a moment, but it quite naturally regards it as a cruelly unfair handicap when the legal government of a country cannot get supplies from the outside, while the rebels against that government can be freely provided with everything they need.

### *Greater Loyalist Unity*

One thing that the Civil War demonstrates is that the Spaniards will continue to play politics, no matter what happens. No matter how much it may go in for collectivization in its economic affairs, the citizenry remains individualistic and must have its political parties, even though war rages all about its hapless head. Yet despite the disagreements of U.G.T. and C.N.T., of the Left Socialists and the Right Socialists and the Communists and the Left Republicans and the Catalan separatists, it does appear that a greater and greater amount of unity is being achieved. The Anarchists and what is left of the P.O.U.M. may still believe that it is more important to complete the social revolution than it is to win the war, the Left Socialists may continue to resent the alliance of the Communists, the Right Socialists, and the Left Republicans, and the Catalan separatists may go on believing that Catalonia should sulk quietly and in properly detached fashion away from the problems of the rest of Spain, but the Negrin-Prieto government does seem to be welding the loyalist supporters into a fairly unified whole at last.

There were those in Spain less than a year ago who did not regard Indelicio Prieto, the number one man in the Negrin cabinet, as a leader of force and decision. Events of the last six months, however, have gone to prove that they were decidedly wrong, while those who thought that Largo Caballero was destined to be the saviour of the country have been proved equally mistaken. Largo Caballero, the Left Socialist leader, proved to be a weak and ineffective man of excessively dogmatic ideas, while Prieto, the Right Socialist, has turned out to be a strong and vigorous leader. It was by strength and vigor that his regime managed to assert the authority of the central government over the separatists, the anarchists, the Trotskyites, and all those who insisted that they should be waging a social revolution, rather than winning a war. There has been, it is true, no final show-down between the still powerful anarchists and the moderates—among whom must be classed the Communists—but the Government's combination of strength and tact has perhaps made a show-down unnecessary.

### *No Second Soviet*

Certainly it seems at the moment that, if the Government wins, Spain will have, not an extreme radical regime of Bolshevik proportions, but a moderate socialist one. There is no reason, for example, to doubt Negrin's word when he says that he would like to open up some of the churches and is only kept from doing so lest he arouse the fury of the extreme elements, who cannot forget the part played by many of the clergy in fomenting and aiding the revolt.



***OPTIMISM ON THE MARCH: Returning victorious loyalists from a nearby skirmish are hailed by the Madrilenos and presented with bouquets of leaves.***

It would be absurd to say that the Government planned merely a liberal capitalist state for Spain after the war. If the loyalists win, the Church and the other big landowners and industrialists, who organized the revolt, are not likely to get their property back by any means. The instruments of production and distribution will no doubt continue in the hands of the workers who took them over and ran them when the owners bolted or were seized as supporters of the rebel cause. But Spain is not likely to become another U.S.S.R. and there is every reason to believe that the Russians, who came to the aid of the government long after the Italians and Germans had taken over the Franco government, realize that fact and have accepted it.

If extreme radicalism is pretty much discredited in loyalist Spain then the anarchists and the Trotskyites, who pride themselves on being the real revolutionists of the land and look upon the Communists as counter-revolutionaries, are chiefly to blame. The anarchists were extremely valuable to the loyalists in the early days of the Fascist rebellion, since their armed forces were in a position to fight back at the rebellious military leaders while the rest of the country was unprepared. Their services, however, have been far less admirable since then and even those valiant early strivings to check the rebels were seriously marred by much unnecessary cruelty and the killing of many innocent people, often out of motives of personal vengeance. The industrial organization of Catalonia under the auspices of the C.N.T., the anarchist-syndicalist union, has not been conspicuously successful, and the lack of discipline of the anarchist troops at the front made them a handicap rather than an assistance to the Government. Although many of the anarchists have supported Valencia valiantly and at least one of them, Derutti, has become a national hero, they have as a whole tended to be a disruptive force, and by their actions they have at least been guilty of supplying moral aid and comfort to the enemy.

### *Governmental Tolerance*

That there were atrocities at the beginning of the war, all government supporters

will admit, and it is difficult to think how, human nature being what it is, anything else could have been expected. A military clique was attempting to overthrow the legal government of the country and they were supported by most of the higher clergy and capitalists, and passions ran high, popular fear and indignation were at high pitch, and confusion reigned. It was only natural, though not forgivable, that personal vendettas and a general hysteria of vengeance should have brought about a brief reign of terror. With all the speed and power at its command, however, the Government did everything it could to check such murderous activities.

In fact, since the first grim days the Government has been almost surprisingly tolerant, or negligent, of the enemy within the gates. When one of the Fascist generals, talking over the radio, announced that "four columns are converging on Madrid and within the city a fifth column is prepared to assist them," he might well have signed the death warrant of thousands. It would not have been surprising if a general attack on possible fascists in the city had been made by excited mobs after such a speech, and it is typical of government tolerance that no such thing occurred.

It can safely be said, too, that there is no anti-foreign feeling. There are many Germans in loyalist Spain, particularly in Barcelona and Madrid, and German may be heard in all parts of the country. Thanks perhaps to the number of Germans and Italians fighting against fascism in the International Brigade, no German or Italian in government territory need feel in any danger of losing either life or liberty. In truth, they are looked at in far less suspicious fashion than were German-Americans in many parts of this country during the First World War. The only genuinely hostile feeling is against the Moors, who are respected and feared as the best soldiers in Franco's army and hated as mercenary assailants of the national freedom.

To get back to the matter of the women, however, it should be noted that, while most of the older women may have clerical anti-government sympathies, this is certainly not true among the younger ones. At the outset of the war, many girls and young women entered the army and fought in the barricades against the rebels, but now that the first frenzy has died down the Government has discouraged any such activity. The women are now out of active fighting, but you will find them in many other capacities, particularly in the press offices. They are direct and energetic and extremely able and reveal that the free woman of the new Spain is likely to combine the instinctive gentility of the woman of pre-Civil War Spain with a new independence and intelligence.

Most certainly there has been no breakdown of morals as result of the war. On the contrary, there is evidence that the army is finding its sex life considerably more restrained than it ever did before. On the Aragon front, for example, it was discovered that some of the prostitutes that were following the army were diseased, whereupon a somewhat puritanical officer had 200 of them lined up and shot. Since then there have been no such women at the front, although the returning soldiers on leave in Madrid certainly have little trouble finding themselves a girl. If there is less indulging in amorousness than usual among the soldiers it is because they have other activities to compete with it. Most of the men, for example, are busy with studies, and the rate of illiteracy is rapidly being reduced. There has certainly been no renaissance of the theater, but touring companies and marionette shows do bring them dramatic entertainment of sorts. If, however, the rebirth of Spain includes even a rebirth of the moribund Spanish drama, war really will have produced a miracle.

# LABOR IN AMERICA, II

## *The period following the Civil War saw the birth of the American Federation of Labor*

By HERBERT HARRIS

*This is the second of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early in 1938. The third installment will appear in the November issue of* Current History.



THE Civil War transformed labor as a whole from a peace-time army producing goods into hosts of battle that did nothing but consume and destroy. Before the firing on Sumter, moreover, the sentiment of wage-earners was definitely on the side of compromise. They regarded the impending crisis as a "politicians' plague," the result of conflicts in which, whatever the outcome, the "honest workingmen stood to gain nothing and to lose all."

At this stage, of course, a black mood of pessimism mantled American labor, for the panic of 1857 had wiped out the encouraging gains made by unions in the decade before. They were gains due largely to the discovery of gold in California and the consequent business boom and vast increase in employment. And as usual in a period of prosperity, labor—and skilled labor particularly—abandoned legislative and humanitarian experiments.

While the more poorly-paid workers continued to chase after the will-o'-the-wisps of reform, the unions, composed mainly of artisans, settled down to the cold quid-pro-quo business of getting more pay for their members by building exclusive and permanent organizations. The Typographers, the Machinists and Blacksmiths, the Stone Cutters, the Hat Finishers and many more founded strong sodalities that excluded politicians and other "friends of labor" and concentrated upon the closed shop, apprenticeship rules, ample strike funds, employment exchange offices, minimum wage and hour standards, and all the other accoutrements of a "pure and simple" unionism. For the first time, moreover, such societies were formed on a national scale as against the city or State-wide scope to which they had been previously confined. In this respect, of course, they merely reflected the "nationalizing of the market" brought towards greater completion by the rapid growth of railroads.

Before 1850 water and highway traffic exceeded traffic by rail. But beginning in the spring of that year, the "hectic decade" of railroad construction swung into stride, increasing track mileage from 8,389 in 1850 to 30,373 in 1860, reversing transportation trends. The "through-freight" carriers started to supplant the canal, like the Erie, the "turnpike," like the old Cumberland Road, and to filiate out into "trunk" lines. Soon the consolidation of "trunks" such as the combination of the New York Central with the Hudson River and Harlem in the East, and with the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern in the West, not only formed a direct connection between New York and Chicago but also paved the way for the great "transcontinental" systems of

a following era. And this extension of traffic arteries from Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi Valley at last widened local markets until they embraced half the continent. Stoves made in Albany were displayed in St. Louis alongside stoves made in Detroit. All of which not only intensified competition but taught unionists that since business had become "national" labor must follow suit in order to function effectively. It seemed natural and obvious to labor leaders that, to preserve union norms, it would be necessary to "equalize competitive conditions" by putting a "floor" of uniform wage-scales underneath the price fluctuations of a particular commodity.* Otherwise, they believed, the employer who cut his wage payrolls the most would exercise an unfair advantage over his rivals. And as union "committees of correspondence" began to flourish, informing workers in the same trade of "shop and sharp practices" throughout the country, the golden fever of the great California lodes pitted the nation's face with failures. For with incurable optimism, the merchants, speculators, financiers, manufacturers, and their countless satellites had repeated during the years 1850-57 the same mistakes of over-expansion that they had made from 1830-37 and with the same results. And by the time Lincoln took his oath of office, on March 4, 1861, the roaring pace of gold-rush affluence had been for four long years slackening into a standstill.

### *Uncertainty a Handicap*

A very real lack of confidence as to what was going to happen next hindered business from embarking upon fresh enterprises, to recoup losses, to build anew, a fact that served only to amplify an already widespread unemployment. Meanwhile as martial mutterings swelled into uproar, labor along with the rest of the population was divided in its views of what should be done. In New England, especially in Massachusetts, workers tended to be anti-slavery partisans and the women and girls in the textile mills were frantically abolitionist. But in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, many labor leaders were opposed to Lincoln and the Republican Party which, they felt, was agitating the Negro issue unduly. They couldn't get excited over the plight of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Toms and Little Evas. Instead they accepted pretty much at face-value the contention of Southern planters that the slaves on the whole were comfortably housed and well fed and taken care of in sickness and old age whereas the wage-earner, under the growing factory system, was paid next to nothing, and turned out to starve in slack seasons and when he was too feeble to work. Still others, especially in border states like Kentucky, while frowning upon the "peculiar institution," didn't think it was worth a war and wanted a compromise. It was, in fact, in Louisville where workers held their first mass meeting to condemn a "resort to arms" as a solution of the slavery question or of the deeper economic discords of which it was but a long harsh note.

In St. Louis, in Cincinnati, even in Richmond, similar meetings called for "pacific measures" for reconciling the collision of interests between North and South.

And largely for the same purpose a so-called "national convention of workingmen" took place in Philadelphia on February 22, 1861. It was by far the most important labor gathering of the time, in its leadership, in its articulation of attitudes. It was presided over by William H. Sylvis, the "first great figure" in American labor in the trade union, as against the reformist, sense of the term. He was the Treasurer of the powerful Moulders International Union which, depression-born in

(*It is interesting to note that 85 years later, this same viewpoint is stressed by the Textile Workers Organizing Committee in its efforts to unionize, and hence, it claims, to "stabilize" the textile industry.)

1859, had lost 57 of its 87 locals within four years, and yet had survived the "crisis of stagnation" in better shape than any other union, a tribute to Sylvis' strategic supervision of strikes, propaganda, and organizing.

His own experience as part proprietor of a foundry had convinced him, somewhat too plausibly, that the nation's employers "saw in the future a possibility of monopolizing almost the entire trade of the country and set themselves about doing so . . . to mark out a line of policy, which, if closely followed, would insure this result . . . the first act of the drama . . . was to reduce their margin of profits to the lowest possible standard, that they might go into market below all others. Owing to fluctuations in the price of materials, their profits would sometimes disappear entirely. This they used as an argument to their workmen, telling them that . . . they were unable to advance their selling prices, and that being unable to compete without loss they must either close up or reduce wages. . . ."

They were still trying to reduce wages, against the stiff and largely useless opposition of the unions when the delegates to the Philadelphia convention came to order at the gavel's thump. Yet on the floor the chief debates and discussions dealt less with unionism's own immediate concerns and more with the larger issues of the general welfare. And what was probably the majority-opinion of American labor in regard to the "irrepressible conflict" was embodied in such statements as:

> *Resolved,* That we earnestly invoke zealous and energetic action at once by Congress, either by the adoption of the Crittenden*, Bigler or Guthrie amendments, or by some other full and clear recognition of the equal rights of the South in the Territories by such enactment for constitutional action as will finally remove the question of slavery therein from our National Legislature. . . .
>
> *Resolved,* That our Government never can be sustained by bloodshed, but must live in the affections of the people; we are, therefore, utterly opposed to any measures that will evoke civil war, and the workingmen of Philadelphia will, by the use of all constitutional means, and with our moral and political influence, oppose any such extreme policy, or a fratricidal war thus to be inaugurated.

Yet when on April 12, 1861, the Confederate battery opened fire on Fort Sumter, the opposition to war by wage-earners was drowned out by the tread of marching feet and the noise of drums. Whole unions enlisted at President Lincoln's call for volunteers; and Sylvis personally helped to recruit an entire company from among his own moulders, becoming a top sergeant himself.

Meantime, the first repercussions of the war seemed to benumb business all the more. In the beginning the people of the North seemed too stunned and too excited to do anything but read and talk the news of Bull Run and the other battles of the "first campaign." The continued industrial paralysis tended to demoralize the unions towards complete disappearance; and their ranks were further depleted by enlistments in the North, and by the loss of entire locals in the South. Even the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of the United States of America which, to the country's amazement, had been rich enough and strong enough to fight the puissant Baldwin Locomotive Works for four months to a stalemate, was finding it hard to survive. At its annual convention in Pittsburgh, in November 1861, its national secretary, Jonathan Fincher, who shared honors with Sylvis as a labor leader of the first water, reported that in the six months from April

(*In essence the compromise measure introduced into the House in January 1861 by Representative Crittenden of Kentucky proposed that in all territories acquired "now or hereafter" north of latitude 36 and 30, slavery was to be prohibited; but that south of this line it was to be allowed and protected as property by Congress. States formed from territory north of the line, however, were to be either slave or free as their citizens might provide in their constitutions. The Bigler and Guthrie plans were cut from the same cloth.)

to October 1861, membership had dropped from 2,717 to 1,898 and that his order was "losing more men every week." Other unions lamented that with "panic on the one hand and patriotism on the other," it was impossible to keep from going under.

### *The Price Balloon*

By 1862, however, the demand for war supplies along with the legal tender acts of February and April, which primed the financial pump by pouring $300,000,000 of greenbacks into circulation, lighted the fires and started the flybelts whirring for a war-time boom. Wage-earners who, for one reason or another, weren't "in the army now" found jobs plentiful enough. And in the mills of New England women worked in double shifts. And in the next year, 1863, wholesale prices shot up 59 per cent above 1860 and advanced to 125 per cent during 1864. Yet while the middlemen, the manufacturers, the bankers and the farmers all prospered, the worker faced new hardships. He had steady employment, to be sure; but his real wages didn't keep up with the cost of living which mounted daily. In July, 1862, for example, retail prices in greenbacks were 15 per cent above the 1860 level, while wages remained stationary. In July 1863 retail prices had risen 43 per cent and wages but 12 per cent and in July 1865 prices ascended to 76 per cent and wages only to 50 per cent above the 1860 base.

Once more to protect their living standards, the workers turned towards unionism. And once more, with industry roaring to fill war-orders, it was relatively easy to set up locals, and to persuade employers to meet demands. A labor press of no less than 120 daily, weekly and monthly journals appeared in the decade 1863–73, attesting to the urgency of this new national drive towards organization. Preeminent among such papers was *Fincher's Trades' Review* which for sheer skill has rarely been equalled, and never surpassed, in the annals of American labor journalism. It was run by Fincher himself who, despite his fondness for purple passages such as, "Little dreamed that crew of the fearful gales they were to encounter and the terrible shipwrecks they were to witness in their eventful voyage," was an editor born. A four page weekly (later enlarged into eight pages) it was founded on June 1, 1863, and soon attained a circulation of 11,000, reaching 31 of the 36 States, three provinces in Canada, and eight cities in England. The journal eschewed all advertising—even the ladies' cures and patent medicines which then adorned virtually all printed matter in the United States. For Fincher was an indefatigable correspondent, and a great believer in "data" and its patient accumulation, and he wanted to crowd every stick of space with reports of labor's progress, analysis of its programs, and tables such as the following, which shows the tremendous growth of unions in the single year from December 1863 to December 1864:

| STATE | December 1863 | December 1864 |
|---|---|---|
| Connecticut | 2 | 6 |
| Delaware | 0 | 1 |
| Illinois | 1 | 10 |
| Indiana | 3 | 17 |
| Kentucky | 2 | 8 |
| Maine | 1 | 7 |
| Maryland | 0 | 1 |
| Massachusetts | 17 | 42 |
| Michigan | 4 | 9 |
| Missouri | 4 | 9 |
| New Hampshire | 3 | 5 |
| New Jersey | 4 | 10 |
| New York | 16 | 74 |
| Ohio | 4 | 16 |
| Pennsylvania | 15 | 44 |
| Rhode Island | 1 | 7 |
| Tennessee | 0 | 0 |
| Vermont | 1 | 0 |
| Virginia | 1 | 1 |
| Wisconsin | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 79 | 270 |

### *Organization on the March*

As a matter of course the trades assemblies or combination of crafts within a city or community were infused with new vitality. First revived in 1863 in Rochester (N. Y.), in Louisville, in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh, they had spread to every important industrial center when

Lee yielded his sword at Appomattox. While merely "advisory" the trade assembly exerted great power seeking to do for local unions what the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are at present doing for their respective national unions. The executive board of every trade assembly was composed of the most influential labor leaders in the community and they shaped policy with rigor and precision and without benefit of legal authority. They ordered "non-intercourse," that is, a boycott of firms that were unfair in their labor practices. They established cooperative stores, libraries, reading rooms. They appointed special agents to unionize open shops. They conceived it their bounden duty to "agitate, educate, exasperate." They lobbied with zeal and expertness. In February 1864, for example, a bill to abolish picketing was introduced into the New York State legislature only to be smothered under the protests of Gotham's trade assembly chieftains.

The sweep and scope of this new unionizing campaign, during the war, aroused opposition among many groups of manufacturers. They began to establish "employers associations" to repel the inroads made by unions upon the "free, white and twenty-one" conduct of their affairs. On July 25, 1864, in Detroit an "Employers' General Association of Michigan" was brought into semi-secret existence. Its governing body contained representatives from various fields of business which were subdivided into "auxiliaries," one for the ironmongers, another for the ship-builders, a third for the sawmill proprietors, and the like. Each auxiliary was authorized to "fix, grade and regulate" wages and to set minimum prices to be charged for its own commodity. The preamble to this alliance's constitution and by-laws berated unions as pernicious and dangerous because "As a natural result of this system of general and persistent interference . . . our business is thrown into a condition of much uncertainty. . . . Business-like calculations and arrangements, especially such as involve prices for work, and time of completion and delivery, are thus rendered quite impracticable. . . . If continued for any considerable time, it (unionism) must result in wide-spread beggary, with all its attending evils—suffering, bread riots, pillage and taxation."

The Master Mechanics of Boston (1867) and the New York Master Builders Association (1869) followed the lead of the Michigan society in the East, re-echoing its sentiments almost phrase by phrase and setting the style for many imitators in the seaboard states.

And within a few years such oral assaults were carried into the sphere of bitter anti-union action, a result of "Jay Cooke's speculative slump" of 1873–78 that rendered competition more savage and merciless than ever before. As if in response to a given signal, employers everywhere seemed determined to rid themselves of "restrictions upon free enterprise" by smashing the unions. The lock-out and black-list were used with a bitterness new in American industrial relations. It was soon difficult to find workers willing to risk their necks by serving on committees, by participating in other union activity. In five years union membership in New York City alone dropped from 44,000 to 5,000. Many labor leaders deserted the fold, to "Go West," or to enter politics. J. H. Fehrenbach, head of the "Machinists and Blacksmiths" was elected to the Ohio state legislature in 1876. And H. J. Walls, secretary of the "Moulders" became in 1877 the first Commissioner of the Buckeye state's new Bureau of Labor and Statistics. Business opportunity caused other and similar defections.

To labor's Jeremiahs it seemed as if the day of the union was "done and gone,"—at least the day of the "out-in-the-open" union. Certainly it exposed its adherents to all kinds of trouble, thwarting "just and

due" promotions, when not causing loss of the job. Subjected to this kind of treatment, the labor movement went underground. Its leaders met secretly. They were "hedged about" said William Davis, Secretary of the Ohio Miners Union, in a speech on July 9, 1881, "with the impenetrable veil of ritual, sign, grip and password" so that "no spy of the boss can find his way to the Lodge-room to betray his fellows."

## *The Knights of Labor*

Out of this atmosphere of stealth emerged the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor which, founded on the theory of "One Big Union" dominated the American labor scene for the next decade.

It had been inauspiciously started in 1869 by Uriah Smith Stephens along with some fellow garment workers in Philadelphia. Born on August 3, 1821, at Cape May, New Jersey, Stephens was educated for the Baptist ministry but never obtained a pulpit. In 1837 he was indentured to a tailor and later taught elementary school. Filled with the wanderlust of youth he somehow contrived to travel a great deal, visiting the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, and California whence he came East again and settled down in Philadelphia to ply his cutter's trade. He was anti-slavery, and pro-Lincoln. He was also a diligent "joiner"—a Mason, an Oddfellow, a "Pythian." And probably from his association with various fraternal orders, he evolved the elaborate cabalism which denoted the Knights in the public mind. To notify members of a meeting, a symbol of five stars within a circle enclosed by a triangle was chalked on sidewalks, fences, walls, scaring the rest of the population out of its wits since tales of the murderous Molly Maguires had given rise to the most sinister and fantastic rumors of labor's intentions and tactics.

The ritual of the Order set forth its principles, declaring that "open and public association having failed after a struggle of centuries to protect or advance the interests of labor, we have lawfully constituted this assembly and in using this power of organized effort and cooperation we but imitate the example of capital, for in all the multifarious branches of trade, capital has its combinations and whether intended or not it crushes the manly hopes of labor and tramples poor humanity into the dust . . . we mean no conflict with legitimate enterprise, nor antagonism to necessary capital . . . we mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor . . . and the justice of its receiving a full, just share of the values or capital it has created."

The Knights believed that the mechanization of American industry would sooner or later erase craft distinctions and bring about a "dead level" of labor even as it was fostering vast aggregations of capital into fewer and fewer hands. They believed that only a vast consolidated labor movement could successfully challenge this concentration of control over finance, industry, and commerce. They called for the welding of all workers into a single and mighty organization, regardless of trade or sex or race or religion or color or previous condition of servitude. "An injury to one is an injury to all" was their proud slogan of solidarity, their "unity in diversity."

And the further to translate into reality the tenets of their faith, they advocated public ownership of (private) utilities such as railways, waterworks, gas plants. They coquetted with the idea of Rochdale-plan cooperatives. They embraced the monetary panaceas of Greenbackism. They gave lip-service to the ideal of the cooperative commonwealth. In fact, at one time or another, there was hardly a fad or doctrine of political economy which failed to win the endorsement of at least a part of the Knights of Labor. For much of its membership it was less a national union than a variety of religious experience. Starting with the

modest "Local Assembly 1" set up by Stephens and his friends, it grew slowly. But with the disruptions of unions at the very onset of the depression, the remnants of various locals in all sections of the country turned to the Knights as a rallying-ground, and when Stevens died in 1881 his brainchild was growing into a lusty sprawling giant, that like democracy itself was chaotic and contradictory.

### *A "Grand Master Workman"*

The leaders in the East were by and large middle-class in outlook, conservative, cautious, devotees of quiet negotiation. The leaders of the West, embodying the vestigial remains of frontier toughness and ruggedness, clamored for action, for strikes. The wage-earners wanted more pay, here and now. The vast array of cerebrals, socialists, utopians, and reformers who had attached themselves to the Order wanted a new society—in futuro. And to cap the climax the "Grand Master Workman" of the maturing Knights, Terence V. Powderly, never quite knew what he wanted. Elected in 1879 to succeed Stephens as head of the Order, he kept his post for 14 years, a symbol of irresolution and ineffectuality. He was born in Carbondale, Pennsylvania in 1849, of Irish parents. At 13 he became a railway switch tender and four years later entered its machine shop. In 1870 he joined the Scranton local of the "Machinists and Blacksmiths" union and in 1874 brought his union and himself into the Knights of Labor. His ability as a street-corner agitator was rewarded by his selection as secretary of the Order's District Assembly 5 (later 16) in 1877 and a year later he was elected Mayor of Scranton.

The Knights made their reputation by winning a series of railroad strikes, two on the Union Pacific system (1882 and 1884) and a third on Jay Gould's 10,000 miles of the "Missouri," the "Missouri, Kansas and Texas" and the "Wabash" roads. Although the "Wizard of Wall Street's" capitulation was hailed in the press as labor's greatest victory, Powderly didn't press any of the advantages that were within his grasp. He didn't insist upon any machinery for collective bargaining; he didn't ask recognition of the union nor any of the even then rudimentary agreements that run-of-the-mill labor leaders were daily demanding. He remained satisfied with the corporation's assurance that the Knights wouldn't be "discriminated" against—and sighed with relief. But this ineptitude was hidden from the public which agreed with the St. Louis *Chronicle* of September 30, 1885 when it declared that "The Wabash victory" is with the K. of L. . . . No such victory has ever before been secured in this or any other country."

Inspired by this seeming triumph, workers all over the country trooped into the Order's branches while membership figures mounted to 700,000 and Powderly was in a panic. He was afraid of a Frankenstein, of the responsibility it entailed. Despite the fact that the Order, to mollify the Catholic Church and the "phantom public," had renounced secrecy and come out into the open in 1882, press and pulpit still fumed about the dreadful power that the Knights might wield by stopping "entire industries." And Powderly, strait-laced, wanting the acclaim of the "respectables," of the solid citizens, was alarmed lest the sheer weight of numbers would push him into some drastic action of a kind that the editors, the ministers, business men, and the middle class in general might not approve. He adopted a policy of "making haste slowly" which in its concrete application prevented many thousands from joining the Order.

### *Enter A. F. of L.*

Meantime, the rank and file, intoxicated by the alleged conquest of the invincible

Gould, went berserk, ousting the more conservative local officers, and mixing in the majority of the 500 odd labor disputes that shook the country in 1886. Powderly folded his hands and prayed. Everything seemed to be going wrong. In public opinion the Knights were blamed for every flare-up of violence in strikes, for every picket-line that appeared anywhere in the country. In addition the fledgling American Federation of Labor was beginning to buck the Knights in earnest. An outgrowth of a convention held by two renegade groups, the Amalgamated Labor Union and the Knights of Industry, at Terre Haute, Indiana on August 2, 1881, the new association had begun under the name "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada." When it learned, however, that 25 independent labor bodies, composed of skilled craftsmen, were to meet in Columbus, Ohio, in December 1886, it promptly joined its own forces with the others and the overall body emerged as the A. F. of L. The basic philosophy of its leaders was directly opposed to that of the Order. They wanted to exclude the unskilled from their unions. They wanted to abstain from any political abstractions and to concentrate solely upon collective bargaining. They refused, they said, to "sink to the level of pauper labor"; and they were determined to "protect the skilled labor of America from being reduced to beggary and to sustain the standard of American workmanship."

In vain the Knights tried to win over craft support. In 1886 they drafted a typical appeal to the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers: "In the use of the wonderful inventions . . . your organization plays a most important part. Naturally, it embraces within its ranks a very large proportion of laborers of a high grade of skill and intelligence. With this skill of hand, guided by intelligent thought comes the right to demand that excess of compensation paid to skilled above the unskilled. . . . But the unskilled labor must receive attention, or in the hour of difficulty the employers will not hesitate to use it to depress the compensation you receive. That skilled or unskilled labor may no longer be found unorganized, we ask of you to annex your grand and powerful corps to the main army that we may fight the battle under one flag."

But such pleas, even when repeated by Powderly in person, were like sowing seeds on concrete. The A. F. of L. unions, individually and collectively, had different ideas. In the main they were the ideas of a brilliant Irishman, P. J. Macguire, secretary of the new Federation. For his model of what an efficient unionism should be, he drew upon the British unions with their relatively high dues, their "benefits" in times of sickness, unemployment, death, their local autonomy. He had passed through all the radicalisms and in 1881 had taken hold of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and built it up along the lines of pure and simple craft unionism. But he was the brain-truster rather than the administrative personality, and the executive direction of the Federation fell into the hands of a London-born, Dutch-Jewish cigar maker, named Samuel Gompers. With his allies Macguire and Adolph Strasser, another cigar-maker, he controlled the new movement from its very inception, acting as its president from 1886 to 1924, with the exception of a single year.

### *A Craft Union Basis*

From the first he insisted upon the national craft as the basis for the A. F. of L. with local unions entitled to representation only in trades where no "national" (or "international" when there were branches in Canada or Mexico) yet existed. The Executive Council, composed of the president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer, was charged with several vital

functions. It was to keep an argus-eye on all labor legislation and to lobby for the eight-hour day. It was to organize new local and national unions. It was to recognize "the right of each trade to manage its own affairs" yet "secure unity" among all eligible labor groups that wished to be affiliated. It was to affirm or deny the validity of boycotts instituted by its member unions. In strikes and lockouts it was to issue appeals for funds, collect them and disburse them to aid the organization so involved. Revenue was to be derived from "charter fees" and from a per capita tax of one-half a cent per month for every member in good standing. In 1887 Gompers' salary was fixed at $1000 a year.

Although the Federation claimed an overall membership of 316,469 it was in actuality a little more than half of that and in the beginning the cords binding to it many of the prominent unions, like the Typographers, were fragile indeed since such potent organizations were reluctant to give up their own "individuality."

The A. F. of L., however, waxed fat and flourished while the Knights declined, losing 300,000 members in a single year (1887). It was a triumph of leadership over logic. There was no gainsaying the Order's fundamental thesis, expressed by Powderly, that the Knights "in comparison to isolated trade unions, bears the same relation that the locomotive of today does to the stage coach of half a century ago"; or with its implication that, under the new conditions of American industry, labor in the long run would have to hang together or hang separately. Nor was it the idea of One Big Union that was basically responsible for the downfall of the Knights. Rather it was Powderly, the panaceas of utopists, and the Pinkerton Agency which, at this time, began advertising to employers that "corporations and individuals desirous of ascertaining the feeling of their employees and whether they are likely to engage in strikes or are joining any secret labor organization with a view of compelling terms from corporations or employers, can obtain, on application . . . a detective suitable to associate with their employees and obtain this information." The espionage network webbed by the Pinkertons over large sections of American industry resulted in the blacklisting of thousands of Knights, making workers think twice before joining the Order. Ironically the very spy system which had brought the Knights of Labor into being profited hugely on the society which had been formed to resist this very practice. Then too the confusion of the public as to "who was who" in unionism permitted the Knights to be tarred with the terrorism of the anarchist bomb hurled at Haymarket Square, in Chicago, on May 4, 1886, though no members of the Order were in any way involved. By the early 90's it was a hollow shell, daily crumbling into futility and final extinction.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the A. F. of L. affirmed far and wide that the only way to save American labor from the "overambitious" program of the Order was to drain off the cream of labor's crop, the skilled workers, and set them up into compact, craft-conscious, highly exclusive organizations. The development of this policy, with its deviations and difficulties, may be best seen by surveying the individual history of the chief A. F. of L. unions.

# THE SOVIET PRESS

## *Production is the publishers' problem, and newspaper queues replace breadlines*

### By LAWRENCE MARTIN

THE one country where newspaper circulation approximates that of the United States is the U. S. S. R. From a Tsarist circulation (1913) of 2,700,000 it has grown to forty million. Within the next year, with the increased production of paper and presses, the Soviet Union will take first place in the world for number of copies of newspapers consumed. It already holds this place in book publishing.

This amazing journalistic advance in a land whose masses were until lately illiterate makes a fascinating story which would require a book for the telling. Oddly enough, it has never been told. Books have been written about Soviet theatres, schools, youth, women, psychology, and morality, but not about the press.

The Soviet Union seems to be still, for us, less a fact having a history and prospects than a controversial and revolutionary idea to be clamored for or against. The one question that friends and lecture auditors inevitably ask the returned investigator (I studied the subject in its native habitat last summer) is: "The press is run by the Government, isn't it? The newspapers are full of propaganda, I suppose? We would never stand for a censorship like that!"

Even if it is something "we" would never stand for, the fact that it is flourishing among 180,000,000 people and that it is the fastest growing journalistic phenomenon in the world's history might still make it worth looking at. It is, at any rate, the only totally "different" journalism in the world.

We need more information and fewer [illegible]. Allowing for the different content "government" has over there, it is true that the ultimate control of newspapers, magazines, and books rests with the Government. The press is avowedly propagandistic; its basic propaganda is to build a new society and to mold the kind of citizens that society requires. No point of view hostile to the assumption that this task is the right one and that it is to be prosecuted with energy is tolerated.

This applies to some ten thousand printed newspapers in eighty languages, and to a couple of hundred thousand mimeographed and multigraphed papers and hand-written and decorated wall newspapers in every office, school, factory, camp, collective farm or other place where people live or work or play together.

At the top of the journalistic pyramid are the newspapers of national, or all-union, circulation, led by *Pravda* (Truth), organ of the Communist Party, and *Izvestia* (News), organ of the central government, each circulating between two and three million. *Pravda* is the daily of policy and interpretation; it is the pace-setter and the arch-critic. *Izvestia* is the administrative spokesman and the central news organ.

The circulation of either newspaper could easily be doubled, perhaps trebled, if sufficient copies were printed. This statement probably holds true of every newspaper and magazine published in the U. S. S. R. The paper shortage (production has grown enormously but cannot catch up to growing demand) makes necessary a rationing system.

The Young Communist League has its own *Pravda* (circulation close to a million) and the Pioneers their own.

The strictly government press consists of

newspapers published by the various commissariats and departments of administration, of which some leading ones are *For Industrialization, Economic Life, For Communist Education, Socialist Agriculture, National Planning,* and the important Army organ, *Red Star.*

The various trade unions—of teachers, railway workers, office workers, engineers, journalists, etc.—support their own newspapers. The larger factories have printed newspapers, which in the largest are dailies. Perhaps the most interesting journals are the "mass" papers, those of general or popular appeal. The best example is probably the *Evening Moscow.* Every town and city has its daily, in which national news greatly preponderates over local.

### *Newspaper Queues*

I was sitting, late in the afternoon, on the curbstone by the Hotel Novo-Moskovskaya, watching the workmen on the Moscow-Volga canal project. Suddenly I was aware that several dozen loungers on the bridge and along the banks of the river had sprung into life and were all running in one direction. My immediate thought (the result of conditioning you can guess at) was that some kind of riot was starting, maybe a Trotskyist uprising.

The runners came to a stop before the newspaper kiosk on the corner, and lined up in orderly fashion. It was my first view of a daily performance—the race for the evening paper, of which a million copies could probably be sold, but only 400,000 are printed. The disappointed ones can always read the paper in the various public squares or at the main street car and bus stops, where they are posted behind glass.

In Moscow last year the only queues were these newspaper lines, and the lines in front of theatres and shops that sold silk dress goods. Every bookstore in the city was crowded from morning until night, the customers sometimes three and four deep before the counters—a phenomenon fit to make an American publisher or book store entrepreneur weep.



***"WALL NEWSPAPER": Peasants of the collective farm in the Frolov district, Middle Volga Region, read of the progress of the harvest work.***

A great variety of magazines get published, from heavy monthlies and quarterlies of communist philosophy, economic theory, and literary-artistic speculation, to *Crocodile,* the Soviet *Judge.* There are magazines for women and children; for beginning literary aspirants; for planners, seamen, architects, farmers, engineers; for those against God and for aviation; for the newly literate (big type and easy words). Two popular ones are *Ogonek* (Flamelet) the Soviet *Colliers,* and *Za Rubezhom* (Beyond the Frontiers), the Soviet *Living Age,* reprinting articles from foreign periodicals.

What a Soviet newspaper is and how it works can perhaps best be shown by going into a little detail about one newspaper.

Let us take the *Peasants Gazette* as an example. In its activities it is typical, and at the same time it is worth looking at for itself, because it is one of the world's greatest newspapers. It really is a combination of newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets.

A Soviet visitor interested in publishing who finds himself in Moscow is sure to take a trip through the tremendous new *Pravda* plant, covering acres of ground, with its 21 rotary and 12 flat presses, its 40-odd linotypes, its special color presses, from which are published half a dozen newspapers and about twenty magazines. It is a complex of modernistic structures housing restaurants, a clubhouse, nursery, kindergarten, polyclinics. Near it are 132 apartment houses for its 3,000 workers; beyond various horizons are a rest home near Moscow, a sanitarium (vacation resort) in the Caucasus, and another in the Crimea.

To the outward view there is nothing so sensational about the home office of the *Peasants Gazette*, which is housed in an old remodeled palace on Comintern Street in cramped quarters which it long ago outgrew. This is the editorial center of the sixteen newspapers and magazines that make up the Peasants Gazette *combinat*, with a total circulation of about ten million.

The parent paper, the Peasants Gazette, sells two million copies daily to farmers from the Arctic to the subtropics and from the Finnish border to farthest Siberia. It could certainly sell six million and possibly ten. In addition to the *Rural Communist*, a special every-other-day paper for party members on the collective farms, the main children of this household, are issued every five days:

*For Learning Readers*, circ. 500,000. A paper in big type, easy words, for the last remnants of the "dark" peasantry.

*Culture and Life*, circ. 500,000. News, views, and instruction in art, music, dress, deportment, speech, and in general the amenities of living, including cleanliness, common sense, and general decency (which is what the word has come to mean in contemporary Russia). In color.

*Kolkhoz Child*, circ. 350,000. In color, for the farm child.

*The Village Bond*, circ. 100,000. For rural mail carriers.

*Physiculture and Defense*, circ. 100,000. Sports and health. It recently put over a campaign to build tennis courts in the villages and taught 100,000 farmers, wives, and children to play the game.

*Preparations for the Agriculture Exhibition*, circ. 75,000. This paper, probably discontinued this year, organized news of progressive agricultural developments around the building of an all-union agricultural fair for Moscow. In color.

*Cinema and Theater*, circ. 50,000. General news of the film and stage, with special material about the movie and the play on the farm. In color.

*The Cottage Laboratory*, circ. 50,000. Inculcating the idea of science as opposed to superstition or rule of thumb in agriculture.

*Helps to Study*, circ. 50,000. Special publication for managers of reading rooms on collective farms.

In addition the plant publishes magazines (some excellent color jobs among them) for women, for children, for those whose special hobby is play production in the village, for agitators (read "pep rally four-minute men"), etc. It publishes pamphlets and guidebooks for country paper editors and journalists and for its own special correspondents; and a three-year correspondence-study course for aspiring and talented writers and reporters who will some day be rural editors.

The *Peasants Gazette* has 20,000 regular correspondents all over the map, and a couple of hundred thousand casual ones who send in something every two or three months. The former are on the payroll; the latter are paid by the piece, usually

in books, pictures, or other goods that may be difficult to obtain far from the city.

From these correspondents the newspaper receives an average of 1,500 letters a day. When a powerful controversy arises, such as that over the anti-abortion law or the new constitution, thousands a day pour in. A staff of eighty persons handles these letters, makes digests of them, classifies them. Some are printed in part; the vast majority are worked up into articles by special writers.

### *The Deluge of Letters*

Millions of these letters are on file in the offices of the *Peasants Gazette* (no letter is destroyed, no letter unanswered), where they give a cross section of rural opinion and are often resorted to by authors in search of homely truths and by administrators who need to keep in touch with what the people want and oppose.

The editorial staff of the *Peasants Gazette* maintains contact with 150 rural newspapers, exchanging correspondence, holding conferences, giving advice, and helping on journalistic techniques. It keeps in touch with the staffs of a hundred thousand wall newspapers on the collective farms. It gives aid and comfort to 500 beginning writers, usually young people but not infrequently old and newly literate, who show promise.

Another peculiarity of this newspaper is that every member of the staff goes to school to broaden his qualifications. While on the one hand 60 per cent of the present staff members have come up from the village where they were *selkors* (farmer-correspondents), on the other they are constantly going on to higher positions—in the commissariat of agriculture, in the universities, etc.

The newspaper does not stay in Comintern Street—it makes trips constantly to its readers. The *Peasants Gazette* maintains two trains of three cars each, and ten airplanes. The railway cars contain printing, radio, and movie equipment, and are mainly for the invasion of "backward" areas, and for pepping up the lagging sections in the crucial periods, sowing and harvesting. The airplanes serve mainly the remoter districts. Not infrequently, where it is impossible for the plane to effect a landing, the reporter-agitator bails out. Before local papers got as numerous as they are now, the *Peasants Gazette* had 45 special trains, with traveling editorial staffs that issued special newspapers, gave lectures, showed movies, organized *subbotniks*, competitions, shock brigades, held meetings, put on shows, surveyed troubles and suggested remedies, and often ran kulak villains to earth and corrected abuses.

In all these matters the *Peasants Gazette* is typical of Russian journalism. Several Soviet newspapers still run special press trains, and most of the larger ones have airplanes. Every newspaper of mass circulation encourages amateur and professional correspondence. Among Soviet journalists it is accepted that everyone studies to better qualify himself for his job and to prepare himself for larger tasks.

When I was interviewing the editor of *Za Rubezhom*, I was asked to do an article on American journalist clubs. At first I thought Editor Gurevitch meant the Newspaper Guild; then I guessed it might be something like Washington's Gridiron Club. It turned out that he assumed American journalists had many clubs for the purpose of study, with sumptuous quarters, large libraries and study rooms, ambitious programs of speakers of international reputation—all with the aim of making journalists more intelligent and better able to discharge the professional function of reporting and interpreting the world. I gathered that something like this, but in a small and tentative way, was being done in Soviet Russia. The editor jumped to the conclusion that our rich and progressive country would be doing this sort of thing

in a really efficient way. They want to learn from all our techniques—steam shovels and presses. This assumption, and the criticism it carried of our press, so embarrassed me that I said nothing. I failed to disillusion Mr. Gurevitch and, I am afraid, let him believe that some day he would get an article about it, containing all the details he asked for plans of rooms, typical programs, photographs of buildings, and so on.

### *Soviet Newspapers Are Unique*

The task of the Soviet newspaperman is unique because Soviet journalism is unique. Long ago its purpose was defined by Lenin as being that of the scaffolding on a building in process of construction. It is to help build the new society and the new type of citizen. The Soviets inherited from Tsarist Russia 150,000,000 people, the vast majority "dark" and backward by any civilized standard. It had to give these a sense of social responsibility, some kind of vision, and a day by day program of effort. It had to make them want to read, want to be clean, to be on time, not to beat the children, not to desert the little ones, not to cheat one another. It had to teach them manners we have forgotten must be learned: not to tolerate bugs and mud; to change the underwear and brush the teeth, care for the sick, and rely on irrigation and not on holy water when drouth threatens.

How the Soviet press has discharged this function, and especially the *Peasants Gazette*, can be gathered from an article by Maurice Hindus in the *New Republic* of August 18, on "The End of the Muzhik." It has been the job of the press in that exciting country to spur on 180,000,000 people in their trek into a socialist future. In this situation, and with this perspective, it can be seen how beside the mark it is to insist that the Soviet press is muzzled, that it does not tolerate anti-communist propaganda, and that the Government has its grip on every paragraph of it. It is true that the *Peasants Gazette* will not print a debate in the spirit of the *Forum* magazine: "Which is superior: Soviet or capitalist agriculture?" It may run an article on the fate of the Arkansas share-cropper, but although it will confess that the Iowa farmer produces three times as much to the acre as the Soviet farmer, it will hardly intimate that therefore individual farming may be better than collective. When you have settled on a plan, when you have a blueprint, when you are building your house, it is not the part of common sense or of the building of a state to quit laying bricks and consider whether you oughtn't be putting up a number of tents instead.

They may be wrong, but they are working out their destiny along the line they marked down. They have increased the circulation of their newspapers by fifteen times over the best Tsarist year, and it is only a beginning. They are fitting the movie, radio, and television in with the press into a comprehensive journalism. The results, in the future, will be bound to influence other journalisms.

In the meantime their newspapers, small in size, dull to an eye used to circus makeup, devoid of society ballyhoo, sports page, crime, scandal, comics, Eddie Guest, and "magazine" sections, and heavy with politics, economics, and news of the world of work, go out daily to tens of millions who had no press a few years ago, millions of them no written alphabet even.

At this moment probably, the *Peasants Gazette*, *Pravda*, and *Izvestia* are being loaded for distribution on autos, trains, and ships, on camels, airplanes, and dog-sleds, on ice boats, and sleighs drawn by reindeer. The generals may die at dawn, and trials and confessions of traitors and heretics may perplex those of us who want to understand. We *can* understand this much, that some solid work is getting done.

# DICTATORS FOR NEIGHBORS

***Many of the South American states are veering towards fascism but democracy is still a force***

**By WILBUR BURTON**

FASCISM—the real, unmistakable brand of fascism—does not claim any South American government today, although many of the states definitely seem to be heading in that direction. Some have dabbled at it already in one form or another and virtually all have had their "strong man," but the system of society as designed by Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler has not yet been put into precise operation.

But though there is no true fascism in South America, neither is there true democracy. Democracy is a potent force, to be sure, in both Uruguay and Argentina, but even those countries, like all the others, are predominantly oligarchies of powerful landowners and military officers who govern through the strong man. Paraguay, with its long tradition of tyrants—it can look back upon a Dr. Francia and a Lopez II—is probably the furthest removed from democracy with its comic opera version of fascism.

The South American dictatorial tradition started with the Inca Empire in the twelfth century. It achieved a civilization about equal to that of ancient Egypt and embraced an area that included all of present-day Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia and parts of Colombia, Chile, and Argentina. In its social system it attained a degree of communism even more thoroughgoing than that of the Soviet Union (so far), but along strikingly similar lines with a few dashes of modern Japan thrown in.

The leader was the Inca, "Son of the Sun," and he was surrounded by adoring courtiers who supervised almost every detail of the life of the people. No private property of any kind existed. The fields were allotted periodically and the harvests were divided into three parts: one for the Inca, one for maintenance of worship, or (in modern terms) the general party line, and one for the general public. No doors were allowed on houses, so that all acts of everyone could be inspected at any time by the OGPU of the period. After each harvest, the marriageable girls were assembled and assigned husbands by functionaries of the state. Worship of the Inca was the prime duty taught to the children.

After flourishing for about five centuries, the Inca Empire—with a population of ten or twenty millions—was conquered in 1530 by Pizarro who headed a force of only 200 soldiers. He had, to be sure, superior weapons, and was aided by a split Inca party, but these advantages were insignificant in view of the obvious handicaps he faced. By a simple though treacherous stroke of capturing alive the Inca, Atahualpa, and issuing orders in his name, one of the largest empires of the world was subjugated by a handful of adventurers. Long regimentation had evidently reduced the Incas to such a servile condition that they were incapable of resisting aggression. And since then they have ranged from slaves of the Spanish to political pawns of the modern dictatorial regimes in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, where they still constitute the bulk of the population. All are cocaine addicts, which apparently accounts for their almost incredible physical prowess—such as carry-

ing loads of 300 pounds up and down steep mountains and running 60 miles with scarcely a stop. There is doubtless a connection, too, between cocaine and their sub-human standard of living, but it should not be presumed that the former is the cause of the latter; rather, the two go together, as I found in extensive studies of opium in China. And I think it significant that the only two areas of the world in which narcotic addiction is extensive—China and the Andean regions of South America—are those in which inhuman toil and centuries of vigorous and vicious social regimentation have been combined, for while China never had anything resembling Inca communism, the Confucian party dictatorship there engaged in equally efficient thought control.

### *The Jesuit Collectives*

Virtually all over South America, the Spanish *conquistadores* and the Portuguese in Brazil enslaved the Indians, but the next important experiment in dictatorship was the 33 Jesuit collectives in the Paraguayan areas. The subjects here were the Guarani, the most numerous of the eastern South American Indians and also the best developed, although savages compared with the Incas. Their language, for example, was not only unwritten, but failed to go beyond the number four.

No force was used by the Jesuits to recruit for their missions, but with the Spanish *enomenderos* licensed by Phillip II to enslave the Guarani, they were certainly the lesser of two evils. No private property was allowed in the missions. All labor was for the community with the distribution of its products entirely in the hands of the Jesuit priests. Hide, tallow, and *herba mate* were sold for gold to decorate the churches. Guarani was reduced to writing in the Spanish alphabet, but there was no effort at general literary education; intellectual exercise was confined to learning and reciting church ritual. There was, however, extensive instruction in wood and iron work, spinning and weaving. All the collectives were under a Superior of the Jesuit Order, and in each, two priests exercised plenary temporal and spiritual power through Indian assistants.

While the only inside history of these missions is by the Jesuits themselves, they seem to have been pragmatically successful. And the Spanish Government, growing alarmed at their increasing wealth and power as well as at the mounting influence of the Jesuits generally, expelled the Order from the empire in 1769.

Shortly thereafter Spanish South America started that wave of revolts against Madrid which eventually resulted in the successful wars for independence under Miranda and Bolivar. One of the first countries to establish its independence was Paraguay, and this was the most perfect historical case on record of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. For the successor of the Spanish was Dr. Francia (1814 to 1840), who in many ways was the prototype of later dictators the world over. But he had no party nor did he found one; his was one of the most purely personal dictatorships ever known. He had neither wife, mistress, nor associates; was Spartan, simple, and hermit-like in his private life, caring nothing for wealth but only for power. Utterly ruthless and uncompromisingly authoritarian, he made himself the head of the state church, even though personally he was an agnostic. He was called *El Supremo* (the supreme one)—an even higher title than any modern dictator possesses excepting Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek—and such was his megalomania that he regarded even the most humbly worded petition as a reflection on his omniscience, wherefore the petitioner would be punished. He trusted no one, forced everyone to spy on everyone else, and personally handled practically every detail of



*Pictures Inc.*

***IN AND OUT: South American governments change overnight and their presidents with them. At the time this issue went to press, Gabriel Terra (right) was still President of Uruguay, but early returns from Argentina's presidential election, which take days to tally, indicate the defeat of Augustine P. Justo.***

state business. Paraguay was closed to the world; no imports were allowed without his approval of each item, and no one could enter or leave the country without his personal permission.

### *From Francia to Lopez*

Considerable industry was developed through Francia's autarchy, but the general standard of living was so low that most children had no clothes excepting the hats they were compelled to wear so that they could doff them when *El Supremo* passed. No education or newspapers were permitted, and so low was the standard of culture that he was able to exert a mysterious awe over the people by possession of a theodolite with which he explored the sky at night and surveyed land by day.

When he died, at the age of about 85, he was succeeded by one of the most enlightened and benevolent dictators in South American history, Carlos A. Lopez. Lopez opened Paraguay to the world, and brought the country to a stage of development greater than that of any of its neighbors excepting Brazil. But his son, or his wife's son (according to one account), and successor, Francisco S. Lopez, represented a reversion to the Francia tradition combined with Napoleonic ambitions. The second Lopez was even more ruthless than Francia and added to the art of espionage by instructing priests to cross-examine the dying on whether they had ever heard anyone speak ill of him or question his providence.

His reign ended in what was probably the most totalitarian war of modern history, against Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil from 1865 to 1870. At the start of the war, Paraguay had a population of about 800,000; when it concluded, famine and battle had reduced this number to about 80,000—60,000 women and 20,000 males with scarcely any of the latter between 12 and 70. The allied losses were about 300,-000. Lopez himself was shot while trying to escape into the Brazilian wilderness with his Irish mistress, Madame Lynch, and his mother and sisters. Paraguay was shorn of about 55,000 square miles of territory, or approximately half the country outside the Gran Chaco which was even then claimed by Bolivia.

From Lopez II to the recent war with Bolivia, Paraguay was in almost constant internal turmoil, ranging from Gilbert and Sullivan revolutions to some of the bloodiest episodes in South American history. The government at this writing such qualification is necessary in speaking of most South American regimes is a military junta headed by Colonel Raphael Franco and Dr. Juan Stefanich, and proudly proclaimed as "a totalitarian state — a true democracy of workers and peasants." Imitation of Herr Hitler has been carried to the point of issuing an edict against Jews of any nationality entering the country, but I could find no effort to enforce it. There is, however, complete censorship of the press. Police fingerprint and register all visitors, and a police permit is required to leave the country. All political rights of the constitution of 1870 have been suspended, but they never meant much anyway. There is poster propaganda in Spanish and Guarani that "the new Paraguay does not allow deserters from the ranks of labor," and similar fascist stage trappings, but so far this jungle take-off on Hitler has been mild and bloodless.

There is, however, a determined effort to maintain national martial fervor over the still unsettled issue of ownership of the Chaco. A unique current postage stamp bears a map of Paraguay and the disputed region with the latter designated as "Chaco Paraguayo" and the slogan beneath: *Ha sido, Es y sera* (has been, is and will be), and government statements constantly reiterate the same attitude. Also, a building started in the time of Lopez II to the Virgin of Asunción is being made into a tawdry imitation of Napoleon's tomb in Paris to reposit Lopez' remains as the great national hero of the country.

### *The Three "Democracies"*

In a country like Paraguay, where not 15 per cent of the population is literate and where 75 per cent know nothing of any of the modern amenities of life, there is little basis for political democracy. The only likely opposition of consequence to an existing dictatorship would be a group seeking to establish another dictatorship. The same is true in varying degree—with the variation being only quantitative, not qualitative—in all the South American countries excepting Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil.

Of the three, Uruguay under President Gabriel Terra, is politically the most stable and advanced. Its literacy is the highest of all and so is the general level of well being. But while democratic forms have been fairly well preserved there, the government is largely a landowning oligarchy and the gulf between it and the masses has widened in the past year in consequence of the revolution in Spain. Mass sympathy is decidedly on the side of the Spanish republic, while the government is equally pro-Franco. And there is a fascist threat in consequence although I could not find any evidence to indicate it was as serious as some of my anti-fascist acquaintances in Montevideo believed and feared.

The first returns from Argentina's presi-

dential election [complete results were not available at press time] indicate the defeat of President Justo by Manuel Ortiz. At the best, Argentine democracy has been marred by the government in power using its vote-counting prerogative to stay in power, and there has been a pronounced tendency toward complete dictatorship ever since the revolution in 1931 that overthrew Irigoyen. His successor, Uriburu, closed many newspapers and threatened to close *La Prensa,* which is one of the world's best and most independent journals. But the owner of this quite remarkable institution, Ezequiel P. Paz, who now spends much of his time in France, told the would-be dictator that if *La Prensa* were closed it would be published daily in Paris with a daily front-page announcement as to why it was issued there. Uriburu knew Paz was not bluffing, and *La Prensa* was not closed —nor censored. And it may be said that as long as *La Prensa* is issued by its present management in Buenos Aires, Argentine democracy is still very much alive even though being trampled upon.

The present regime of General Justo's *concordancia* is distinctly a landowning oligarchy with many dictatorial characteristics, but political freedom has generally prevailed except for considerable restriction of the insignificant Communist Party. There was once an attempt to censor outgoing press dispatches, but this was abandoned after the threat of John White, *New York Times* correspondent (with the backing, of course, of his newspaper) to move to Montevideo if it were carried into effect. Generally, foreign and Argentine journalists have displayed a most commendable united front against all government efforts to interfere with press freedom, but some newspapers have felt it the better part of valor to be discreet; *La Prensa,* however, has never hesitated to put the government over its editorial knee and administer a severe albeit dignified spanking when it felt like so doing—which has been rather often. And *La Prensa* exercises an influence that would never be suspected from its circulation figures or its ultra-dull make-up; alongside it, the London *Times* seems positively sensational.

But while the worst dictatorial efforts of the Justo regime have been scotched, there have been many less encouraging developments. The province of Buenos Aires (separate from the capital) is under the semi-fascist dictatorship of Governor Manuel A. Fresco, a figure in many ways comparable to the late Huey Long. He has suppressed newspapers, arrested journalists, and organized uniformed *voluntarios* "to protect" his domain from a totally non-existent "communist menace." There are also similar fascist groups elsewhere. General Justo, in his farewell message to Congress last May, professed faith in democracy, but urged that the present universal male suffrage be restricted. In the city of Buenos Aires there has recently been a wave of anti-semitism, including police raids on a number of Jewish schools for alleged communist propaganda: among the "communist" books impounded were Yiddish translations of the Bible. Events in Spain have caused sharp divisions for and against Franco. Further, Argentina has never achieved many of the essential *de jure* implements of democracy. There are no assured civil rights, nor *habeas corpus* as we understand it, nor jury trials to temper the judicial bureaucracy; instead there is star-chamber justice and some of the jails appear to have been modeled after the Black Hole in Calcutta.

### *A "Mild Dictatorship"*

Although Brazil has a richer and deeper culture than either Uruguay or Argentina, it has been more afflicted with dictatorship. Nor has it as much basis for democracy; literacy in the country as a whole is probably not more than 25 per cent, and out-

side of a few large and well developed cities there is a near-jungle standard of living. However, Brazilian dictatorship has always been relatively mild. Perhaps the most severe is the current one of President Gutulio Vargas who got into power by revolution in 1930, but who, if constitutional forms are preserved, will retire after the presidential election next January 3.

There have been upwards of 15,000 political prisoners during the Vargas regime, but no executions unless a certain North American communist was "suicided" (as the French would put it) instead of having committed suicide in jail. For several years martial law prevailed and there was complete denial of any rights of free speech or press. Recently, however, the bulk of the political prisoners were released and press censorship lifted—except that there is a complete ban on "communist propaganda," which includes anything that is mildly leftist. According to official assurances, there are now only "about twenty" political prisoners in jail, all allegedly communists who are guilty of overt acts, but actually not more than two or three of them would be recognized as comrades by either Stalin's Third or Trotsky's Fourth International.

In Brazil, also, is the strongest organized fascist movement in South America—the *Action Integralista Brasileira.* Modeled after the Nazis and with a current leader and presidential candidate, Plinio Salgado, who is extremely Hitleresque in appearance, they claim a million members and are the only political party with branches in every state of Brazil.

## ANSWERS

1. Over 4000 years, to 2205 B C
2. Nanking
3. Peiping, formerly called Peking.
4. St. Petersburg (Russia) was changed to Petrograd and later to Leningrad Constantinople was changed to Istanbul
5. 3,100,000 the fifth largest city in the world
6. The International Settlement is a section of Shanghai ruled by an international commission
7. The Japanese dynasty, which claims derivation from the sun, goes back 2600 years. The present Emperor is Hirohito, the 124th of his line.
8. The Imperial Diet is the Japanese legislative body and consists of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives
9. The "Elder Statesmen" are an unofficial group of former Prime Ministers and Cabinet members who wield great influence, one of whom is Saionji.
10. The Dardanelles have been opened to Russia by Turkey
11. England, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Portugal
12. A Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations
13. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile
14. A dispute over the boundary between Paraguay and Bolivia
15. The Monroe Doctrine adopted in the administration of James Monroe, was the expression of the determination of the United States to prevent the Holy Alliance from aiding Spain recapture her possessions in Latin America
16. The London *Times*, The New York *Times*, *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires
17. While the independence of the United States is reckoned from July 4, 1776, Congress was not instituted until 1789.
18. Gibraltar is a Crown Colony of Great Britain.

# ARMS OVER EUROPE

***The third of a series of articles describes the armed strength of France and her allies***

## By CURT L. HEYMANN

*"There are no blunders left for us to make."*
—Louis Adolphe Thiers,
*First President of the Third Republic*

At the outbreak of the World War, France had been on the defensive for exactly one hundred years. When Thiers negotiated the Treaty of Frankfort that terminated both the French civil war and the Franco-German conflict, in every Frenchman's mind one thought prevailed: to pay the indemnity and deliver French soil from the invaders. Immediately, Thiers embarked on a program of national reconstruction.

Three times within a century (1814, 1870, 1914), German armies have invaded French soil. In the last war, victory was achieved only over the ruins of Europe. For France, it was a defensive war throughout, and in the end—just as close to exhaustion as her adversaries—she aimed at her own protection as in the days of Bluecher and Bismarck. Once more she was on the defensive. Once more "there were no blunders left for her to make." She forced a peace treaty, hoping against hope for the security against aggression. Then she started on a program (mainly defensive) of national reconstruction. It moved, naturally, in two directions: arms and alliances.

### *Perennial Crisis*

France today is the last bulwark of democracy on the European Continent. Yet she is torn by internal strife. Industrial unrest has been widespread. Millions of workers have been on strike. Business is gripped by deflation and depression. Capital has left the country rapidly, and French gold reserves are decreasing constantly. When the Sarraut Cabinet quit, authority seemed to have disappeared in France. On June 4, 1936, Léon Blum took command. Last June he celebrated a happy first birthday as the first French Premier since Poincaré to serve a year or more in office. Then he, too, was out. From June 1932 until July 1937, France has had twelve successive cabinets.

France is going through a perennial crisis. Cabinets come and cabinets go because the mind of the *citoyen* is still inflicted with the revolutionary spirit of 1789. And it is because of that spirit of liberty and equality (unfortunately not always fraternity) that the Popular Front idea came into being and was able to maintain itself against right and left elements, despite internal struggle and the Spanish issue. Those in the fascist camps who predicted a French revolution in either direction have been betrayed and must realize by now that it was Mr. Blum's goodwill gesture toward Britain—whatever his sins might have been otherwise—to restore Anglo-French cordiality.

Why did the British choose to back that union? Because of the World War sentiment? Certainly not. Britain, like France, is a self-governing nation. Both see their fundament in parliamentary democracy. They don't want dictatorships. They outlawed de la Rocque and Sir Oswald Mosley with the result that the movements of these fascist leaders are on the decline. The two

countries are adherents to the League of Nations. They have mutual interests in the Mediterranean: an Italian threat of the British "life-line" is likewise a menace to France's communication with her African possessions, from which, in case of war, she has to draw supplemental colonial troops, essential for the support of her continental army. It is therefore not surprising that Britain's military, naval and air attachés in Paris have been tripled in the last year.

### *Concrete Alliance*

The British do not love the French. But it is Hitler's great error to rely on England's pro-German sentiment. It is his policy to win over Britain by driving a wedge into Anglo-French unity. He used the estrangement between London and Paris and sent troops into the demilitarized Rhineland. Nazi propaganda in London is as anti-French as it is anti-Russian. The British realize it and dislike it intensely, and Berlin's efforts in this direction had a reverse effect: whatever remained of Anglo-French misunderstanding, caused by Laval and resulting out of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, has been forgotten. London and Paris work as closely together as if there had never been a rift. The Anglo-French entente today is infinitely more concrete than in 1914.

This became apparent last spring when the British and French Ambassadors presented in Brussels the joint declaration of their governments, releasing Belgium from her obligation to assist Britain and France if attacked by a third power. Thus, Belgium returned to her pre-war status of neutrality, but the Anglo-French declaration left unchanged the mutual obligation of the powers to come to each other's assistance in the event of aggression. Belgium continues to rearm, and the 1914 status has been recreated. Mr. Delbos visited Brussels last May and assured himself that Belgium had not signed a rubber check. He asked and received some proof regarding the extent to which the Belgian army could hold an invader at bay while waiting for aid. Through the sheer force of events, the former World War allies are again finding themselves in the same boat.

In constructing barriers against aggression and in forming defensive alliances, France had not only to consider a direct attack on her eastern frontiers. She had to look further East, toward Poland and Russia, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan States, to make certain that a conflict in eastern Europe would find her just as prepared as one in Central Europe. The French had learned a lesson from their isolation in 1870. They threw their lot with the Little Entente ever since that political organization — binding together Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania — was formed after the war, aiming at universal peace and European consolidation. Backed by Paris, the Little Entente continues to be a factor with which the fascist states must reckon. The latters' repeated efforts to create discords within that organization have so far failed. It did not succumb to Rome or Berlin, and the Bratislava conference indicated that Prague, Bucharest and Belgrade would continue their common efforts in the defense and promotion of their national interests.

### *The Little Entente*

As far as France and her relationship with the Little Entente is concerned, Czechoslovakia and Rumania are the strongest assets of that alliance. Last June, the motorization of the entire Rumanian army was entrusted to Czechoslovak armament concerns headed by Skoda. The political importance of this step, which followed King Carol's visit to Prague, scarcely needs underlining. It is a victory for Czechoslovakia, as opposed to German competition, since obviously no country would entrust its armament program to another against

which it might in the immediate future find itself aligned in international conflict. It is therefore clear that Rumania takes her stand with Czechoslovakia in the present line-up.

President Eduard Benes is a firm believer in Czechoslovakia's alliance with France. Franz Machnik, Czechoslovakian Minister of War, gave evidence of his country's strong defensive position when he introduced the bill under which both sexes from the ages of 6 to 60 are subject to "training for defense." Further announcement of a great fortification system indicated the country's intention not to rely on Soviet Russia and her Red Army, with both of which a subsequent article will deal. Czechoslovakia's peacetime army, a small, highly disciplined force, equipped by the Skoda works, is probably more efficient than any other small European army. But it could not resist Hitler's legions, should the Germans in their *Drang nach Osten*, choose to overrun that little nation of 15,000,000. Its hope remains France.

Rumania's policy of cooperation with France and her allies is traditional. Her capital is the "Paris of the Balkans," and King Carol is loyal to France where he was an exile. But the country, whose population represents an amazing melting pot of nationalities, is divided in numerous groups and torn by political feuds. The anti-Nazi forces are democratic and adhere to the League of Nations, but are opposed by the pro-Nazi elements, demanding that Rumania must keep aloof from France and Czechoslovakia. Yet, while the *coup d'état* that removed Titulescu from the Foreign Ministry was regarded a Nazi victory, Berlin's expectations have not been fulfilled. Antonescu is not considered pro-German.

Yugoslavia is the weak point of the Little Entente. It has always been one object of Italian and German diplomacy to detach her from Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and the signing of the Italo-Yugoslavian pact must be regarded as a step to alienate her from France. But Mr. Benes received assurances in Belgrade that Yugoslavia would not enter an accord with Italian-dominated Hungary, and von Neurath's visit there showed the public's dislike of pro-German policies. Premier Stoyadinovitch governs with an iron hand but cannot neglect pro-French sentiment. Thus the country still sits on the fence, hesitating to make a final commitment in the matter of armament orders.

### *France and Poland*

Poland is France's oldest ally. After the war, France made the mistake of treating her as a secondary power, dependent upon French direction. To free herself from French tutelage, Poland signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. But today it is again the Polish tendency to draw away from Germany toward France, a new orientation that was illustrated by the announcement that a "Maginot" line of underground defenses along the German frontier would be built with French capital and under the direction of French engineers. This is based on Poland's determination not to be made the battlefield should Hitler decide on his crusade against the Soviet Union. The French Army is popular in Poland, and the military ties of both nations were restored when General Gamelin and General Rydz-Smigly exchanged visits in Warsaw and Paris. The newly concluded Franco-Polish military agreement was supplemented by a far-reaching economic understanding.

There is, no doubt, a good deal of moral strength attached to France's system of defensive alliances with a host of smaller nations. But this system, at the same time, involves such a multitude of obligations on her part that it is doubtful if, in case of a general European war, it will prove as effective as desired. In a forthcoming conflict, France's strategic position will be different

from that in the last war. She will have to fight Germany and most probably Italy. Mussolini has already ordered the construction of Italy's greatest combined seaplane and airplane base at Genoa, only 80 miles from the French frontier and 200 miles from Marseilles. Consequently, the defensive problem for France is twofold: first, she must subdivide her forces, and second as said before the transporting of French colonial troops from Africa would be paralyzed.

### *Defensive Strategy*

France in her defensive strategy primarily relies upon qualitative rather than quantitative strength. With a population of only 40,000,000 she cannot hope to compete with Germany's 65,000,000 plus (eventually) Italy's 40,000,000. She therefore has made the utmost effort to strengthen her system of fortifications and to push her arms scheme. The Maginot Line, built at an estimated cost of more than $2,000,000 a mile, is being extended along the Belgian and Swiss border. France hopes that this line of steel and concrete will prove an impregnable defense from the Jura Mountains to Dunkirk, in fact so strong that a German attack would be discouraged in advance. Along the Italian frontier no "line" is needed because of the mountainous character of the country.

France's defense budget for 1937, amounting to 20,000,000,000 francs, provides only a part of this program. But there is no doubt that this budget will be greatly exceeded. So far, $24 per capita is being spent for armaments during the current year. Under the Expropriation Law, the French armament industry is being nationalized. Totally or partially, all enterprises engaged in manufacturing or trading of war munitions will pass into the hands of the Government. The great Schneider arms works at Le Creusot, the Hotchkiss machine-gun plant, the Brandt arms factory, and the part of the Renault works which manufactures tanks, have already been seized, and others, including the naval shipyards, will probably soon follow.

### *Preparedness*

*ARMY:* The French Army has the reputation of being the "best in the world." It consists of 708,000 officers and men, including colored troops in North Africa and the French colonies. A half million of them are in France, stationed in fortresses near the eastern borders. Reserves amount to 6,000,000 men, and 2,000,000 more can be mobilized in the colonies. The artillery is renowned and its mechanical divisions, including the Renault light tank (Model 1935) are supposed to be the last word in strategic movability.

*NAVY:* Next to Britain, France's navy is the strongest in Europe. She is determined to retain her naval position over Italy and Germany at any cost. While a new naval budget will shortly be presented to the Chamber of Deputies, asking for two more capital ships of 35,000 tons, two airplane carriers, and two more 8,000-ton cruisers, four capital ships—the *Dunkerque*, *Strasbourg*, *Richelieu*, and *Jean Bart*—are under construction. This program fulfilled, France as a sea power will rank third, with Japan as a close rival.

*AIR FORCE:* There are 3,000 planes of which only one-third are modern, and there is no reserve. An armada of 1,500 first-line planes is planned with a reserve of 50 per cent. The output of war planes is behind schedule, but it is hoped that the nationalization of airplane plants will fulfill France's aerial expectations. Even so, execution of her air defense program cannot be expected by the end of this year.

France is not yet ready but prepared, and is well satisfied with her military position, while Italy and Germany fish in troubled Mediterranean waters, fortifying Spanish Morocco and equipping Ceuta, Larache, and the Canary Islands with offensive bases for submarines and planes. Marine batteries at Ceuta and Algericas can supposedly cover the whole of the Strait of Gibraltar. In the long run, the Spanish civil war develops more and more into a fight for supremacy between France and Britain, and Italy and Germany in the Mediterranean. The fascist states may try to decide the issue before the completed British armament program can decide it in favor of England, France, and her allies.

# AFRICA, LAND OF PROMISE

***Will the Dark Continent save Western trade or assert its independence as Asia has done?***

**By JOHN C. LE CLAIR**

RECENT moves of Japan on the mainland of Asia in conjunction with the rising tide of nationalism in countries heretofore regarded as rightful spheres for Western enterprise leave little doubt but that the world is witnessing the final phase of Occidental ascendancy on that Continent. The past five centuries have seen the sun of Western imperialism rise and set in Eastern Lands. The early years saw the roving adventurer intent on making his fortune—subsequently with political partition and the struggle for control came the merchant bringing the products of the industrialized West to a slowly awakening land of apparently unlimited trade possibilities. Today the reaction has set in. In matters political and imperialistic the East has proven an apt pupil, and hoist, as it was, by its own petard, the Occident finds that the phrase "Open Door," first coined to guarantee equal commercial opportunity to all in a prostrate China, now in the face of aggressive Asiatic nationalism means an "exit." Whatever the outcome of the determination of Japan to be master in the Far East, or the quarrels of other national groups, there is little question but that the days of Western dominance are numbered. The term "Monroe Doctrine" for Asia today possesses a real and understandable significance.

The West, therefore, must look elsewhere for possibilities of economic and political compensation. With increasing industrialization this need is vital. And Africa, at the backdoor of Europe, would appear to be the answer to the problem—a land destined to become the last stronghold of Western exploitation. Doubtless we are accustomed to assume that in the scramble of the past fifty years the fate of this vast land has been sealed amidst the conflicting claims of Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. However, the actual situation would appear to be quite the reverse. African exploration and colonization throughout history has never gone beyond the preliminary stage of outright exploitation; Africa has been regarded primarily as a way station to fortune, a source of gold and diamonds, ivory and slaves, but a land of temporary sojourn—its chief purpose the furnishing of the maximum return in the minimum time. Little thought has ever been given to Africa as a land of permanent settlement or as permanent market for the products of the West. Beginnings have been made in the recent years, but these have barely scratched the surface. Today, therefore, as the result of its long isolation, which the comparatively casual colonization of its coastal regions has affected but slightly, Africa constitutes one of the few areas of the earth possessed of unlimited resources which have been barely tapped.

Africa, in all probability so named by the Phoenicians after a Berber tribe, the Afarik, is the second largest of the continents, with a total area, including the surrounding islands, of 11,498,000 square miles and a population of 200,000,000. Although three times the size of Europe, it is interesting to note, as an explanation in part of its comparative commercial back-

wardness, that the length of its coastline is but 16,100 miles as compared with the 19,800 miles of Europe.

The past half-century has witnessed the rapid division of African territory, and today, exclusive of Egypt, the Union of South Africa, and Liberia, the flags of six nations wave over some forty-eight colonies, protectorates, mandates, and crown colonies—in the name of civilization. The rapidity of this process, accelerated particularly in the heyday of the pre-war struggle for colonial supremacy, is indicated by the fact that, whereas in 1876 and 1885 only 10 and 25 per cent of the African land was under European control, by 1912 this had risen to 95 per cent. Today Liberia is the only territory throughout the continent which can even theoretically be claimed as independent.

### *Colonization Temporary*

Yet African colonization by Europeans has with few exceptions been of a temporary nature, with little interest in the land beyond the possibility of bearing away its immediately portable treasures with the minimum of settlement. Towns have been built, railroads constructed, for the sole purpose of either consolidating political control or bringing to the markets of the world the diamonds, gold, and ivory of the fabulous wealth of this still mysterious land of Prester John. All this bears the unmistakable imprint of the 16th and 17th century brand of exploration and colonization. Thus did the Conquistadors and soldiers of fortune of that distant era rob Asia and the Americas of their treasures. Subsequently, however, came the realization that trade and markets were the real roads to wealth—to which end permanent settlements with a thorough exploration and knowledge of the interior regions and their peoples were essential. Today in the face of changing conditions in the East the Occidental world must adopt similar methods with regard to its African lands, with the result that the near future must find this great continent approached with the view of converting it into a permanent market for the absorption of the industrial output of the West.

Attempts to colonize Africa in the past have been met by conditions which reflect both the natural difficulties of the land and the circumstances of its history. The continent has few bays of any depth, or islands which might serve as a protection for ships against the force of the surf. A glance at a topographical map will indicate that, in addition to the lack of natural harbors, the coast is for the most part made up of a strip of low land covered with dense forest. Also with the exception of the Nile and the Middle Congo and its branches, we find a general unnavigability of most of the rivers of Africa, and as a result a general difficulty of communication both along the coasts and with the interior. Disease has also been an important factor in the absence of permanent settlement. Finally, probably the chief difficulty which has heretofore helped to keep Africa undeveloped from the viewpoint of trade, as well as an unknown land, has been the comparative scarcity of population over the greater part of its area in addition to the small productivity of the natives. This, in fact, is the major problem which must be overcome. In the past also, the Arab control of the North, in addition to the extent of the slave trade which did not look kindly on legitimate enterprise, militated against the possibility of the development of markets in the interior, or production by the natives for trade purposes. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to consider the extent to which Africa, instead of producing for export, is indebted to its various invaders for the introduction of products which have become, as a result, a part of its daily existence. These include maize, rice, sugar cane, the orange, lemon, lime, cloves, tobacco, and related

vegetable products, as well as the camel, horse, and other animals.

### *From the Portuguese to Livingstone*

In general, European exploration and colonization can be said to have begun in 1434 with the first voyages of the Portuguese. Trading ventures to the west coast of Africa were undertaken by the British in 1553, the Dutch in 1595, the French in 1610, and the Danes in 1672. These expeditions were bent on conquest and plunder and set the pattern of the era. There was no attempt to do more than to establish along the coast bases of operation which would enable accomplishment of their aims.

Until the 1880's there is a general interlude of disinterest in Africa, as the Occidental World divided its activities between the lands of the Western Hemisphere and the Far East. In these lands, which had been first subjected to methods of operation similar to those used in Africa, trade had now taken the place of conquest and plunder, and, although the Asiatic lands were held to a great extent under Western control, under the new doctrine of imperialism they had come to be treated as potential customers of the products of the West. The increasing industrial output of Europe and America had discovered the necessity of a conciliatory shop-keeper manner which must needs replace or better refine the previous rule of the iron fist of the conqueror if trade was to be profitable. It was, in fact, the growing competition of national groups for these markets which first turned attention to the exploratory work of Livingstone in Central Africa—an interest which became alive to the implications of the situation with the successive expeditions of Stanley, Denham, the Lander Brothers, Henry Johnston, Caillé, Barth and others. The resulting scramble for African colonies, beginning in 1880, had by 1912 absorbed some 95 per cent of the land under the control of the various European powers. Nevertheless, here again there was in the main little attempt to analyze the problems of this vast continent in terms of its trade potentialities as an industrial outlet. Although trade on a larger scale did result from this movement, the chief concern was national prestige in terms of land holdings, and the era is noted in history as the "place in the sun" period.

Today Africa represents the last stronghold of Western exploitation, not only collectively but also individually, with regard to the trade of the various countries, taking into consideration their increasing rivalry over exports. Its great possibilities can be observed from a list of its chief economic resources which can be classified as jungle and cultivated, animal and mineral.

### *Africa's Resources*

Under jungle products can be listed rubber and palm oil, of which tropical Africa supplies the largest part. Rubber-producing plants are found throughout the whole tropical belt, and the Firestone experiment in Liberia is being observed with considerable interest as an example of what efficient methods of production can achieve. From the coastal regions around the Gulf of Guinea comes the bulk of the supply of palm oil. African teak oak has been found to be excellent for ship building. Of value also is the durable odum of the Gulf Coast, African mahogany, ebony and other ornamental and dye woods. In addition there can be listed such vegetable products as gum arabic and cork, as well as various grasses used in paper manufacture.

Among the cultivated products are coffee, copra, cloves, cotton, which grows wild in many parts of tropical Africa, sugar, dates, cocoa, and tobacco. With regard to cotton it might be pointed out that Egypt holds third place among the world's sources of supply. Of interest also in this respect is the reported Japanese concession in Ethiopia for the cultivation of this staple, which

according to reports totals 1,600,000 acres.

Animal products include ivory, raw hides and wool, hair of the merino sheep and the angora goat, and ostrich feathers.

The mineral products of Africa constitute a considerable portion of the wealth of the world, South Africa supplying approximately 25 per cent of the world's output of gold and 80 per cent of its diamonds. Practically all the baser metals are present in Africa—the great copper mines and smelters of the Katanga country in the southern Congo Basin are world known, an indication of what is possible of accomplishment—iron deposits are widely diffused, and there are extensive coal fields, phosphates, zinc, lead, antimony, and manganese.

In addition, with broad plains for stock raising, soil and climate for both tropical and temperate crops, extensive forest lands, and water power in great quantities, there appears to be every prospect that Africa is destined to become the future trade reservoir of the Western nations.

### *Political Potentialities*

The political implications of this situation are fraught with possibilities that do not promise well for the future peace of Europe. While it might appear that the present possessions of the respective powers have become crystallized with time, with little prospect of change, yet the necessary increase in African trade in the future will unquestionably call for a reshuffling of many of the possessions of the powers. While this will doubtless not affect the territories of the so-called great powers, Great Britain and France, who between them control two-thirds of the African Continent, nor the theoretically free status of Liberia with the United States as its guarantor, nor for that matter the possessions of Italy and possibly Belgium, yet in the case of Spain and Portugal territorial readjustment as to their African colonies would appear inevitable.

Since the inception of the present conflict in Spain rumors have been rife as to secret agreements with certain interested powers for the reapportionment of the possessions of the latter countries. The former's share of African lands is comparatively small, embracing but 130,000 square miles, but the Portuguese still retain some 800,000 square miles, the remnants of their once great empire of the 15th and 16th centuries. Great Britain, who has been a dominant factor in the political and financial history of Portugal for over two hundred years, will doubtless have something to say in any question of partition. However, Great Britain has at various times expressed sympathy for the so-called "have nots," with the implication that she favors some form of territorial settlement as long as it does not affect her own possessions. As the English are in the main a very practical people in matters of political relationships it would appear that the Portuguese colonies in Africa are the solution.

Whatever the territorial settlements reached, there appears to be little question as to the future status of Africa as the last scene of Western imperialism. The Powers will doubtless reconcile themselves the sooner to their ejection from Asia and the necessity for building a new commercial imperialism in Africa on the ground that in the latter continent there appears to be little possibility for the development of a surging nationalism capable of asserting the right of self determination and a Monroe Doctrine for Africa. Yet there is a tendency to question whether, if Western exploitation follows the same course in Africa as it did in Asia, the future will not bear witness to the development in one of the present subject peoples of Africa of a leadership capable of carrying them along the same road to economic and political freedom which Asia has pursued with such success in recent years.

# ENOUGH MEAT FOR EVERYBODY

***There are more living members of the livestock family than there are human beings in the U. S.***

**By G. M. KILBOURN**

LIFE should be very easy for a spider, or a mountain trout, or a duck hunter. All they need to do when hungry is to reach up into the air and bring down a dinner.

The element which distinguishes meat and other proteins from other food products is nitrogen. If all the nitrogen in the world were suddenly made into meat, however, we would be covered with a mountain of it—because about three-fourths of the air we breathe is nitrogen. As the late Dr. Edwin E. Slosson of Science Service used to point out, if we could only eat with our lungs, "a few minutes' breathing would give us a full meal." But instead, we stand in an ocean of nitrogen, helpless like the ancient mariner with "water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink," and wait for nature to bring us our nitrogen in her own quiet way—through the soil, via plants and meat animals.

Although there were apparently no domestic animals raised for their meat in North America until the coming of the Norsemen with their cattle nearly a thousand years ago, or again until Columbus with the cattle, hogs, and sheep of his second voyage (1493), almost two-thirds of the farm land of the United States is now devoted partly or wholly to supplying the country's meat. (Almost half of its 1,055,000,000 acres of farm land is pasturage, and more than a third of the remainder grows hay, grains, or other crops extensively fed to live stock.) Cattle were found on four-fifths of our 6,800,000 farms, according to the 1935 Census of Agriculture; hogs were raised on nearly three-fifths of them, and sheep on one farm in eleven, on the average.

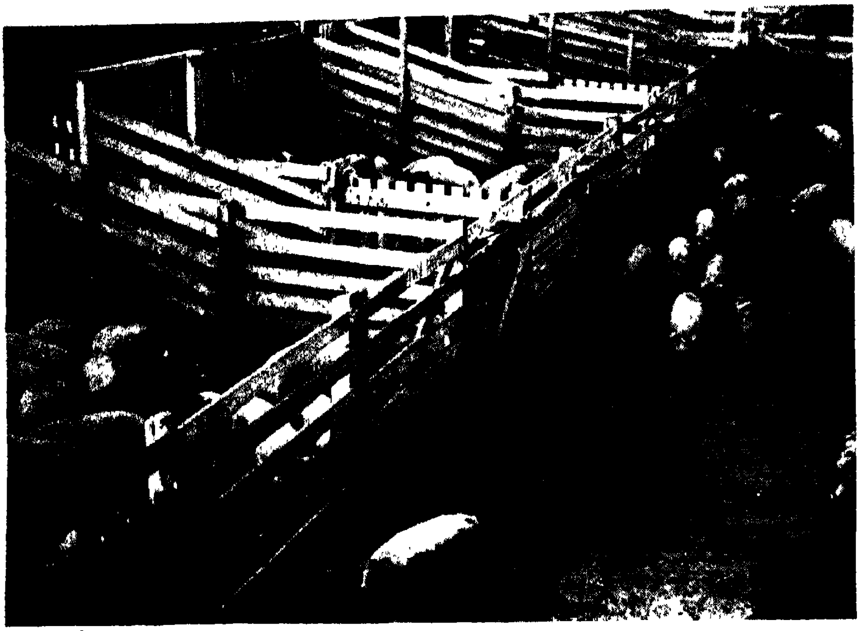
At the beginning of 1937 there were in the United States approximately half as many cattle, a third as many hogs, and two-fifths as many sheep, as there were human beings to eat their meat. Almost two-thirds of the cattle were beef cattle.

More than a sixth of the country's sheep and a seventh of its cattle come from Texas. Iowa supplies more than a seventh of its hogs. Hog production and feeding, and the feeding or "finishing" of better grade cattle, are centered in the corn belt region, which extends eastward from Nebraska as far as Ohio. Sheep production is greatest in the states westward from Texas and Colorado, and in Ohio.

Nearly every State in the Union, however, has a sizeable livestock population. Thirty-two States boast 500,000 beef cattle, or more, while 26 States have that many hogs, and 26 have as many sheep. And there is only one State west of Delaware that is not numbered in one of these groups.

Hence the meat packing industry is not confined to Chicago or even to the corn belt. Packing plants in Illinois produce only about one-fifth of the country's meat supply, and those in the ten states from Ohio to South Dakota and Kansas produce only about five-eighths of it. New York and California, respectively, are the third and sixth largest producers, and Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Texas are high on the list. Either New York, California, Ohio, or Pennsylvania, incidentally, has more pack-

*These Little Pigs Went to Market . . .*



***EN ROUTE:*** *From this country shipping yard, to which farmers from miles around bring their livestock, the hogs are shipped to the central stockyards, in this case, Chicago, where the yards have a potential capacity of 300,000 hogs a day. Today, farmers receive their checks as soon as their pigs arrive at market.*

ing plants than does Illinois, with Pennsylvania numbering nearly twice as many!

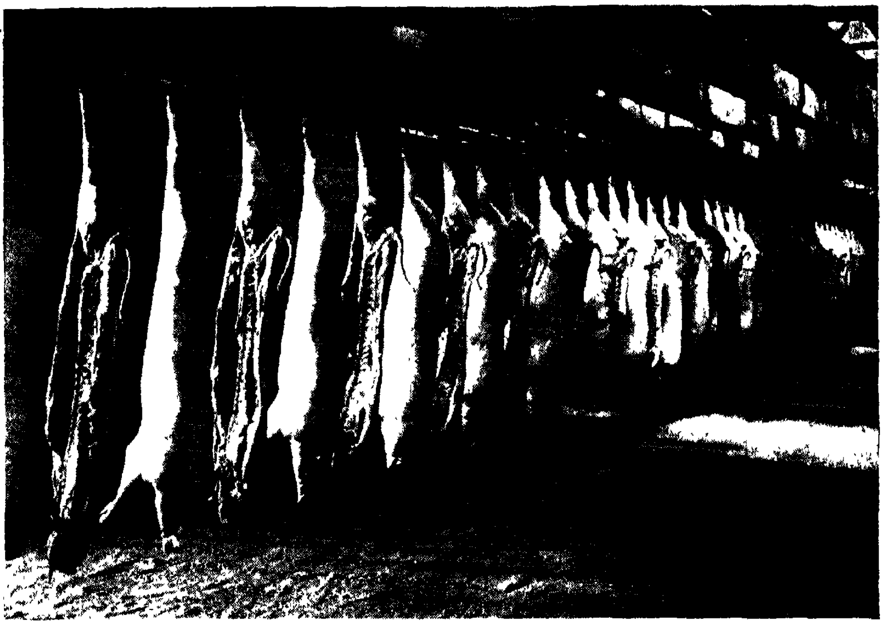
### *The West Feeds the East*

But, in general, the movement of meat is still from west to east just as it was in colonial days, when the towns along the Atlantic seaboard were fed by farmers who had ventured a bit nearer the Indians and the mountains; or in the first half of the nineteenth century, when long lines of livestock from the Ohio valley trudged high over the mountains to New York and Baltimore, and when Cincinnati was winning the nickname "Porkopolis" by "packing 15 bushels of corn into a pig and packing that pig into a barrel" and floating him down the Mississippi river and around the coast to feed those cities and others.

Four fifths of the country's sheep, three-fourths of its beef cattle, and approximately half of its hogs still are raised west of the Mississippi river, while more than two-thirds of its consuming population still live east of that river. Thus rail hauls of cattle and hogs to market in a recent year averaged about 400 miles, and those of sheep 600 miles—although the distances ordinarily traveled by truck shipments, which also are very important in the livestock industry in the midwest and elsewhere, were presumably somewhat shorter. And after the animals are dressed, the meat usually takes another ride by rail or truck, or each in turn—the rail trip averaging nearly a thousand miles.

On completing their ride from farm or ranch, the livestock find themselves in one of the 69 public stockyards listed by the United States Department of Agriculture, or in the private yard of some packer. (There are about 600 meat packing com-

### . . . But Should Have Stayed at Home



*REQUIESCANT IN PACE: Literally speaking, the hogs are now on the way to the coolers. Whether fresh or cured, the meat in the packing plant is kept under refrigeration. Only the very best hogs make choice bacon. After extracting the bacon, distributors have to worry about the remaining 90 per cent of the hog.*

panies, operating about 1200 packing plants.)

A stockyard is practically a hotel for livestock, supplying feed, water, and a resting place for the animals, and also offering a convenient meeting-place where buyer and seller may strike their bargain. If called a hotel, the Chicago yards would be the biggest hotel in the world: if necessary, they could handle 75,000 cattle, 300,000 hogs, and 125,000 sheep in a single day. They comprise about 13,000 paved rectangular pens, with room service in the form of feeding racks and water troughs—the water system involving a pumping capacity of 8,000,000 gallons daily. Around and among these pens run 25 miles of streets and animal runways, and 300 miles of railway trackage. Two-story sheds for the hogs cover 75 acres.

In the stockyards a nod of a man's head is as good as his bond. "Take 'em away," says the buyer, and the seller asks no written agreement. Millions of dollars a day change hands in this way. Incidentally, the modern delivery of a check to the farmer's agent within a few hours after his livestock has arrived at the market is greatly in contrast to the system in practice a hundred years ago, when the packer was primarily a warehouse man who simply shipped the farmer's pork on commission after having the hogs dressed by someone else, also on commission. In the absence of refrigeration either in plant or in car, most of the meat marketed other than locally was pork packed in salt. The hogs could be dressed only in fall and winter weather, leaving the workmen free to look for some other job the rest of the year.

Parts not wanted for packing, such as the hearts and livers, were likely to be given

away, and most of the by-product materials were likely to be entirely wasted. On the coast of Texas, where there was an unmarketable surplus of cattle shortly before the Civil War, as well as immediately after it, they were slaughtered for their hides and tallow just as were the buffalo hordes on the western prairies.

### *The Farmer Takes His Share*

Today, however, the era of waiting by the farmer and of waste by the packer has long since disappeared. Today the meat packer does business 52 weeks a year, offering the farmer not just the hope of a conditional return for lumping his marketings within a single season, but instead the assurance of a cash payment at any and every season. Nearly three-fourths of the wholesale meat dollar, according to a recent University of Chicago study covering a ten-year period, is paid out for the farmer's livestock (with most of the remainder going for payrolls, incidental supplies and materials, power and fuel, interest and depreciation, taxes, and wholesaler's expenses). Of the retail meat dollar, according to this study, 26 cents is paid out by the retailer (14 cents of it for wages), and 20 cents by wholesaler and processor, leaving four cents for the expenses of livestock shipment and marketing, and 50 cents as the share reaching the farmer. Incidentally figures of the United States Department of Agriculture indicate that the percentages of the consumer's food dollar finally reaching the farmer in the case of meat, and the dairy and poultry products also handled by the meat packing industry, are the highest received from any of the food products he raises.

And so rigid is the rule of economy in packinghouse operation that in spite of all the hazards of handling a perishable product, as well as the necessity of buying 100 pounds of live animal to get from 50 to 70 pounds of meat, the industry as a whole has been able to operate on a margin of profit averaging less than a cent per dollar of sales during the past twelve years, and yet only twice during that period dipping below the zero mark. Another sign of the efficiency attained in the business is the utilization in by-products of so many items formerly wasted—the value of the by-products often being sufficient, in the case of cattle and sheep, to pay all the costs of processing the meat, thereby enabling the packer to pass along to the farmer for the animal as much as he himself will receive for the meat.

Until 60 or 75 years ago, most slaughterers of meat animals handled only a few animals per week, often with one or two men performing the entire task of dressing the animal, cutting the meat, and selling it. Today packing plants are equipped with intricate machinery, and hundreds, or in some instances even thousands, of men are employed. Incidentally, the American meat packing industry was the first to adopt the conveyor principle, now perhaps best known through its use in the automobile industry, by which the material moves past the workman.

Dressed pork, after a chilling period of at least 24 hours, rides along on a moving table, upon which hams, shoulders, loins, and other parts are cut off, to slide by gravity to the curing cellars or shipping rooms below.

Most beef is sold to the retailer in sides or quarters, to be further cut up by him. Hams and bacon are most marketable as cured meats. If to be sweet-pickle cured, they are put in a salt and sugar (or molasses) solution, with a bit of nitrate or nitrite of soda, for from 40 to 75 days in the case of ham, depending on its weight, or from 17 to 30 days, in the case of bacon. A period of smoking follows, in the fragrant fumes of burning hardwood.

Closely linked with curing is refrigeration, which has twice revolutionized the

meat packing business in the last century. Plant refrigeration with natural ice, beginning about 1850, changed it into an all-year industry, making possible a year-round supply of fresh meat for populations in the vicinity of packing plants; and railway car refrigeration a quarter of a century later again transformed the business, giving it speeding wheels and new horizons, and offering every American city and town, regardless of its distance, a truly imperial luxury—daily fresh meat.

Incidentally, when natural ice refrigeration of packing plants arrived, about 1850, for a generation the ice house in many cases dwarfed the remainder of the plant!

Whether fresh or cured, the meat in the packing plant is kept under refrigeration. The fresh meat, however, is quickly sold—usually within three days or less. Most of the meat actually under refrigeration at any time, therefore, is meat in process of cure. It is sometimes equivalent to a three-week meat ration for the country. Very little of the meat produced is actually frozen. Frozen meats are used primarily in products to be further processed.

Refrigeration also serves both farmer and consumer by helping spread supplies from periods of super-abundance to those of relative scarcity.

Some packers do a business largely confined to their own communities, and make practically all their deliveries by truck. Others distribute through branch houses spread through many States, and by refrigerator car routes which serve regions distant from a plant or branch. Sometimes the same salesman must be advance man for several refrigerator cars on parallel routes; zigzagging from one route to the other, he must try to keep two or three days ahead of each car, so as to get in the orders in time to catch the train, and yet take every retailer's order as late as possible. And he must try to figure out a way to make every car a full car, or nearly so, to keep down the freight charge per unit. Such salesmen usually serve from 75 to 125 dealers each; and all of these may want to get meat the same day—Saturday, of course, being the day of their biggest trade. The cars usually make two trips a week, giving a delivery early in the week also.

A car may carry 25,000 pounds of meat, and require 5,800 pounds of ice to keep it cool.

Nor are the problems of car route selling the only ones in the distribution end of the packing business. Consider the case of bacon. Anyone buying bacon might think that an immensely profitable commodity. But the packer wishing to produce it soon finds that only the very best hogs make choice bacon, and that even then only eight or nine per cent of the hog comes out as bacon—so, although he may have the bacon sold, there remains the far greater problem of disposing of the other ninety per cent of the hog.

Each class and grade of meat and lard must find its own particular market. And since only about 70 per cent of a hog, 55 per cent of a steer, and 47 per cent of a lamb comes out of the plant as meat, there must be a market also for all sorts of by-products—hides and glue and wool and animal feeds and many others. The suit you wear, the belt and buttons that hold it together, the shoes you wear and the brush with which you shine them, the glue which holds your furniture together, the cushions on which you sit or ride, even the chewing gum behind which your stenographer talks, or the tennis racket or ukulele about which she's thinking while taking your dictation, may be partly or wholly a packinghouse product.

# THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

## *Current history in the world of the arts*

By V. F. CALVERTON

UNFORTUNATE as were the conditions and circumscriptions under which artists had to live in the Middle Ages, they were not nearly so insufferable as those under which they have to live today in modern dictatorships. In feudal, and for a considerable time in post-feudal days, kings and queens, lords and dukes, and patrons of devious and various descriptions, respected the work of artists however much they disrespected the artists themselves. They considered artists of all varieties their social inferiors: they viewed them as eccentrics, social hybrids, biological sports; but they admired their work and gave them a relatively free hand in its creation.

Today, however, in dictatorial states such as Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, to cite two examples, that respect has disappeared. Hitler and Stalin refuse to respect either the artist or his work. Utilizing the divers agencies of the totalitarian, monolithic states over which they reign, both dictators have terrorized artists and condemned those forms and expressions of art which fail to affirm and extol the immediate needs of their regimes. The result has been inevitably disastrous. The best artists in both countries have been driven either into exile, which has been the case mainly in Germany, or into silence or slavish artificiality, which has been the case mainly in Soviet Russia.

A month ago, as was pointed out in this department, Hitler, an unsuccessful landscape painter who became a successful dictator, denounced modern art as the product of morbid and perverted minds, assailing almost every painter from Manet to Dali as the "filthy" brain children of Jews and Bolsheviks. In addition to swearing that he would rid the country of their "esthetic atrocities," he went further and advocated the sterilization of such "unfit" painters. Hitler's attitude stands out in very marked contrast to that which prevailed in Germany before his accession to power. In those days, Germany was more hospitable to modern art than any other European country. It bought the great French modernists: Renoir, Seurat, Picasso before the French themselves would admit their greatness, and its art galleries are crowded with the masterpieces of almost all the more conspicuous modernists. If Hitler intends ridding the country of all their works, the loss which Germany will suffer will be irreparable. No doubt the money Germany would gain from the sale of such works would prove economically advantageous—the paintings of many of the modernists run high into the thousands, some over a hundred thousand dollars—and there can be little doubt but that Hitler is far more interested in economics than esthetics.

Whatever Hitler's underlying motivation, the fact remains that he has made himself the self-appointed dictator of what is good art and what is not. Nothing attests that better than his words, expressing his implicit belief in his own judgment in this regard:

"I was always determined if fate ever gave us power not to discuss these matters with any one but to make decisions. Understanding for such great affairs is not given to everyone".

Hitler is determined to make art Aryan or make it nothing at all. The first test of an artist in Hitler's Germany is not his art but his origin. If there is the slightest suggestion of Jewishness about his heritage or Marxism about his politics, his art is condemned regardless of its form or content. In other words, it is not art which

counts in Germany today but race and politics. No attitude could be more fatal to art—which explains why most of Germany's best artists, writers, and musicians have fled to foreign shores for inspiration.

### *"Call Me Levy"*

In that connection, the telegram sent to Berlin by Sinclair Lewis and Sidney Howard, who adapted Sinclair Lewis' novel *Dodsworth* to the stage, is unforgettably hilarious. It was proposed to produce *Dodsworth* in Berlin, and Herr Hans Bartsch, the German impresario who owns the central European rights to the play, asked the authors to send as soon as possible letters certifying their Aryan purity.

This is the answer sent by Mr. Howard and Mr. Lewis:

> "I am afraid that with deep regret we shall be unable to give you certificates guaranteeing that we are Aryan. Who knows what ancestors we may have had in the last few hundred years? We really are as ignorant of them as even Hitler of his.
>
> "In answering please use our proper legal names: Sidney Horowitz, Sinclair Levy."



***WHAT'S IN A NAME? Asked by a Berlin producer to furnish certification of Aryan purity Sinclair Lewis wrote a cutting reply and signed his name as "Sinclair Levy."***

When we turn away from Germany, with its medievalistic conception of race and politics, and direct our attention to Russia, we are, alas, not confronted with a spectacle which is very much more heartening and hopeful. Art in the Soviet Union has been subjected to state oppressions and suppressions which have not been very dissimilar from those it has met under fascist dictatorships.

As Max Eastman has described in illuminating and yet at the same time horrifying detail in his book, *Artists in Uniform*, the penalties and punishments meted out to Soviet artists who dared deviate from or defy Stalin's mandates have been no less wretched and reprehensible than those experienced by artists under other dictatorships. Stalin's rule in that respect, as well as in others, has been rigid and ruthless. Much of the best art of the Soviet Union has been truncated of meaning, dwarfed of purpose, by virtue of the suppressive techniques adopted by the Stalin clique in its attempt to force all art and all artists to do its bidding in esthetic activities.

The suicide of Maiakovsky, one of the best poets produced by the Soviet revolution, the premature death of Polonsky, one of the best critics produced by the Bolsheviks, were indirectly attributable to the literary tyranny of the régime. The record of other aspects of that tyranny are scarcely less horrendous. Mr. Eastman's searching account of "the framing of Eugene Zamyatin", of the pusillanimous recantations of novelists like Romanov and Pilniak, the enforced silence into which Babyel was driven, are additional evidences of the sad,

sick conditions under which Soviet artists have had to live.

Artists in Soviet Russia who toe the line, scrape the earth with literary obeisances, and "yes" whatever is, meet with no such crucifixions. They live literally upon the fat of the land, and are hailed and haloed by politicians and pedagogues. In fact, the artists in no other land are as well paid, or as well honored as those in Soviet Russia. Fourteen Soviet playwrights, scenarists, and composers, for example, earned from royalties on the production of their works more than 10,000 rubles monthly during 1936, according to figures published recently by Alexis Tolstoy and Vsyevolod Vishnevsky. Fifty others earned from 2,000 to 10,000 rubles monthly, with 251 earning from 500 to 2,000 rubles monthly. The trouble is that it is only the yes-men artists who profit thus. The artists who hesitate to acclaim everything before them, demur at the sight of political obscenity, question the extremes of dictatorial tyranny, are in a worse condition than the artists in democratic countries, and in a similar condition to the artists who live under other dictatorships

## *The Literary Purge*

Not more than a year ago, Karl Radek was exalted as one of the most noted critics of literature (as well as of many other topics) in the Soviet Union. American *proleterati* genuflected before Radek's opinions and cited them as final and apodictic. Today Radek is in disgrace, convicted of being a traitor, and his opinions are condemned as worthless and vile—as if Radek's political convictions invalidated his literary judgments!

But not only Radek has suffered. A whole host of literary people once conspicuous in Soviet letters has been subjected to virulent attack. Auerbach, once the leader of *Rapp,* the famous literary organization which drove Polonsky to an early death, Babyel to silence, and hundreds of other writers into retreat, has now been assailed as "an enemy of the people." The publication, *Young Guard,* accused Auerbach of writing a book on the Volga canal without the knowledge of the late Maxim Gorki. This subject was one that Gorki wanted to treat himself before his death. Auerbach was charged with desiring to create a literary centre which would assemble about it forces challenging the Communist Party on literary questions.

Prince Dmitri Mirsky, Russian historian and literary critic, was also assailed by the "Young Guard." Mirsky allegedly criticized the works of Alexandre A. Fadeyev, the noted writer on Siberian customs. It is curious in that connection that Mirsky, a Prince converted to a Bolshevik, should be subjected to such an attack, when up to a few months ago he had practically disfigured his spiritual anatomy bending and bowing and crossing himself in repentance for his past and in hopes of sanctifying his present and future.

Two Soviet poets: Bezymensky and Alexandrovitch, well known for their contributions to Soviet letters, have also fallen beneath the Soviet literary axe.

## *A Medium for Propaganda*

The theatre too has undergone an equally severe purge and many of the best talents have been removed from positions of influence. Efforts have been made by the Stalin regime to encourage the work of playwrights willing to affirm present conditions and exalt Stalin into a deity. In fact, the theatres have been enlisted in current anti-spy efforts. Harold Denny, in the *New York Times* describes one of the most recent plays dedicated to that end:

> A propaganda play by the brothers Tur, well-known feuilleton writers, and I. Sheinin, a criminal investigator, has just been produced in Leningrad, and it is acclaimed by the Communist Party press.
>
> The play opens with a graduation at the Gestapo (Secret Service) Espionage Institute, whence the star graduate is sent out into the Soviet Union to replace a veteran spy of twenty years' service.
>
> The new graduate takes the name of Ivanov. He becomes manager of a Soviet aviation factory and steals the drawings of a new plane. He kills a girl designer who has become unreliable and drives an

**engineer to suicide. But clever detectives finally unmask both the old and new spies.**

But not only is the theatre being used to uncover spies and to encourage spy detection on the part of the populace! Every organization is being utilized for that purpose. Children's organizations have been included recently within the scope of this attack and the purges have been both drastic and desperate. In Western Siberia, the "Young Communist League" asserted that it had discovered that "Trotskyist bandits" had gained leadership of its organization. In Novosibirsk and Tomsk, secretaries of the young Communist League, Pantiukhoff and Springis, were arrested along with lesser officials. V. M. Bubekin, former editor-in-chief of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and three former secretaries of the League Central Committee, and many others were condemned as "Trotskyists", or "fascists." Few youth organizations have been left unassailed. Their leadership has been attacked from one end of the country to the other and leading Soviet papers have declared that there are more spies among the youth organizations than any others. "Enemies try to get hold of youth," the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* declared, "because the young are less hardened in class struggle, less politically experienced, and less sturdy."

But the cultural purge does not stop there. Textbooks also have been included within its province. Pravda has attacked various authors of history textbooks "for failing to recognize that under Christianity the Russian people learned to read and write". The textbook which just won the official sanction of the Soviet Union is one in which Bukharin, Rykov, and Leon Trotsky are all denounced as the murderers of Kiroff. It paints Joseph Stalin as an evangelical saint and distorts all his opponents into caricatures or criminals. Mr. Denny's description of onê section of it is most illuminating:

> **For children it portrays the 1905 uprising as the beginning of the 1917 revolution and shows Lenin, Stalin, Defense Commissar Klementy Voroshiloff, Premier Vyacheslaff Molotoff, the late Mr. Kiroff, President Mikhail Kalinin and L. M. Kaganovitch, Commissar of Heavy Industry, as the iron guard of the Bolshevist party. Mr. Kaganovitch was 12 years old at the time of the 1905 uprising, Mr. Molotoff 15, Mr. Kiroff 17, Commissar Voroshiloff 24 and President Kalinin 30.**

It is also interesting to note that the textbook highly praises Peter the Great, whom Stalin regards as one of his greatest predecessors.

James T. Farrell, one of America's most interesting and striking novelists, who at the present time is writing a brilliant column each week for *The Socialist Call*, discusses therein some of the ironies of the Soviet purge in terms of American authors. In a piece called "We Must Wreck the Wreckers" he challenges in superbly sardonic vein a number of the American Communist literati to explain their past in terms of their present. Mr. Farrell's satire is most timely for it serves to show just what would happen to American culture if it ever fell into the hands of a Stalin—or any other dictator.

### *Rockefeller Center Mural*

Turning away from such literary matters to the field of art, one of the most interesting developments has been John D. Rockefeller's employment of José Maria Sert, the Catalonian artist, to do a mural to take the place of the famous Rivera mural which Rockefeller tore down in 1934. Memories of the Rivera-Rockefeller controversy are still vivid and references to the international furor caused by it continue to punctuate art magazines and periodicals. The Rivera mural, in identical form, can be discovered today, in all its glorious magnificence of design and conception, in the National Theatre Building in Mexico City. The Sert mural, which arrived on the *Normandie* on August 16th, is yet to be unveiled. It seems certain, however, that there will be no Lenin in the center of it, as was the case with the ill-fated Rivera fresco, nor any revolutionary symbols or proletarian insignia to lend it social challenge.

### *New National Hymns*

Quincy Howe, quondam editor of "Living Age," and one of America's most acute political critics, has just stressed the fact in his recent book, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*, that the British have always made a "sucker" of the Americans and that now that Britain is on the decline it is all the *more imperative* for it to enlist American support in defense of British interests. Mr. Howe, naturally, is opposed to such British dominance and he makes out an excellent case in defense of what he thinks should be the new American isolationist policy. While there are definite weaknesses in Mr. Howe's argument, its general tenor is most persuasive. At all events, it is a much healthier position than that advocated by Walter Lippmann, who emphasizes the importance of an understanding between the British and the American peoples because "it has become an absolute necessity on the part of both Great Britain and America that they have the same policy in the event of another war."

The Reverend George Laughton of Toledo, Ohio, formerly pastor of the St. James United Church, in Montreal, has shown how correct Mr. Howe's argument is when the latter states that Anglophilism is one of our greatest menaces. Dr. Laughton, after quoting the opening verses of both the American and British national anthems, said that out of those anthems they should add another composed by Dr. Huntingdon, of Carlton College:

Two Empires by the sea.
Two nations great and free
One anthem raise;
One race of ancient fame,
One tongue, one faith, we claim,
One God, whose glorious name
We love and praise

"I give you," said the speaker, "the Magna Charta, the American Constitution, and Anglo-American unity—the hope of the world."

Dr. Laughton even went so far as to advocate that the American Constitution be brought up to date to include such a provision—or revision—without which he believes peace impossible to preserve in the modern world.

Fantastic as Dr. Laughton's suggestion may strike many people, it is interesting to note that Bertrand Russell is convinced that the peace of the world rests largely in American hands. While he does not go so far as to advocate an alliance between Britain and America, he does suggest that war cannot be outlawed from the modern world by any other country—or by any other means—than the United States. He believes, contrary to Mr. Howe's conclusion, that the United States will never by anyone's "fool" again, that it will never play second fiddle to any other country again, but that its destiny is to lead, to dominate, to dictate to the rest of the world, and that by means of a military dictatorship, which he anticipates the United States will eventually set up, it will prove the instrument by means of which peace will finally be established among Occidental nations.

### *Age and Prolificacy*

Sir James Frazer, the internationally famous author of *The Golden Bough*, and one of the world's leading anthropologists has produced in two months, at the age of 83, his 283rd and, in his opinion, his best book. It will be published within the next two months, under the title of *Totemica.* The title conceals a fascinating record of primitive social organizations whose history is told by the carven "totem poles" which are to be found from Australia to Canada. He wrote his first book on totemism in 1910; since that time he has produced four volumes on *Totemism and Exogamy*. Sir James Frazer's notebooks are his most precious possession. Over the years now, he has kept his data in notebooks, tightly margined and minutely scribbled. They are filled with data and conjectures invaluable to anthropologists and sociologists. When he starts to work on a book, his wife, Lady Frazer, has to organize, as she says, "the secretaries, the typists, the publishers, the housekeeping."

Significant as Sir James Frazer's work has been in giving form to modern an-

thropology, it is pertinent to observe that one of his hopes in connection with it is more moral and political than scientific. Sir James Frazer hopes "that by learning just what the beliefs of primitive peoples are, and how they arose, *those sent out to govern them may rule with more insight and deeper sympathy.*"

### *"Tess's Cottage"*

Lovers of the novels of Thomas Hardy, one of the most memorable of nineteenth century English novelists, will be interested in the fact that a fire recently threatened to destroy the cottage, known as "Tess's Cottage," about which a considerable part of Hardy's novel *Tess of the D'Urbevilles* was laid. The village church next to Tess's cottage was enveloped in sparks and smoke, and "white-hot metal from the burning building was flung across the street against the wall of the churchyard, which was crowded with sightseers who had motored from two counties, Somerset and Dorset, to see the fire." To protect the cottage villagers formed a bucket chain and poured water on the roof.

M. H. Berlin declared at the convention of the National Association of Music Merchants that a wedding is being effected between jazz music and classical music which is resulting in the emergence of a new and expanding native art the like of which this country has never known in the past. This new musical development, of which the late George Gershwin is the symbol, Mr. Berlin believes, is becoming the most popular form of music for music-loving Americans. Technical improvements in instruments, Mr. Berlin is convinced, account for the greater variety in modern music. More than that, Mr. Berlin is certain that the application of the recently devised "talent tests," to test out a child's musical possibilities, is having good effects throughout the land. More musicians are being discovered and better musicians are being developed and matured.

In a country like the United States, where music has never been anything more than a minor interest, and where the only folk-songs we have are those of Negroes and cowboys, it is a healthy sign when a native musical pattern begins to emerge and when musical talent is searched for and encouraged among the young in hopes of creating a genuine and lasting musical tradition.

# THE REALM OF SCIENCE

A MARVELOUS treasure of gold and ivory, the most spectacular discovery ever made in Palestine, has just been added to the collections of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. It was brought back to this country by Gordon Loud, leader of the Institute's Megiddo Expedition.

The preliminary announcement of the discovery of this treasure was recorded in this department of *Current History* in May.

For many years now this expedition has been at work at Megiddo in Palestine. While this is the preferred name for the site today, most readers will recognize it quicker by its Biblical name, Armageddon. The work of the expedition has revealed that this site has been occupied by a fortress or a city ever since the first Stone Age encampment was erected upon it. Standing upon the main highway between Egypt on the one side and Babylon and Assyria on the other, it was destined by fate for a stormy career in the history of the ancient world.

Last year Mr. Loud and his assistants uncovered a magnificent palace with frescoed walls and floors of seashell mosaic that stood just within the city gate and dominated the ramp approach to the city. This palace turned out to be the residence of the princes who ruled over Megiddo from 1500 to 1200 B.C. During that period the city was part of the Egyptian empire.

It was under the floor of one of the rooms of this palace that the magnificent treasure was found this year. In the corner of a comparatively inaccessible room, the archeologists noted that the lime pavement had been replaced by tamped earth. Spades were quickly brought. They revealed the gleam of gold. This was the signal to proceed more slowly lest a careless thrust of a spade destroy some treasure forever. Carefully the dirt was removed with the aid of knives and camel's hair brushes. Thus the priceless objects were recovered.

"About 1350 B.C.," says Mr. Loud, "a threatened invasion had caused the prince to bury his valued treasure, hoping it might escape the general looting which inevitably accompanied invasion. His hopes of safety for the gold were fulfilled, but he apparently never lived to reclaim his possessions.

"This hoard of objects no doubt represents a collection of royal gifts sent from Egypt and from the Asiatic states. A splendid gold bowl, shaped like a sea shell, was probably the gift of some Asiatic king.

"Two exquisite cosmetic jars of serpentine and hematite, respectively, with bases and rims encased in gold, doubtlessly came from Egypt, as did a delicate little pair of gold heads adorned with disc crowns."

Other objects include gold chains, cylinder seals, beads, and rings.

In addition to this treasure, some 250 carved ivories, many of them covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, were found in the palace. Prof. John A. Wilson, director of the Oriental Institute, expects that the deciphering of these inscriptions will add much to our knowledge of Egyptian and Palestinian history.

### *Stingless Bees Sought*

Breeding experiments designed to produce a stingless bee are being conducted by Dr. Lloyd R. Watson of Alfred University with funds provided by the Guggenheim Foundation.

Dr. Watson points to the successes which have been obtained by animal breeders and plant breeders. He sees no reason why similar experiments with insects should not succeed.

To date he has succeeded in breeding a strain of bees so gentle that he is able to

keep the hive in his dining room, permitting the bees to come and go by means of a hole in one of the window panes.

To accomplish his results, he has worked out a technique by which the sperm cells of the drone of one strain can be transferred with the aid of a binocular microscope and suitable instruments to the queen bee of another strain. He has succeeded in rearing workers, drones, and queen bees by this method.

While anyone who has had the unfortunate experience of sitting down upon a bee at a picnic will appreciate the value of his experiments, Dr. Watson's primary purpose is not to make the world safer for picnickers. Stingless bees might be kept easily in the corner of any garden without presenting a hazard. It is fair to assume that they would revolutionize methods of bee-keeping.

He is interested also in breeding bees capable of carrying larger loads of pollen and working at lower temperatures than do the American bees. He has imported 75 strains of bees from various parts of the world as part of his experiments.

### *The Sun's Corona*

No doubt every reader is familiar with pictures of solar eclipses. At the center is the dark disc of the moon which obscures the sun from view. Surrounding this disc and close to it are the solar prominences, the tongues of flaming gases which arise from the solar surface. Finally, spreading out in various directions, there are the filmy streamers which comprise the sun's corona.

Today, however, science has a new picture of the corona. It was made by Major Albert W. Stevens, famous stratosphere explorer, who went up to an altitude of 25,000 feet off the coast of Peru during the eclipse of June 8.

His pictures, made with three different cameras, all show the sun to be surrounded by a great, globular blanket. The streamers which were formerly thought to constitute the whole of the sun's corona, are inconspicuous features within the great globular blanket of foggy light which appears on his pictures.

Little was said about his photographs after the eclipse because it was feared that they were the results of optical defects or ice particles in the stratosphere. As a result, the astronomers of Harvard College Observatory and the photographic experts of the Eastman Kodak Co. were asked to undertake a series of rigid tests.

They agreed that the photographs were real. It had previously been suspected that the sun's corona was really globular in structure. But this is the first time that direct proof has been brought forward.

Major Stevens' results are ascribed to the fact that at an altitude of 25,000 feet, he had left two-thirds of the bulk of the atmosphere of the earth behind him. The air thins out with extreme rapidity at high altitudes. Consequently his photographs showed faint details which could not be gotten through the lower, thicker layers of the earth's atmosphere.

One result of his flight, Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College Observatory, points out, is that astronomers will have to make plans for high altitude flights at all future eclipses.

### *Fighting Infantile Paralysis*

A new method, known as chemical blockade, is urged by leading medical men as a preventive against infantile paralysis or poliomyelitis. The method consists in the use of a chemical spray which blocks the nasal passages by which the virus of the disease makes its way into the olfactory nerve of the nose and thence into the central nervous system.

In a statement prepared for the New York Academy of Medicine, Dr. Thomas H. Rivers, director of the Rockefeller Hospital of New York, says. "If I had a child in an area where poliomyelitis appeared, I would take my child to a good otolaryngologist and ask him to apply the spray advised by Dr. Max Peet in the manner set forth by Dr. Peet."

Dr. Peet set forth his method in the Jour-

nal of the American Medical Association in a paper titled "The Chemical Prophylaxis for Poliomyelitis, the Technic of Applying Zinc Sulphate Intranasally."

Chemical sprays have been tried in the past with indifferent success. Dr. Peet believes that the difficulty was in the manner of application.

He found that when zinc sulphate was properly applied, it was painful. Consequently he uses a solution containing one per cent zinc sulphate, one per cent pontocaine, and a half per cent of sodium chloride. The pontocaine, a local anesthetic, eliminates the pain.

This mixture has proved satisfactory in protecting monkeys against the disease. Medical men are eager that it be given a trial in the unfortunate event that an epidemic of poliomyelitis again develops.

### *New Insanity Treatment*

Upon the heels of excellent reports of success with the insulin shock treatment of insanity in clinics in many parts of the United States, comes the news of a new shock treatment for insanity.

The insulin treatment, upon which I have commented previously in this department, was developed by Dr. Manfred Sakel of Vienna. The new treatment was developed in Poland by a Polish psychiatrist, Dr. Meduna.

This treatment makes use of a drug known as metrazol. It has been used previously by the medical profession as a circulatory and respiratory stimulant, serving in this regard in much the same fashion as adrenalin.

In treating insanity, the doctor first renders the patient's system alkaline with large doses of baking soda. Then the patient is given an overdose of metrazol. In a few minutes, violent convulsions develop, sometimes so violent that the patient's jaws or shoulders are thrown out of joint. But these end in a few seconds.

For about an hour the patient remains in a stupor. Reports from Europe state that the patient emerges from this stupor with improved mentality.

Tests of the new drug are being made in Cleveland, Ohio, by Dr. Guy H. Williams, superintendent of the Cleveland State Hospital for the Insane, and Dr. Louis J. Karnosh, head of the psychopathic department of the Cleveland City Hospital.

To date, some patients have shown improvement, others have shown none. The two Cleveland doctors say that more time is needed to evaluate the treatment.

### *The Moon and Crops*

Old superstitions insist that moonlight has an effect upon crops and that some crops should be planted in the light of the moon, others in the dark of the moon.

Moonlight is polarized light. Accordingly Dr. Earl S. Johnston of the Smithsonian Institution sought to test the old superstitions by studying plants grown under ordinary light and under polarized light. He found no measurable differences.

### *Weather Made to Order*

Two new rooms, installed at the General Electric laboratories in Schenectady, N. Y., for testing airplane radio equipment, have been so arranged that any temperature from 40 degrees below zero to 160 degrees above zero can be obtained.

Humidity and air pressure can be similarly controlled, duplicating any condition from the North Pole to the equator, and sea level to the stratosphere.

DAVID DIETZ

# HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

SEPTEMBER witnessed the reenactment of the Battle of Sharpsburg or Antietam in Maryland. The original battle, closing scene of Lee's first invasion of the North, was notable for its display of sacrifice and heroism, for the tactical skill applied in the defense of interior lines by an inferior force, and for the sustained fury of the attack. It provides us with many other technical and moral lessons. The campaign of which it was the denouement was remarkable for the restraint exhibited by the Confederate forces in the territory which they traversed. True, the strategic purpose of Lee called for such restraint, which might help to attract the inhabitants of Maryland to the Confederate cause, encourage foreign powers to recognize the Southern nation, and induce a public opinion in the North favorable to a settlement of the conflict. Nevertheless, the rich countryside invited appropriation, and the Southern troops were ill-clad, ill-armed, hungry, and smarting with the memory of Virginia homes demolished in the path of McClellan's siege of the Peninsula. Lee might just as well have been counseled to carry terror and "frightfulness" with him, as a method calculated to secure the same objectives, or most of them, more speedily.

Many hundreds of young men died or were crippled in the Battle. Ferocity in the *mêlée* was not inferior to that characteristic of battles joined in the beginning of time, those in consummation at this moment, and those at issue in the hands of Fate for ages of ages to come. Yet, as we look back on those simpler days, they seem to have offered brighter prospects for the mitigation of the misery of warfare. Opposing commanders delighted in exchanging polite notes in the heat of the fighting, and the fighters used the intervals to exchange tobacco. Barbara Fritchie could feel confident that her old gray head would not be shot. Amenities prospered, and the opposing Governments were more open and chivalrous. Wars in those days were formally *declared,* with the principal object, to use the words of Andrés Bello written a hundred years ago, of "conciliating to us the opinion of the other States, making patent the justice of our cause. It is hardly necessary to say that the language (of the declaration) ought to be noble and decorous; a cultured Nation does not forget, not even toward its enemy, the respect which it owes to the others."

### *Law in the Presence of Warfare*

"When is a war not a war," asks a writer in *Export Trade and Shipper.* "Technically there are complicated answers in the tomes on international law and in the interpretation of foreign offices. Practically . . . the rates promulgated by marine insurance underwriters are the patent indicators of belligerence whether all the formalities have been complied with or not." This is a question of much concern these days, when the practice of waging hostilities without declaring war—indeed with warm protestations to the contrary—appears to have become standard.

One of the important reasons ascribed to the rule exacting a declaration of war in advance of definite hostilities was the necessity of fixing a date for the determination of war-affected legal rights of belligerents and neutrals in all walks of life, and quite especially marine insurance underwriters. "Nothing," to quote Antonio Sánchez de Bustamente y Sirvén, author of the latest (1937) important survey of international law, "calls for clearness and certainty in the family of nations so much as the start of an armed conflict." Alphonse Rivier concludes (1896) that the matter of a certain and positive time when a state of

peace terminates and a state of war begins is of primary importance, as well for the subject of the belligerent countries as for neutrals. To "declare" war, he says, merely means the doing of some decisive act which brings about the passage from a "state of peace" to a "state of war." General Davis explains (1908) that "In former times war was declared with great formalities. This is no longer the case, the formal declaration having ceased when the necessity for its existence had passed away. . . . Although the practice of making formal declarations no longer obtains, a state which assumes a belligerent attitude towards another is obliged to give public notice of its intention. . . . This notice is frequently given by proclamations which contain a statement of the cause of war or motives for which it is undertaken. They also contain the date after which a state of hostility will legally exist. This is a matter of great importance, in that it enables neutral powers to give effect to their neutrality laws, to issue proclamations of neutrality, and to fix a date upon which their neutral obligations become binding." Another curious advantage of giving such notice is mentioned by John Bassett Moore: "Nor is the practice of fraud and deceit permitted by a state of war supposed to be admissible in time of peace."

The Constitution provides that "The Congress shall have Power . . . To declare War." The laws of other lands have similar provisions. The Hague Convention of 1907 "Relative to the Opening of Hostilities" (to which most of the countries of the world are committed, including the presently embattled states) provides: "The contracting Powers recognize that hostilities between themselves must not commence without previous explicit warning, in the form either of a reasoned declaration of war or of an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war."

Why, then, are not countries moved by a decent respect for the opinions of mankind enough to issue such declarations? Perhaps they do not wish to fall afoul of the machinery projected by the League of Nations for the cure of wars. Perhaps they prefer to be free to exercise the machinations, deception, chicane, and psychological manipulations believed to be of tactical utility. Nothwithstanding universal advances in communications, from which it might be supposed that the margin of possibility to fool any of the people any of the time would be diminished to the vanishing point, the mercurial art of propaganda still proves psychological factors most important in war, not only at home but, increasingly now as the interdependence of the nations enlarges, for foreign mystification also.

### *The Eclipse of Law*

The gift of judgment, which distinguishes man from lower forms, compels us to rationalize our own actions and to fix the actions of others into familiar logical frames. Therefore, nations engaged in undeclared warfare with each other seek to provide the world with custom-made conclusions. If the probable aggressor, by omitting a declaration of war, can raise in the minds of some outsiders a reasonable doubt of its aggressive mania, or even if it can thereby make out a meager *prima facie* case for its rationalized motives, it cannot be expected to disregard the advantage. Similarly, if the probable aggressee can, by omitting a formal declaration of war, cause the common emotion of sympathy for the oppressed to flourish, it would be madness to do otherwise. With the clash of arms laws go into seclusion; no less do frankness and honesty veil their faces.

Whatever the reasons, it is a fact that few of the many wars since 1919 have been respectably declared. In most cases they can be classified as modern forms of the ancient art, "restraint of princes." And, whatever the advantages of undeclared warfare, the risks are ample, too. For one thing, it may afford a neutral nation a platform for the administration of a scolding which is bad for public opinion.

The "statuality of law" is a phrase employed by theorists to denote the existence of legal phenomena in nature, entirely apart

from the existence of the state or other formal jurisdiction. It implies that these phenomena are instinct in any society. The common view of the layman, and also of lawyers who have not had occasion to examine the "law of nations," is that international law is a kind of *ignis fatuus*, chased by fools and dreamers. Nevertheless, even though the rules of international law are most generally honored in the breach, the peoples of the world exhibit symptoms of a congenital, if rudimentary, societal proclivity, the existence of which is either predicated upon or produces *a posteriori* the elements of a reign of law.

International law falls easily into two parts, the law of peace and the law of war. The law of peace until lately has grown quietly and modestly, feeding on insignificant habits or customs, especially of merchants by sail or caravan, and fostered for the convenience and safety of embassies and heralds. Radicating among such homely surroundings as the inns and taverns sheltering travelers or pilgrims from far countries, it has no doubt become firmly fixed in the mind of mankind. In recent decades it has had a phenomenal growth, through the practice of legislating on or codifying important sections of the law at international conferences ratified by the individual nations. Many of these conventions establish the law applicable to international commerce, transportation and communication, but others regulate civil rights (such as the prohibition of slavery), crime (such as provisions for extradition), labor, social evils (narcotics, white slavery), taxation, and the administration of justice (judicial assistance) and many other legal subjects.

### *Abuses of the Laws of Peace and War*

The international law of war, however, is naturally more spectacular and renowned, and doubtless it has its roots in habits of mankind just as ancient as the customs of peaceful intercourse. Although with Grotius, Vattel, and other early masters, the laws of war were established as a field for philosophic speculation, study of these laws in the modern spirit of applied science began with the issue under Abraham Lincoln of the famous "General Order No. 100," which was known as "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," redacted by Dr. Francis Lieber, a German liberal expatriate, veteran of Waterloo, who came to occupy a position of influence in American councils.

In the Franco-Prussian War these Instructions were officially adapted by Germany in 1870. The eminent legal scholar Bluntschli based upon them the code adopted as the Brussels Convention of 1874. Out of this there developed other codifications, such as that adopted by the Institute of International Law in 1880, called the "Oxford Laws of War on Land," the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 respecting "The Laws and Customs of War on Land" and "The Adaptation to Maritime Warfare of the Principles of the Geneva (1864) Convention." Moreover, the influence of the famous American General Order No. 100 is still traceable in the military regulations of many countries, such as the British *Military Manual* of 1883, revised in 1914, the German *Kreigsbrauch im Land-Kreige* of 1902, the Netherlands' *Laws and Customs of War on Land* of 1904, and our own *Rules of Land Warfare, U.S.A.* of 1914. It is interesting to note that they formed the basis, also, of Russian and Japanese instructions issued when these two countries were locked in war in 1904.

Although most of these rules are flaunted with reckless abandon under pressure of actual conflict, they still represent persuasive expressions of the better nature and higher aspirations of men. The World Court may some day come to supply some of the missing elements in this type of law, especially the solemn judgment as to the applicability of sanctions, and thence may materialize means and methods of execution.

GUERRA EVERETT

# ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

PERHAPS the *outstanding* item of religious news during the month was the acquittal of Dr. Friedrich Dibelius, German Confessional Church leader. Charged with having deliberately misrepresented Hanns Kerrl, Reich Church Minister, in a letter, Dr. Dibelius was declared not guilty by an emergency court in Berlin. He had *claimed* in a letter written last February 22 that Herr Kerrl had publicly declared that it was absurd and trivial to hold that the foundation of Christianity was faith that Jesus was the Son of God. The passage in Dr. Dibelius' letter which so provoked the Church Minister as to have him arrested and brought to trial was this:

"Catholic Bishop Galen and Protestant General Superintendent Zoellner tried to teach him what Christianity is namely, recognition that Jesus is the son of God. This the minister called absurd and trivial."

Eight hours of debate raged over the exact interpretation of this phrase. The court's decision was undoubtedly *a serious* blow to Herr Kerrl, who protested that he had meant that it was "absurd and trivial" for Dr. Zoellner to send the two clerics to give him instruction. Dr. Dibelius was cleared of the charge of "conscious untruthfulness." The court left the impression that he had come pretty near the truth.

The prosecuting attorney complicated matters by saying in his plea that if what Dr. Dibelius said were true it would involve the fall of the Reich Church Minister. No evidence of this has been forthcoming, but the trial of the Rev. Martin Niemoeller, Protestant opposition leader, which was scheduled to come up four days after that of Dr. Dibelius was postponed. (Dr. Dibelius and the Rev. Niemoeller were close associates in the opposition leadership.) Apparently taken aback by the severe defeat in the Dibelius trial, the Reich Church Ministry is evidently preparing its case against Herr Niemoeller much more carefully.

Although the Dibelius acquittal made the postponement of the Niemoeller trial *almost inevitable*, the mass demonstration of several hundred of Herr Niemoeller's parishioners on the eve of their pastor's *trial undoubtedly convinced* the Church Ministry of the wisdom of their decision. The parade, believed to be the first public mass demonstration against any measure taken by the Government under Nazi rule, resulted in the arrest of 115 demonstrators. A ban on a prayer meeting Sunday night, August 8, was responsible for the demonstration. Such a meeting was held Monday night. The police did not interfere!

Despite efforts of the Reich officials to belittle the Church struggle a reaction seems to be taking place among thinking people in Germany today. Secret police report to their dismayed superiors that the officially sponsored German Christian *meetings are sparsely attended*. The same public halls used for these meetings are refused to the Evangelical opposition. The Dahlem demonstration is but an outburst of feeling, heretofore controlled and suppressed, of Germans who are beginning to wonder if the trouble may lie not with the "reactionary pastors" but with totalitarianism itself.

Meanwhile a new type of death notice is being used in the German press. In place of the customary phrase announcing that a person "died with belief in God," the National Socialists now use "died with belief in Adolf Hitler" or "died with belief in his Fuehrer." Another variation is "Died with belief in Germany's future." Peace with the Vatican seems unlikely, in view of the continued attacks on the educational system of the Church. The condition of the Jews of Germany is certainly not im-

proving. Herr Niemoeller and hundreds of other Protestant pastors are in jail or concentration camps. The immorality trials of Roman Catholic clergy and lay brothers continue, although little is heard of the tremendous blast of publicity which was supposed to accompany them.

### *Spain and Mexico Relent*

In the midst of an almost daily bombardment of "persecution" news it is a relief to report two suspensions of church restrictions. From Valencia come reports that Catholic priests were permitted to visit front line trenches in the Madrid sector and administer Extreme Unction to dying loyalist soldiers who were pleading for it. Other dispatches state that under the sponsorship of Manuel Irujo, Minister of Justice, Mass is now celebrated openly in both Valencia and Madrid. The Anarchist newspaper *Fragua* is reported to have published on its front page in large type the recent order against molestation of priests. Churches throughout Republican Spain remain closed, services being conducted in the homes of priests or their parishioners.

And in Mexico, after a six-year suspension, religious services were resumed on Sunday, August 1, in Jalapa, capital of the State of Veracruz. A new amendment to the local law which practically banned all priests from the State, now authorizes a maximum of 14 priests in the State. Although Veracruz and Jalapa are the only places where services have been resumed, resumption is expected soon in many other towns. The cathedral in Jalapa (the only church with a priest authorized to officiate) was crowded throughout the day.

### *Edinburgh Conference*

The World Conference on Faith and Order met in Edinburgh as announced last month. After the opening of the Conference sessions on Tuesday, August 3, the entire delegation was divided into four groups which met each day for a week to discuss the various angles of issues which today divide the Church. The questions studied were:

1. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.
2. The Church of Christ and the Word of God.
3. The Church of Christ: Ministry and Sacrament.
4. The Church's Unity in Life and Worship.

The findings of the various sections were then discussed in plenary session. No attempts were made to gloss over the differences which exist between the groups and sects represented. (Virtually every Christian Church was represented, with the notable exception of the Roman Catholic. In a courteous response to an invitation from the Anglican Archbishop of York to send delegates to Edinburgh, Archbishop Joseph MacDonald, Roman Catholic prelate of Edinburgh, gave the Conference his blessing but said: "It is wise to pursue our different lines of service independently." Unofficial Roman Catholic "observers" attended the discussions but did not participate.)

It is too soon after this Edinburgh Conference to evaluate its accomplishments. According to the best available reports the Conference on Faith and Order was unable "to discover and assert the underlying unity which binds us together through our common loyalty to our one Lord and Master, Jesus Christ." (This was the expressed purpose of the Conference.) Having failed to draft a common doctrine for Christianity, an affirmation stating a desire for unity was unanimously approved at the closing session on August 18. The declaration read: "We humbly acknowledge our divisions are contrary to the will of Christ, and we pray God for Unity. . . . We are thankful that during recent years, we have been drawn together, prejudices have been overcome, misunderstandings removed, and real, if limited progress has been made toward our goal of a common mind. . . ."

One concrete accomplishment of the Faith and Order Conference was the plan for uniting all the Christian Churches of the world (with the exception, of course, of the Roman Catholic). Of dubious merit,

the plan proposes a World Council of Churches functioning through two bodies: (1) a general assembly of representatives of the churches of approximately 200 members, meeting every five years; and (2) a central council of (approximately) sixty members, which shall be a committee of the General Assembly when constituted, meeting annually. The scheme is not to be put in operation until approved by the Continuation Committee of the Faith and Order Conference in such way as that committee may designate, and then by ratification of the Churches.

Clifford P. Moorehouse, Editor of *The Living Church* (August 28 issue) said:

> Perhaps St. Giles' Cathedral is itself the best indication of the progress that has been made. . . . In it John Knox thundered his denunciations of the ancient Church. In it Jenny Geddes threw her famous stool at the head of the Dean when he began the first celebration of Archbishop Laud's liturgy in 1637. In it the Solemn League and Covenant was signed. . . . In this same St. Giles' Cathedral new history is being made. . . . Men and women of many religious denominations have been worshiping together within the ancient walls of St. Giles'. Two days ago a Syrian Archbishop led from its pulpit the prayers of the daily office of his Church, and Anglicans and Orthodox, Protestants and Old Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans, joined in the responses. No John Knox was present to denounce the ancient Church, no Jenny Geddes to throw a stool at the Archbishop's head. Yet this was the same St. Giles' in Edinburgh, the stronghold of rigid Scotch Presbyterianism. . . . These men and women have a will to unity, and where there is a will, a way will ultimately be found, and that without the compromise of essential principles.

### *Yugoslav Excommunications*

The threatened excommunication of the Yugoslav political leaders went into effect on Sunday, August 8, when the names of Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch and eight other members of the Cabinet, with the Speaker and 15 other members of Parliament were read in the dioceses of their repective residences. Unprecedented in the annals of the Serbian Church, such action has not been witnessed in Europe since the Middle Ages. Denied all Church rites and privileges pending trial by the chief ecclesiastical court, the Cabinet has expressed its determination to remain in office. Rumors have been rife that a reorganization of the Cabinet is being considered. The visit of the Minister of the Interior, Fr. Anton Koroshetz, and the Minister of Transportation, Mehmed Spaho (a Moslem) have lent credence to such rumors.

Rev. William Sharp

# ☆ THEY SAY ☆

***Translations and quotations from the press of the world***

## BOMBS

Sir Samuel Hoare, who was recently First Lord of the Admiralty, gave precision the other day to the current statements that anti-aircraft defence is so far advanced that battleships attacked by aircraft will—shall we say?—give a good account of themselves; he said that a "massed dive" on a battleship "would probably result in at least ten enemy aircraft being brought down." This may be a reasonable enough estimate, but it ignores two material points: how many enemy aircraft constitute a "massed dive" and how many of them will not be brought down? The annoying thing (from the professional point of view) is that all the practical experience which the world is now collecting on this subject gives no useful information. The reason is that no one attacks anyone else who has a roughly equal power of self-defence. Italy bombed the Abyssinians, who were defenceless. Franco destroyed Guernica, which was in the same state. The España, which was supposed to have been sunk by a Government bomb, probably ran on a mine. Two Government aeroplanes bombed the Deutschland successfully, but it is at least possible, as the Germans insist, that the Deutschland anti-aircraft guns were not in action. The Japanese have so far bombed the Chinese without reply. We ourselves bomb border tribesmen, whose resources do not run to anti-aircraft guns. The only exception is, perhaps, on the Madrid front, and there both sides claim victories, and Franco only does not bomb Madrid because he can more cheaply shell it. In fact, there is no basis of actual fighting experience on which to estimate what defensive forces will be able to do against attack or to conclude that battleships will deal so severely with enemy aircraft that they will probably not return. The more reason, therefore, pending further and better particulars, to keep both the Fleet Air Arm and the defences aboard ship up to the highest efficiency.

—*The Manchester Guardian*

## BASQUE CHILDREN

Much struck by the newspaper reports of the terrible things these Basque children do (the *Telegraph* reports that English girls had their hair pulled by Basques the other day), I have been making inquiries about the whole subject. Ought they to be immediately repatriated as friends of Franco say? The case on grounds of morals and damage is not really as convincing as they suggest. All the claims by local residents for damage do not amount to more than a few pounds: most of the trouble seems to have arisen from a shortage of supervisors who could talk Spanish. In order no doubt to make things easier Sir Samuel Hoare has just refused to allow Spaniards in France to come over for the purpose of helping in the camps. The record of the Committee really seems quite creditable to me. Only two children have died of tuberculosis (contracted before they came to this country), eighteen tough boys have gone to France (where they are presumably less sensitive); one child has gone back to Vigo when it was known that the parents could look after it. Mr. Eden, I understand, has admitted in correspondence that conditions in Bilbao are not yet safe enough for the return of the rest of the children—who number, it is sometimes forgotten, 3,805 mainly quite normal children whom, I should have thought, any decent English man or woman would gladly welcome here.

But then how little I understand the minds



Il 420, Florence

***DIVISION OF PALESTINE***

***Solomon: "This time you must divide it into three, John. I want a good share of this"***

of the British upper class! Having heard the other day of an argument in the remote hamlet of Spuffle, where some Basque children are housed, I wrote for information and was rewarded with the following letter from a gentleman, or perhaps a lady, who seems fully cognisant of the facts. The letter reads as follows, capitals and italics being his (or her) own:

"Here in Spuffle we are Right minded; we uphold the State; we know that anarchism, bolshevism, communism and socialism are so many names for the views that Moscow seeks to introduce into the body politic with a hypodermic syringe of Gold.

"Let me repeat that, being Right minded, we endeavour to be worthy of our King, our country and our glorious Constitution.

"A little while ago one of our energetic local committees was planning an outing for the school children, an annual example of our kindness to the deserving poor. As ill fortune will have it, a party of Basque refugee boys and girls, so called, has been housed in our midst, without consent sought or obtained and in flagrant defiance of the laws of neutrality. I have not seen them, I have strictly forbidden my children to go near their quarters. Certainly I never thought that a resident of Spuffle could be found to suggest that these undesirable aliens *should actually be taken to the seaside with our English boys and girls.* The men or women who put the proposal forward must have Red blood in their veins, I challenge them to deny it. Fortunately, the dastardly suggestion, instantly understood, was promptly turned down. We rejected it, first because Spuffle must be neutral even if Westminster and Whitehall, influenced by secret agitators, forget their duty. Secondly, it was pointed out, truly enough, that to take Basque children to the sea in company with our own would be to corrupt our little ones, perhaps beyond redemption.

"I venture to think that our spirited action in saving our children must deal a well-merited blow to all your subversive paper stands for.

I remain, Sir
(for Spuffle, if I dare say so)
A SPUFFLER"

Critic in the *New Statesman and Nation*, London

## O BRITONS!

Despair is life's last station. For fifteen years we have been afflicted with you, O Britons! You are mistaken if you think there is no more in us than what you see. Behind it there are things which may come upon you suddenly from where you do not expect it. Do you not realize that you ought to fear our despair more than anything else, for it is like a factory of arms and ammunition, it is a spring of stratagems, terrors and destruction? The land is ours, it is Mohammed's and Christ's, not the land of Isaac and Israel. Islam may be asleep at present, and so you may make Palestine more and more Jewish. But one single earthquake can turn everything upside down. Not yet have we sent out the resounding war-cry of Islam which will make all Britons everywhere the enemies of Moslems. Let not yourselves be deceived by what you see of weakness, and unite all that is split. Beware of giving us the steed of despair, lest we ride it against you. Fear us more as poor and despairing, than as rich and hopeful!

—*Al Jamiah al-Islamiyah*, Palestine

## GAY DIVORCEES

The government could reduce the number of divorces by paying a little more attention to the question of alimony claimed by a divorced woman for herself and her children.

Already the Department of Justice has accomplished something in this field. A recent circular asks all the native courts to examine

carefully all cases brought for alimony. The Ministry has ruled that a negligent husband shall be imprisoned if he is not acquitted by payment of the alimony. It is to be considered as a debt of the first importance which must be paid upon pain of detention.

You must realize that divorces in Egypt are very frequent, more than fifty per cent of those married, which is twice the percentage attributed to Soviet Russia.

The government circular is not sufficient. It must be followed by vigorous control on the part of the government inspectors. Take for instance the divorced woman who has seen her case postponed nine times in succession "for further study" since the fifth of last February. This case is supposed to come before the court on the fifth of August. But the judge who has remanded it goes on his vacation on the third of August. He knew at that time that another judge would try the case and in *his* turn postpone it "for further study."

—*Al Balagh,* Egypt

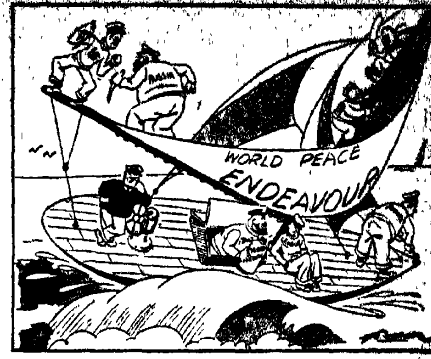
## FORBIDDEN TO JEWS

In one of the northern suburbs of Berlin the number of seats in the local parks has been apportioned as between Jews and Aryans on the basis of their relative numbers in the district. One hundred park seats have been made available; ninety-two are for Aryans and eight for Jews. The Aryan seats bear the notice "Forbidden to Jews." The arrangement, it is declared in the press, was made owing to the complaints of Aryans against the Jews, and is recommended by the local council to other districts.

The "Black Corps," the organ of the S. S., has an attack upon the Jews in the manner which accompanied the incidents of two years ago, when a number of Jews were roughly handled in the West End of Berlin for allegedly being impudent and presumptuous.

The "Black Corps" declares that the Jews are showing themselves again en masse at bathing resorts and other places, notwithstanding the existence of the notices "Jews not wanted" which are to be found in almost every resort. The paper mentions specifically a well-known restaurant and beach in the western outskirts of Berlin, and its article is accompanied by a series of pictures showing Jews in bathing costumes and other Jews dancing there.

—*The Manchester Guardian*




*South Wales Echo,* Cardiff

***KNOT LIKELY***

***THE SKIPPER (John Bull): Now, I ask you! Have I a chance with a crew like this?***

## WEARY ITALIANS

Part of the 11,000 Italians sent to Abyssinia for colonization of the conquered country and who refused to work under the severe conditions there, are on the way back. They were very bitter against their Government in general and against the Fascists in particular. They had hardly received any money for their work and were not allowed to keep arms, although always in the danger of attack by the Abyssinians. They said Abyssinia was only for Fascists who were fed well, but non-Fascists could never remain and work there under the prevailing uncertain and war-like conditions.

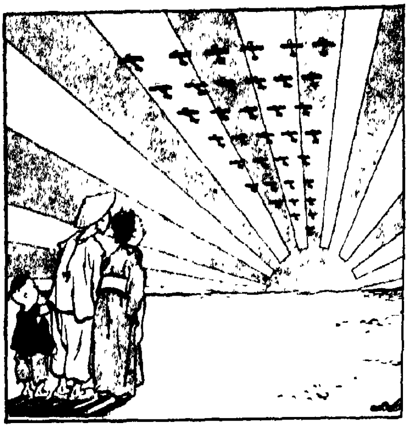
Fighting is reported from all sides. The Dankalis have been fighting desperately. Before the Italian troops reached the place, they were ready for them with the same tactics that they used while the Abyssinians sent expeditions against them. The Dankali country has no water, but here and there are a few wells. They had put these under strong guard and harassed the Italians who got thirsty very soon. When they were already in disorder the Dankalis attacked them fiercely. Only when aeroplanes came to throw barrels of water down, and fresh reserves arrived, the Dankalis retreated towards the border fighting all the time.

—*Independent India*

## TWILIGHT IN TURKEY

We are facing a great contrast; we must take care of our national character.

From behind barred windows the girl has gone to the jazz dancing halls, and the young man has left the coffee house for the bar.



*Glasgow Record*

***THE RISING SUN***

***(The majority parties in Japan are urging the Government to "take a vigorous attitude towards China and seek a fundamental solution.")***

The village elder has shaved his beard, and thrown away the turban from his head. The young men who used to sing to the music in the cafés have now become addicts of nocturnal pleasures. Our ladies that could get a few rounds in the streets by pretending they were going to the mosque, now go up and down Beyoglu in front of the cinemas during the month of Ramadan. The veiled woman who would not be seen even by men who were relatives, now sits among us with rouged lips.

Let us not forget that this change, nearly unthinkable in extent, took only ten years. It may be considered unique in history in its suddenness.

But we must know that a true society is founded on genuine morality. The new conduct, the appropriation of new beliefs, will be natural, easy, and without dangers, if genuine morality is based on firm and sound principles.

In the face of this great contrast is there any doubt that we need the greatest caution and the greatest care for ourselves, for our social beliefs, our national character and our national morals?

*Ruhk*, Turkey

## SHANGHAI DANCE

Of the many evidences of Western influence to be found in Shanghai nothing is more remarkable than the dancing craze, which in the past few years has won an increasingly large number of followers amongst Chinese of all ages and of all stations except the very lowest. Shanghai has more than one hundred dance halls and cabarets, large and small, which provide employment for some five thousand professional dance partners, and the most popular of these establishments are crowded night after night. Some are open for business during the afternoons and even in one or two cases during the luncheon interval.

Nowadays the largest proportion by far of the dance partners are Chinese girls whose ages range from fifteen to twenty-five; most of them are in their late teens. This is a relatively new development, for ten years ago the partners to be found in Shanghai's dance halls, then much fewer in number and less pretentious in appearance, were virtually all Russian girls, coming for the most part from Harbin. About 1926, however, the first Chinese-owned dance hall, known as the Peach Blossom Place, was established with Chinese girls as partners, and since then numerous Chinese dance halls have come into existence. The latest addition, which, with a swimming pool and restaurant, covers several acres of ground, has more than one hundred dance partners, chiefly Chinese, but with a sprinkling of Russians and Eurasians.

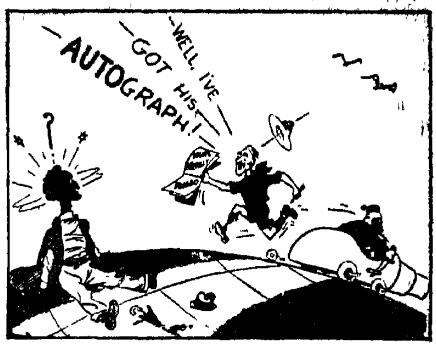
All of the dance halls work on much the same basis, the girls receiving a fixed commission on dance tickets and drinks. In the better-class halls, which usually offer an occasional vaudeville turn between dances, a dollar will not buy more than two or three dance tickets, whereas in the "dives" of Hongkew it can be stretched to buy ten. Usually the management allows the girls to keep half of their earnings in the matter of dance tickets, paying a rather lower commission on drinks consumed either by the customer or by the girl at the customer's expense. In most of the better-class Chinese establishments, however, little liquor is consumed, the majority of the patrons limiting their indulgence to tea or some variety of soft drink. These places are usually conducted with a degree of decorum which would do credit to a church social. Family parties, ranging from toothless old grandmothers tottering along on bound feet to infants asleep in their mothers' arms, occupy tables by the hour, sipping tea and munching sweetmeats as they watch the dancing.

Although elegantly gowned and groomed

and unquestionably attractive, a good 80 per cent. of the Chinese dancing partners are illiterate. Yet many who can neither write nor read their own language often speak English remarkably well and reveal a surprising amount of general knowledge, picked up in the course of conversation with their clients. Most of the girls come from poor families in the hinterland of Shanghai, and in some cases have either been bought body and soul or else temporarily acquired under contract by older women, to whom they are obliged to give their earnings in return for food, clothes and lodging. The majority earn barely enough to live, but a few who enjoy the patronage of wealthy Chinese are said to make as much as £100 a month. In the larger dance halls the average girl probably earns about £10, the minimum anywhere about £2 a month, which is considerably higher than the average wage paid to factory girls. However, it must be remembered that a dancing girl is obliged to spend a considerable proportion of her earnings upon cosmetics, clothes, and other feminine allurements.

The jazz craze has brought with it a number of social problems which are giving the Chinese authorities in Shanghai some cause for uneasiness. Many of the less reputable dance halls make a special point of catering to high school and university students, who tend increasingly to spend their leisure as well as their pocket money in these resorts. But it is not only the younger generation that is affected. Middle-aged fathers of families are also to be found in the dance halls, and home life is apt to suffer in consequence. Occasionally this particular aspect of the problem is solved in a rather piquant fashion by the husband taking his wife with him when he goes to the dance hall. It is now not uncommon, states a Shanghai newspaper, to see wives "patiently sitting on the sidelines whilst their husbands disport themselves upon the glassy dance floors of Shanghai's palaces of pleasure. In order to pass the time more pleasantly some wives bring along books or other reading material, nor is knitting taboo in such cases."

—*The Manchester Guardian*




*South Wales Echo, Cardiff*

***HIS GOOD DEED***

***Mr. Neville Chamberlain has received an autographed letter from Mussolini.***

## PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

While democracy as known in the United States has never been known in Japan even the slight inclination in that direction has been suppressed since the Manchurian intervention in favor of fascism. The recent victory of the political parties apparently only had the effect of precipitating the present intervention in North China. The political-economic set-up in Manchukuo is entirely military fascism. The former Chinese provinces have been converted into a happy hunting ground of state socialism as interpreted and promoted by officers connected with the powerful Kwantung branch of the Japanese Army. This program, which has effectively suppressed private enterprise in the Manchurian provinces and forced the Chinese population into a condition little better than serfdom is now being extended into North China. If the Japanese are permitted to complete their program in North China, it will not be many weeks before all major enterprises are controlled by organizations and groups dominated by the Japanese army in Manchuria.

Along with this system the Japanese warlords have fostered the production and international traffic in opium, morphine, heroin and other habit-forming drugs, recognized as a world menace, but which the Japanese refuse to discontinue because of the money-realizing possibilities and value in the subjugation of native populations.

Americans were once deeply interested in promoting democratic systems—political, educational, religious, philanthropic, commercial and industrial—in Asia. Obviously this democratic spirit and belief in humanitarianism has not disappeared from the hearts of the North Americans. Col. Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of State, in his remarkable book dealing with the Far Eastern Question, said that American reactions toward develop-



Il 420, Florence

***RUSSIAN CANNONS AT VALENCIA***

***"How did you elude the Franco-Russian control?" "With these black glasses and false beards they did not recognise us"***

ments in Asia were different from the reactions of Europeans because Americans were in the position of near neighbors to the peoples of Asia. He said that American interest in China was not motivated by commercial considerations . . . "it may have been idealistic . . . it was purely democratic and it was held by people who strongly believed in self-government, in humanitarianism and in peace . . . it was based upon the postulate that China deserved a fair chance to develop herself in the modern world by a protection against violation of her administrative and territorial integrity. . . ."

*The China Weekly Review*

## AMERICAN INCONSISTENCY

It is perhaps a puzzle to some that the United States Government, supposed to be ready to abandon the great Archipelago of the Philippines, should spend almost a year in various maneuvers, which included secret "colonization," to establish its claim to three small, barren, uninhabited islands—Jarvis, five miles long and a mile or two wide, rising twenty feet above the sea; and Baker and Howland islands, sixty-five miles apart, the one a mile long and three-fourths of a mile wide, and the other two miles long and a mile wide.

Chagrin has been shown in some quarters in Britain and Japan over these developments, and in our present stage of world civilization that can probably not be helped. However, though the fact that the airplane is an American invention is from the sociological point of view largely an accident (it might just as well have been invented in France, for instance), America has naturally, it would appear under the circumstances, taken the lead in airplane building and, with equal appropriateness, in airplane transport, and America was and still is, in fact, the only country able to undertake to solve the difficult problems involved in trans-Pacific aviation. This involves almost the necessity of some control, and it is fortunate that to obtain this control was still possible after a considerable period of indifference to "islands" in general, which are associated in the continental American

mind chiefly with Robinson Crusoe, pirate treasure, cannibals, and hula-hula dancers.

The apparent inconsistency between American policy in respect to the great island group of the Philippines, only slightly smaller than the British Isles, and these other little spots of land in the Pacific, important though they now are, may be surprising, but American policy with respect to the Philippines antedated by decades any considerations connected with world aviation. There is no doubt that in the long run these new considerations will affect America's Philippine policy, not to say its entire foreign policy, especially with respect to Asia. —*Philippine Magazine*

## STALIN'S PURGE

When, after the commencement of the second Soviet trial, Trotsky stated in a cable to the *Manchester Guardian* that these trials were the beginning of Stalin's death agony it was not easy to believe him. The recent events in that country, however, make this estimate feasible. Much of the news being handed around about Russia may be summarily dismissed. In this category, for instance, may be placed the report from Helsingfors (a notorious place for unreliable news) that Stalin is embarking on an anti-Semitic campaign as the stage preparatory to an alliance with Hitler. Not that Stalin is incapable of utilising anti-Semitism as a weapon in his armour to down an opponent. This ruthless Caucasian has shown recently that he can travel very far. The relentlessness of his character is, in fact, well illustrated in a story told by Kamenev that Stalin once said to him and to Djerzhinsky (the Cheka chief) over a few bottles of wine, that the finest thing in the world was to choose your opponent, measure him carefully, strike him down so that he never recovers, and then retire to bed for a good night's sleep. But Stalin is also a realist, and he must know that while he may exploit the ubiquitous spirit of anti-Semitism privately and within the precincts of the Communist Party, this could never become State policy, for it would immediately cut him off from the liberal and labour West upon which he has placed so much hope. Or to be more exact, he would only indulge in this universal pastime if he had the agreement with the German Reichswehr generals in his pocket. Which is




*South Wales Echo*, Cardiff

***NEW STAR CAPTURES THE LIMELIGHT***




*United Feature Syndicate, Inc.*

***CONCENTRATION UNDER DIFFICULTIES***

not yet the case. We may, therefore, dismiss the message from Helsingfors in the ultra-conservative *Morning Post* as an attempt to degrade Russia in the eyes of the liberal west an essential move before isolating her from France, which is now with little doubt the major task of British foreign policy.

—*The South African Opinion*

## PROFIT IN HORROR

With these principles in mind I read with great interest the *News Chronicle* enquiries into a very odd organisation called the Air Raid Precaution Association which sends out alarming leaflets about bombs and wishes you to send 2*s*. 6*d*. for lectures (not yet announced), and expert advice (experts not named) about how to make your house gas-proof. No names given, not even a Secretary, President or Peer to make the thing sound better. The *News Chronicle* reporter had a jolly time tracking down a gentleman who apparently turns up every now and again at the address where the half-crowns are sent. And now I want to know about a lot of other people who offer their services for our security. A number of private firms are distributing literature offering to make your home poison-gas proof. To begin with, they mislead because they suggest to the ignorant that you are safe if you have a gas-proof room. In this they only imitate the tactics of the official Government publications which slur over the use of thermite and other incendiary bombs —against which, as far as I can gather, there is as yet no protection of any sort—and which do not tell us what to do when we have to come out of our sealed-up rooms into a world of "contaminated" concrete (once concrete is soaked with mustard gas the official instructions say that it may have to be dug up with a pickaxe!). Obviously, the temptation to exploit our fears is considerable. No "private enterprise" should be allowed in such a matter. The pamphlet that drives me to most anger is a prettily covered affair with a picture of a baby playing with a doll, mother knitting, and father and son playing cards inside a "safety-first" shelter, while outside gas-masked figures dash about in the death fumes. I must remember to get a stock of playing cards in. It's a good hint of what to do, while people without private shelters crush each other to death in the underground and burn and cough their lungs out in the streets.

—Critic in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London

## NO SMALL SECRETS

We are surrounded by capitalist—and therefore hostile peoples. We must not forget for a moment that our enemies will attempt to make use of every hole in our apparatus, they will make use of flattery, intrigue, drunkenness, any kind of measure to get at the secrets of our Party and our State.

Every citizen who reveals information to our enemies, however unimportant it may seem, must be punished with the utmost severity. Every Communist must understand, once and for all, that there are no "small" secrets; the enemy can make use of any information of an economic or defensive character.

—*Pravda*, Moscow

## PACIFIST ITALY

Why war? Who has any interest in letting loose a fresh war on Europe? A new war would spell disaster for Europe and therefore for civilisation, if it be true, and it is, that "Europe" means "Civilisation." It would be internecine butchery, the mutual extermination of the ruling races and would give the signal for revolution to the leaders of the peoples of Asia and Africa, dominated and




*Glasgow Ev. Times* Scotland

***"These infernal Chinese. How dare they defend themselves?"***

supported by the barbarous madness reigning in Bolshevik Russia. Not one of the great and really European nations has any conceivable reason or interest in provoking a suicidal war.

Italy during the last year has conquered an Empire; now it is her duty and her wish to organise it, to populate it, to make it productive. Peace is a necessity for this great task which will demand all her energies for decades to come. She is ready at any moment both materially and spiritually to resist any who attempt to deprive her of her right to live, her honour, her freedom in the Mediterranean and her imperial destiny. She is also ready to defend western civilisation, which is fundamentally Roman, against the menace of barbarism. It is obviously not in her interest to provoke a war which might threaten her own existence. Only the minimum of intelligence is needed to see this, only the minimum of honesty to admit it. Anyone who talks of Italy wishing for war—*quaerens quem devoret*—is mad, or lying, or drugged with the narcotics of Geneva, or is truckling to his own demagogues.

Nor has Germany any intelligible reason for starting a war. Defeated, disarmed, enchained in 1919 at Versailles, she has little by little, step by step, without war, flung off her chains; she has recovered little by little all that she lost. She has renewed her national spirit, her armed forces and much of her economic power. She knows herself to be surrounded by suspicion and hatred, some still smouldering, some just dying down but ready to burst out afresh at the least provocation. In such conditions war would imperil her magnificent but still incomplete work of reconstruction. Determined like Italy to defend the order and civilisation of Europe, Germany also resembles Italy in having no desire for an unnecessary war. The Italian-German understanding is a bulwark against the Soviet menace of a world revolution, is an understanding which makes for peace and order. It is blindness or bad faith to refuse to admit this.

—*Gazzetta del Popolo*, Rome

# NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

## *Relative to the Sino-Japanese Situation*

*Official Japanese resolution concerning the North China situation.*

July 11, 1937.

Whereas the Japanese Garrison in China has watched with patience a series of acts insulting to Japan perpetrated continuously by Chinese, an armed clash was precipitated on the night of July 7 by illegal firing upon Japanese troops in the vicinity of Lukouchiao by forces of the Chinese 29th Army which previously had been assigned to the maintenance of peace and order in North China in cooperation with the Japanese troops.

As a result, the situation in the Peiping-Tientsin region has become highly strained, imperilling the safety of our nationals residing there. Not abandoning hope, however, for a pacific solution, our country acting in accordance with its policy of preventing a further aggravation of the situation has made endeavours to effect a local settlement of the incident.

Notwithstanding the fact that the 29th Army once acquiesced to a peaceful solution of the incident, its forces on the night of July 10 again opened unlawful fire upon the Japanese troops which suffered further considerable casualties. Moreover, the Chinese troops on the first front are being rapidly increased in strength while those stationed at Hsiyuan have moved southward and troops of the Central Army mobilized.

Though thus making warlike preparations, China lacks the sincerity to continue peaceful negotiations and has finally declined to recognize the whole of the talks opened in Peiping. In view of the above mentioned facts, there is no doubt that the present incident is a case of premeditated anti-Japanese armed resistance by the Chinese.

It is needless to state that the maintenance of peace and order in North China is an absolute *sine qua non* for the safety of both Japan and Manchoukuo. It, therefore, is of vital importance for the preservation of Far Eastern peace that China, not to mention the complete cessation of unlawful acts, should tender an apology for the acts of anti-Japanism or insults to our country which are involved in the present incident and also give a proper guarantee against the recurrence of such acts in the future.

Accordingly, the Government at today's extraordinary Cabinet session came to a grave resolution and also decided to take the necessary procedure for the dispatch of troops to Peiping, but inasmuch as the Empire always desires the maintenance of Far Eastern tranquillity, the Imperial Government has not abandoned hope for peaceful negotiations in order to prevent a further aggravation of the incident and wants a pacific solution through a quick reconsideration by China of her attitude. As regards the protection of the interests and rights which foreign Powers possess in China, full consideration will always be given them by the Japanese Government.

*Japanese demands made upon the Hopei-Chahar Political Council for settlement of North China hostilities.*

July 11, 1937.

First, complete withdrawal of Chinese troops from the western banks of the Yungting River and evacuation of the town of Lukouchiao.

Second, severe punishment of all officers adjudged guilty of causing the clashes.

Third, absolute suppression of all anti-Japanese movements.

Fourth, cooperation against communism.

*Orders of the Chinese Government to the Hopei-Chahar Political Council.*

July 12, 1937.

First, the council must not accept the demands of the Japanese.

Second, the Twenty-ninth Army must not be permitted to retreat in any sectors.

Third, if necessary any and all sacrifices must be made to repel Japanese attacks.

*Chinese Government demands to Japan for settlement of North China hostilities.*

July 12, 1937.

First—That Japan acknowledge responsibility for the hostilities.

Second—That Japan express official regrets.

**Third—That Japan pay indemnities and promise to guard against a recurrence of similar incidents.**

*Text of the Chinese memorandum to powers signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty.*

July 16, 1937.

As to the status: The Japanese troops in their manoeuvres on the night of July 7, when the trouble started, had no shadow of right to be where they were, for manoeuvres or field exercises or even simple barracking, as points where foreign troops may be are specifically enumerated in Article 9 of the final Boxer Protocol of 1901, and neither Lukouchiao, where the original incident occurred, nor Wanping nor Fengtai are included.

So even shadowy and outdated claims that might be advanced under the terms of that protocol furnish no justification for either the presence of or the demonstrations by the Japanese troops. July 12 at Nanking the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, with all his responsibility as Foreign Minister and with his authority as a recent judge of the International Court at The Hague, issued a statement that declared the Japanese manoeuvres at Lukouchiao to be positively without any treaty sanction.

As to the circumstances: Like the famous faked bomb outrage outside Mukden in September, 1931, which did not prevent an approaching train from reaching its destination in time and yet served as an excuse for the rape at Manchuria, so on the night of July 7, 1937, Japanese forces under the demand for the recovery of a suppositious missing Japanese soldier, sought to force their admittance into the Chinese-garrisoned town in the night time and are trying to use the inevitable refusal as the jumping off point for further invasion of North China.

Since then the fighting has been extended to the immediate environs of Peiping while large numbers of Japanese reinforcements are being rapidly sent into the Province of Hopei from Manchuria, Korea and Japan proper.

It is estimated that over 100 Japanese airplanes and 20,000 Japanese troops already have been concentrated in the Peiping-Tientsin area ready to precipitate a major clash at any moment.

Ever since the original outbreaks the Chinese authorities, anxious to reach a peaceful settlement, have used their best efforts to arrange for a cessation of hostilities by the mutual withdrawal of troops. But almost immediately, after each successive arrangement was made, it was nullified by a resumption of their attacks by the Japanese forces.

It need hardly be pointed out that the sudden attack on Lukouchiao and the invasion of North China by large Japanese military forces constitute a clear violation of China's sovereignty contrary to the letter and spirit of the Nine-Power Treaty, the Paris Peace Pact and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The crisis thus precipitated by Japan's aggressive action in China, if permitted to take its own course, will not only immediately disturb peace in East Asia but also may entail unforeseen consequences to the rest of the world.

While China is obliged to employ all the means at her disposal to defend her territory and national honor to the end of her existence she nevertheless holds herself in readiness to settle her differences with Japan by any of the pacific means known to international law and treaties.

But the national government of China is bound to control closely the basis of settlement since it is a well-known tactic of the Japanese military to promote disruption in North China by insisting upon overawing the local authorities. The Japanese also aim to mislead world opinion by pretending that such specious attempts at local negotiations, intended to flout the national government, are directed toward minimizing the "incidents" that they continually engineer.

Such local diplomacy invariably intensifies rather than helps heal the disruptive process in North China and constitutes part of the obvious persistent penetrative continental policy pursued by the Japanese.

The issues thus raised are for that reason, above all others, always national and never local, and "localization" is a subterfuge invariably attempted for baffling Chinese unity and confusing world opinion.

*Text of the statement issued by Secretary of State Cordell Hull on American foreign policy.*

July 16, 1937.

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near

neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world.

Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country.

I therefore feel warranted in making—in fact, I feel it a duty to make—a statement of this government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement.

We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation.

We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law.

We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over.

We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment.

We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries.

We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments, but we believe in cooperative efforts by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated.

*Note sent by Dr. Wang, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, to the Japanese Embassy.*

July 19, 1937.

Since the outbreak of the Wanping incident [the first clash west of Peiping July 7] China, desirous of not aggravating the situation or provoking conflict with Japan, repeatedly has declared its readiness to seek a settlement by peaceful means.

The Japanese, while professing anxiety not to see the situation aggravated, at the same time have dispatched large numbers of troops into Hopei. The movements of Japanese troops, which have not ceased, indicate the clear intention of Japan to resort to force.

Circumstances have forced China to take precautionary measures of self-defense, but the National Government has not relaxed its efforts for peace.

On July 12 Foreign Minister Wang Chung-hui proposed to the Japanese a mutual cessation of military movements and withdrawal of the troops of both sides to their original positions. It is regretted that no reply to this proposal has been received.

China wishes to reiterate its desire for a peaceful settlement. It is therefore proposed that the two parties jointly fix a date on which both sides simultaneously shall cease military movements and withdraw their respective armed forces to the positions occupied prior to the incident.

In view of the peaceful aspirations the Japanese Government has voiced, China trusts this proposal will be acceptable.

Regarding the procedure to be followed for a just settlement of the Wanping incident, China is prepared immediately to enter into negotiations with the Japanese through regular diplomatic channels.

The settlement of questions of a local nature susceptible of adjustment on the spot shall be subject to sanction of the Chinese Government.

In short, the Chinese Government is ready to exhaust all pacific means for the maintenance of peace in Eastern Asia.

Therefore all methods provided in international law and international treaties for the settlement of international disputes, such as direct negotiations, good offices, mediation or arbitration, are equally acceptable to the Chinese Government.

***Text of Foreign Minister Koki Hirota's speech before a special session of the Imperial Japanese Diet.***

July 17, 1937.

It is not necessary for me to expatiate afresh on our national policy which aims at securing Japan's position as a stabilizing force in East Asia and contributing to the establishment of true peace of the world. I firmly believe that in order to carry out this policy we should first of all consider the quadruple relations between Japan, Manchukuo, China and the Soviet Union.

In surveying conditions in present-day China, our Government cannot but profoundly regret to note that anti-Japanese sentiments and movements have been encouraged and systematically exploited for unifying public opinion and arousing the nationalistic consciousness and that untoward incidents evidently resulting therefrom are taking place in various quarters of China.

At the time of the Chengtu incident last year, the Japanese Government took occasion to ask the Chinese to rectify their attitude toward Japan, which constituted a fundamental obstacle to friendly intercourse between China and Japan, and to invite the Nanking Government to demonstrate its sincerity regarding the concrete questions bound up with the amelioration of relations between the two countries.

Unfortunately, as you know, negotiations came to an impasse owing to Chinese recalcitrance. Since then Sino-Japanese relations, frankly speaking, have been far from satisfactory. I need not repeat here that the Japanese policy in Eastern Asia is directed solely toward the realization of stability in Eastern Asia through conciliation and cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo and China, and by stopping the Communist invasion of the Orient.

The Japanese Government therefore, earnestly hopes that China will as soon as possible come to have a full understanding and appreciation of our basic policy. However, today in China not only is such an understanding or appreciation absent but anti-Japanese sentiments, as mentioned before, have been still more intensified, whereof the Lukouchiao incident of July 7 was only a logical consequence. Regarding the present incident, the Japanese Government have maintained, as announced in their official statement of July 11, a policy seeking a settlement on the spot and non-aggravation of the situation.

Accordingly, the Government has been doing its best to effect a peaceful solution on the spot and at the same time induce the Nanking Government to take proper steps for an early settlement of the question. It is my earnest hope that prompt reconsideration on the part of the Chinese authorities will lead to the faithful execution of the terms of the settlement arrived at on the night of July 11.

The Governments of the powers have been informed of the details, through our diplomatic representatives, of this policy of the Japanese Government, and I believe they understand fully Japan's attitude of patience and self-restraint. On the other hand, dependent upon what stand the Nanking Government may take, there is no knowing what will be the possible repercussions among the Chinese masses. There exists, it must be admitted, the danger of an untoward outbreak any moment.

We have more than once called the attention of both the Chinese Central Government and the local authorities to the matter of control of anti-Japanese activities and the protection of our nationals in China. In order to insure their safety the Japanese Government are prepared to use all available means consonant with the development of the situation.

In a word, China holds the key to the settlement of the present incident, as it depends entirely upon what course she will choose to follow. I confidently hope that the Nanking Government will adopt such effective and appropriate measures as accord with our desire and bring about an early, amicable settlement.

Our Government are giving careful consideration to our relations with the Soviet Union. Incidents have continued to occur along the Manchukuo-Soviet frontier. The most serious case was the recent illicit invasion and occupation of the Manchukuo islands in the Amur, which led to an armed clash of the Japanese-Manchukuo forces with Soviet intruders.

The situation threatened for a time to develop into one of extreme gravity. However, the affair ended as you know in a peaceful settlement, the Soviet Government agreeing to restore the status quo ante in that region.

The Japanese Government are deeply concerned over the state of things on the Man-

chukuo-Soviet frontier which gives rise to frequent frictions. What is needed first of all is to take practical steps to prevent these border disputes. For that purpose, we should lose no time in setting up those two commissions for the demarcation of the border line and the settlement of disputes which for some years past have been under consideration, and also devise other means of removing the tension all along the frontier.

I cannot but urge most strongly the Soviet Government to cooperate freely and unreservedly with us in this task for the sake of peace in Eastern Asia.

Again it is a matter of no small concern for our Government as to whether or not our nationals are to be engaged in fishery in northern waters and those having oil and coal concessions in North Saghalien are to be accorded full guarantees for the legitimate operation of their enterprises. It is our policy never to tolerate the creation of any such circumstances as will in substance destroy those enterprises sanctioned by treaty. In short, there remains between Japan and the Soviet Union a number of issues still pending for the solution whereof the Government will do the best they can.

As for our relations with Great Britain, I am deeply moved when I say that a short while ago, in behalf of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, His Imperial Highness Prince Chichibu, accompanied by Princess Chichibu, attended the coronation ceremonies of the King and Queen of England and by their mission enhanced the traditional friendship that binds our two nations.

While it has always been the consistent policy of the Government to promote Anglo-Japanese friendship, more recently the two Governments have come to an agreement of views regarding the advisability of entering into frank conversations with the object of adjusting the relations of the two countries. We hope to bring about an early fulfillment of that aim.

Japanese-American relations have been of late really good, being marked by an ever-growing amity and good-will. I am glad to say that the economic mission which visited the United States some weeks ago have by their candid exchange of views in various circles accomplished much toward establishing a closer contact between our two nations economically and otherwise.

Last year this country concluded an anti-Comintern [anti-Communist International] agreement with Germany. The Governments are striving for the effective application of the said agreement and at the same time for the furtherance of friendly, intimate relations between Japan and Germany.

Now, turning to our trade relations with other countries, obviously the expansion of our export trade constitutes not only an indispensable condition of our national existence, but one of the most important means of balancing our international accounts under the present economic circumstances of the country. But as a matter of fact foreign powers, for economic, financial or other reasons, still continue to maintain commercial barriers of various kinds against Japanese goods.

The Government is working for the smooth development of our export trade by concluding such individual agreements with the Governments of those countries as may be best suited to their respective circumstances, or by arranging private agreements to be arrived at between our business interests and those of other countries. I am glad to say that since last Spring our trade negotiations with India, Burma, the Netherlands, East Indies and Turkey have all been brought to a successful conclusion.

The Government will strive more energetically than ever for the maintenance and furtherance of Japan's commercial interests and at the same time make all possible endeavors for insuring free access to raw materials and natural resources and promoting freedom of international trade.

It is gratifying to note the growth of certain tendencies favorable to the restoration of freedom of trade. I desire to take this opportunity to declare the readiness of the Japanese Government to participate heartily in any international undertaking to convert these tendencies into reality.

As may be seen from what I have stated above, Japanese foreign relations are presently fraught with difficulties and problems. For the effective execution of our foreign policy at this time true national unity is required, unity which is based upon a full comprehension of the international situation.

*Text of the non-agression pact between China and the Soviet Union.*

July 28, 1937.

The National Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics, animated by the desire to contribute to the maintenance of internal peace, consolidate the amicable relations now existing between them on a firm and lasting basis, and confirm in a more precise manner the obligations mutually undertaken under the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed in Paris on Aug. 27, 1928, have resolved to conclude the present treaty and for this purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China: Dr. Wang Chung-wei, Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Mr. Dimitri Bogomoloff, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Republic of China—who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. Two High Contracting Parties solemnly reaffirm that they condemn the recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and that they renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with each other, and in pursuance of this pledge they undertake to refrain from any aggression against each other either individually or jointly with one or more other powers.

Article II. In the event that either of the High Contracting Parties should be subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third powers, the other High Contracting Party obligates itself not to render assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly, to such third power or powers at any time during the entire conflict, and also refrain from taking an action or entering into any agreement which may be used by aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the party subjected to aggression.

Article III. The provisions of the present treaty shall not be so interpreted as to affect or modify the rights and obligations arising, in respect of the High Contracting Parties, out of bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements of which both the High Contracting Parties are signatories and which were concluded prior to entering into force of the present treaty.

Article IV. The present treaty is drawn up in duplicate in English. It comes into force on the day of signature by the above mentioned and shall remain in force for a period of five years. Either of the High Contracting Parties may notify the other, six months before the expiration of the period, of its desire to terminate the treaty. In case both parties fail to do so in time, the treaty shall be considered as being automatically extended for a period of two years after the expiration of the first period. Should neither of the High Contracting Parties notify the other, six months before the expiration of the two-year period, of its desire to terminate the treaty, it shall continue in force for another period of two years, and so on successively.

In witness whereof, respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed hereunto their seals.

Done at Nanking, Twenty-First Day of August, Nineteen Hundred Thirty-Seven.

*Demands made by Japanese naval authorities on Chinese for settlement of the Hungjao killings at Shanghai.*

August 11, 1937.

1. Arrest and punishment of those responsible for the slayings.

2. Compensation by an unspecified amount and official apologies.

3. Withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps from the immediate vicinity of Shanghai

4. Removal of the Chinese defenses in the city's environs.

*Text of statement by Dr. Chengting T. Wang, Chinese Ambassador to the United States.*

August 28, 1937.

"The Chinese Government notes with gratification the reiteration by the Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in his statement of Aug. 23, 1937, of the fact that the general principles of policy enunciated in his statement of July 16, 1937, which the Chinese Government has unreservedly accepted, should effectively govern international relationships and should be applicable throughout the world.

"Due note also is taken of the appeal of the Secretary of State to China and Japan to refrain from resort to war and to settle differences in accordance with principles which in the opinion not alone of the American people, but of practically all peoples of the

world, should govern in international relationships.

"Traditionally it has been the foreign policy of the Chinese Government to settle all international controversies by pacific means. Soon after the outbreak of the incident in Lukouchiao on July 7, 1937, the Chinese Government made in vain several attempts to effect a peaceful settlement of the incident.

"In a memorandum under date July 15, 1937, addressed to the leading powers, it was made clear that while China was obliged to employ all the means at her disposal to defend her territory and national honor and existence, she nevertheless, held herself in readiness to settle her differences with Japan by any of the pacific means known in international law and treaties.

"In a note to the Secretary of State on Aug. 12, 1937, the Chinese Ambassador again took occasion to point out that the stand of the Chinese Government as to the issue with Japan remained the same as that stated in the memorandum of July 15, 1937. Even in a recent move to seek a peaceful solution, the Chinese Government accepted in principle the British proposal for the cessation of hostilities in Shanghai, if Japan would accept the same.

"It is to be noted that China has never attempted to resort to war, but to resist foreign aggressions in defense of her territory and national honor and existence. She is ready as ever to settle whatever differences she may have with Japan in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

"It is the sincere conviction of the Chinese Government that the relationships among the nations can be best governed by the realization and fulfillment of the noble principles enunciated and reiterated by Secretary of State Hull, and that the realization and fulfillment of these principles can only be attained by the full cooperation of all the countries."

***Text of the note delivered to the Japanese Foreign Office in Tokyo by the British chargé d'affaires.***

August 29, 1937.

The Japanese Government will be aware of the injuries sustained by Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, His Majesty's Ambassador to China, as the result of shooting from Japanese military airplanes when motoring with members of his staff from Nanking to Shanghai on Aug. 26 last.

The facts were as follows: His Majesty's Ambassador was proceeding from Nanking to Shanghai on Aug. 26, accompanied by a military attaché and the financial adviser to His Majesty's Embassy and a Chinese chauffeur. The party occupied two black saloon cars of obviously private character, each flying a Union Jack, approximately 18 inches by 12 in size on the near side of the car projecting above the roof.

About 2:30 P. M., and about eight miles northwest of Taitsang, i. e., some forty miles from Shanghai, the cars were attacked by machine-gun fire from a Japanese airplane.

The airplane which fired a machine gun dived from the off side of the car at a right angle to it. This was followed by a bomb attack from a second Japanese airplane from a height of about 200 feet.

The Ambassador was hit by a nickel steel bullet (subsequently found embedded in the car) which penetrated the side of his abdomen and grazed his spine.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has received with deep distress and concern the news of this deplorable event, in respect whereof it must record its emphatic protest and request the fullest measure of redress.

Although noncombatants, including foreigners resident in the country concerned, must accept the inevitable risk of injury resulting indirectly from the normal conduct of hostilities, it is one of the oldest and best established rules of international law that direct or deliberate attacks on noncombatants are absolutely prohibited, whether inside or outside the area in which hostilities are taking place.

Aircraft are in no way exempt from this rule, which applies as much to attack from the air as to any other form of attack.

Nor can the plea of accident be accepted where the facts are such as to show at best negligence and a complete disregard for the sanctity of civilian life.

In the present case the facts which have been recorded above make it clear that this was not an accident resulting from any normal hostile operation, and it should have been obvious to the aircraft that they were dealing with noncombatants.

The plea, should it be advanced, that the flags carried on the cars were too small to be visible is irrelevant. There would have

been no justification for the attack even had the cars carried no flags at all.

The foreign, even the diplomatic status of the occupants is also irrelevant. The real issue is that they were noncombatants.

The aircraft no doubt did not intend to attack His Majesty's Ambassador as such. They apparently did intend to attack noncombatants, and that suffices in itself to constitute an illegality.

It is, moreover, pertinent to observers that in this particular case the Ambassador was traveling in a locality where there were no Chinese troops nor any actual hostilities in progress.

No Chinese troops were in fact encountered by the Ambassador's party until about an hour's drive from the scene of the attack.

His Majesty's Government feels it must take this opportunity to emphasize the wider significance of this event. It is an outstanding example of the results to be expected from an indiscriminate attack from the air.

Such events are inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and noncombatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law no less than the conscience of mankind has always enjoined.

The fact that in the present case no actual state of war has been declared or expressly recognized by either party to exist emphasizes the inexcusable nature of what occurred.

His Majesty's Government must therefore request:

Firstly, a formal apology to be conveyed by the Japanese Government to His Majesty's Government.

Secondly, suitable punishment for those responsible for the attack.

Thirdly, an assurance by the Japanese authorities that necessary measures will be taken to prevent recurrence of events of such a character.

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*Text of the State Department's official account of the course taken in regard to the bombing of the liner President Hoover in the China Sea.*

August 31, 1937.

On the evening of Aug. 30, immediately upon receipt of an initial report in regard to the bombing of the American steamship President Hoover at the mouth of the Yangtze River, the American Ambassador to China sent a note to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs reading as follows:

"Dear Mr. Minister:

"I regret to inform you that I am just informed by telephone from Shanghai that the American ship S. S. President Hoover was bombed today by Chinese planes while approaching Yangtze Light at the mouth of the Yangtze River, fifty miles from Shanghai.

"The President Hoover, which carried all possible identifications as an American ship, was damaged above the water line and a number of people on board were injured, some seriously. I hereby protest this inexcusable assault upon an American merchant ship and state that I must hold the Chinese Government responsible for damage done."

The Secretary of State, upon receipt of the telegraphed reports of the Commander in Chief of the Asiatic Fleet in regard to the bombing of the steamship President Hoover and upon receipt of the text of the note which the American Ambassador to China sent to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, telegraphed the American Ambassador approving the action taken by him and instructing him to supplement the note which he had already sent to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs with a further note sent as under express instruction from the American Government.

The Ambassador was directed to call particular attention to the fact that the President Hoover was anchored in the open sea seventeen miles from the Chinese mainland; that at the time of the bombing attack the President Hoover was engaged in the wholly humanitarian pursuit of removing refugees from the dangers which have existed and continue to exist in Shanghai; and that the American Government considers the bombing of the President Hoover a flagrant example of wholly unlawful and unjustifiable bombing of noncombatants.

The department received this morning a telegram from the Ambassador to China stating that the Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs called on the Ambassador and communicated to him an expression of the Chinese Government's keen regret and desire to make immediate redress for the incident.

The Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs also informed the Ambassador that General Chiang Kaishek was very much concerned in regard to the matter and had stated that the Chinese aviator concerned would be punished.

This morning the Chinese Ambassador called on the Secretary of State and stated that he had been instructed by his Government to express sincere regrets with regard to the bombing of the President Hoover and to say that his Government assumed full responsibility for this unfortunate occurrence and was prepared to make prompt indemnification both in regard to damage to property and in regard to the persons injured.

The Ambassador stated that according to his information the Chinese aviator involved had observed what he thought to be a Japanese transport, with Japanese naval vessels in the neighborhood, and he had dropped his bombs under the impression that he was attacking an enemy vessel. The Ambassador concluded with a reiteration of his Government's regrets and willingness to make amends.

The Ambassador, Nelson T. Johnson, reported from Nanking today that the following statement was issued to the press on Aug. 30 by the Chinese Foreign Office:

"The Chinese authorities have learned with deep regret that the steamship President Hoover was today bombed by mistake by a Chinese airplane, resulting in injury to certain persons aboard.

"Upon being informed of the unfortunate event the Government immediately ordered an investigation by the military authorities and at the same time expressed to the American authorities its readiness to assume responsibility and make immediate redress for the incident.

"Preliminary reports appear to indicate that the steamship President Hoover, whose position at the time of the incident, was between two Japanese warships, was mistaken by the Chinese airman for a Japanese military transport. Earlier in the day the Chinese air force had received reports that Japanese military transports were arriving at Shanghai.

"It goes without saying that the Chinese military and air force, whose sole object is to resist aggression, would never consider a deliberate attack on vessels of any third country.

"Negotiations already have been started at Nanking for an early settlement of this deplorable incident. The Chinese Ambassador at Washington also has been instructed to convey to the State Department the regret of the Chinese Government and its readiness to make immediate redress for the incident."

*Statement by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.*

August 30, 1937.

"If the nations of the world recognize the menace of Japanese aggression and wish to prevent its consequences from descending on the world directly or indirectly, they should take immediate action," he asserted. "Intervention is imperative not only for China's sake but for international safety."

"The simple truth is that Japan acted with the object of crushing China and establishing a continental empire for herself. The significance of this fact needs no emphasis.

"China happens to be fighting, with inadequate equipment, not only its own battle, but the battle of all those nations who base their lives on the sanctity and validity of treaties and especially those whose large commercial interests in China are being systematically destroyed and their representatives driven away."

"The first result is a united rallying of the people of China to defend themselves against a ruthless foe that disregards all canons of international law and all sense of human decency in invading China on false pretenses and destroying the lives and property of non-combatants, Chinese and foreign.

"The second result is the apparent acceptance by the powers of the displacement of international law and the substitution therefor of a system of fake 'incident making' which is used as a justification for it. That is what happened in Manchuria and that is what Japan intends now.

"The third result is the revelation of the systematic intention of Japan to devastate the most important seaports of China so that commerce will be ruined and foreign interests driven from the continent; these interests were driven from Korea and from Manchuria.

"The fourth result is that Japan is steadily wiping out her own investments in China and destroying her own commercial opportunities in a land where wise, statesmanlike and courteous treatment on her part would undoubtedly have given her almost a monopoly of trade as well as the high respect of China's great population of 400,000,000. Instead of admiration she has rooted hatred and distrust deep in the Chinese heart and mind."

# CHRONOLOGY

## *Highlights of Current History, Aug. 11–Sept. 10*

### DOMESTIC

AUGUST 11—Wages and Hours bill blocked in the House by deadlock in Rules Committee.

Candidates supported by C.I.O. sweep Democratic nominations in Akron and Canton primaries.

Civil Liberties Union denounces police brutality in shipyard strike; appeals to Mayor La Guardia.

New C.I.O. union formed to enroll all radio, telegraph, and telephone operators.

Senate and House rebellion against Administration leadership led by Democrats; legislators ignore vital issues in haste to adjourn.

Southern legislators representing cotton bloc revolt against Administration's anti-loan policy.

Senate passes measure for export of helium in non-military quantities.

AUGUST 12—President Roosevelt nominates Senator Black to Supreme Court vacancy; Senate balks at prompt confirmation.

Senate ignores Roosevelt's protest and adopts Committee's discriminatory sugar bill clauses.

Anti-Lynching Bill put over until next session in effort to break legislative jam in Senate.

AUGUST 13—Weirton Steel challenges right of National Labor Relations Board to investigate labor intimidation charge against them.

Senate subcommittee approves Black's nomination to Supreme Court.

House committee, reporting housing bill, raises family unit to $5,000; slashes total loan.

President Roosevelt labels as false reports of drive to change court by amendment.

AUGUST 14—Silk manufacturers' group reaches agreement with Textile Workers' Organizing Committee; 8,000 striking mill workers to return to jobs.

Johnstown employers' group comes to New York to fight Reds; drive planned on labor racketeers.

Chamber of Commerce asks legislators to junk Wages and Hours bill as State, not Federal, concern.

Wage bill in hopeless deadlock; Congress speeds adjournment within week.

Telegrams to Senate question Black's fitness for Supreme Court.

Secretary Wallace drafts plan to peg cotton price at 12 cents a pound.

AUGUST 15—Groups of Weirton Steel workers march to protest Labor Board hearings.

William Green announces A.F. of L. counterattack on C.I.O. in effort to organize farm and office workers.

President confers with Treasury officials; prepares drive for economy.

AUGUST 16—A.F. of L. union opens drive to organize radio actors and announcers.

Shipyard heads receive subpoenas to strike hearing from State Mediation Board.

House passes tax-loophole-plugging bill; Senate committee votes 13 to 4 approving Black's nomination to Supreme Court.

AUGUST 17—Twelve silk mill operators in Pennsylvania organize to fight C.I.O.

Former employees of Weirton Steel testify before NLRB that refusal to join terroristic gang cost them jobs.

C. R. Gay, president of the Stock Exchange attacks the SEC curbs on trading; says they impair liquidity of market for stocks.

Senator Black confirmed by Senate for Supreme Court by vote 63 to 16.

House votes suspension of rules to speed adjournment.

AUGUST 18—Five Thousand civilian employes at Philadelphia vote for bargaining representatives.

Ex-Weirton Steel employes testify that as members of employers' hatchet gang they were sent to get C.I.O. organizers.

Roosevelt denounces reactionary critics as enemies of democracy.

House in night session passes $500,000,000 Wagner-Steagall housing bill.

Wife of Governor Graves of Alabama to be named as Senator Black's successor.

Former Federal Judge Levitt asks Supreme Court to rule on Black's eligibility.

AUGUST 19—C.I.O. drive on Wall Street employes reported lagging by employers.

Black receives commission to Supreme Court; Governor Graves of Alabama appoints wife "Dixie" to succeed to Senate seat vacated by Black.

Senator Bankhead asks President Roosevelt to authorize government ten cent cotton loan.

Harry Hopkins reports 1,500,000 quit WPA in 18 months; 1,527,000 still on rolls.

Senate unanimously passes bill prohibiting the shipment of goods interstate made by children under sixteen.

AUGUST 20—John L. Lewis charges Democratic leaders failed to carry out election pledges.

Congress sends tax loophole and flood control bills to President Roosevelt.

Women charge Weirton Steel men with beating them in attack on C.I.O. members.

AUGUST 21—Congress adjourns; most of Roosevelt measures killed or mutilated.

Senator Burke attacks Lewis and the Labor Board calling them injurious to labor welfare.

Senators attack Senator Guffey for denouncing them as betrayers of pledges over the radio.

AUGUST 22—C.I.O. auto union convenes in Milwaukee; factional fight predicted for leadership.

Congress leaves Washington for home, many members fear constituents' reactions to do-nothing session.

Federal Employment Service listed approximately 5,000,000 jobless in July, lowest number on record.

AUGUST 23—Maritime Commission is told that Pacific Coast sailors do not want Federal aid.

Harry Hopkins tells WPA committee for jobless there is little hope of restoration to rolls.

Secretary Wallace predicts special session of Congress in November.

Witnesses at Labor Board meeting testify Weirton Steel Company pair spies to operate against C.I.O.

AUGUST 24—Republican leaders predict victory for party in 1938.

President Green of the A.F. of L. charges the C.I.O. hired Communists to organize the auto and steel strikes.

President Roosevelt denies plea of WPA committee asking for reinstatement of jobless.

Homer Martin fights to avoid split in automobile workers' convention in Milwaukee.

Teachers convention dominated by A.F. of L. partisans as C.I.O. question is prepared for vote.

AUGUST 25—Senator Copeland in scramble to beat LaGuardia for New York mayoralty brands the C.I.O. as "lawbreaker" union.

President Roosevelt reports he will continue fight on judiciary, to demand ousting of aged and infirmed judges from Supreme Court.

Senator Barkley defends record of departed Congress; denies party split.

Postmaster Farley predicts voters will take care of anti-court Senators.

Railroads reject employe demand for 20% wage increase; 250,000 threaten to strike.

AUGUST 26—New York Reserve Bank slashes rediscount rate to 1%; lowest figure ever posted by a central bank.

Andrew W. Mellon, former Secretary of Treasury, dies of old age.

Secretary of State Hull accepts Hungarian offer of part payment on war debt.

Railroads and five operating unions with 250,000 members accept mediation offer to avert strike.

David Dubinsky offers Milwaukee convention a plan to heal breech between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.

AUGUST 27—Hamberg-American liner Hansa secures "radio pratique" to pass Quarantine by failing to report 24 typhoid cases among crew.

Anti-Roosevelt Democrats report opposition from party leaders at home.

Auto Union votes $400,000 "war chest" to carry unionism to Ford Company; John L. Lewis denounces William Green as a "traitor."

AUGUST 28—Passenger list of 325 canceled on Hamberg-American liner Hansa due to typhoid epidemic.

Senator Copeland links Mayor LaGuardia with Communists.

Bethlehem Steel Corp. ordered to appear before NLRB on charges forwarded by C.I.O.

John Hamilton, Republican National Chairman, dares President Roosevelt to state his position on a "third term."

AUGUST 29—Maritime Commission places fire safety, first as subsidy requirement for new maritime fleet.

William Green reports 1,000,000 new members joined the A.F. of L. in the past 18 months.

25,000 German-Americans, gathered at Yaphank, L. I., hear leaders defend Nazi rule.

AUGUST 30—Republican Representative Taber predicts a deficit of $3,000,000,000 to $4,000,000,000; estimates session's outlay at $10,252,892,556.

Portsmouth, Ohio court enjoins United Shoe Workers of America from preventing the fulfillment of individual contracts between company and 870 employes.

Auto fatalities for first seven months of this year are 12% over same period in 1936.

AUGUST 31—I.M.M. gives 2,563 to 170 vote victory to C.I.O. maritime union; ten more ship lines to be polled.

NLRB ignores court decree upholding A.F. of L. union at Ambridge, Pa. plant of the National Electric Products Corporation; orders vote be taken.

President Roosevelt considers special session of Congress.

Minimum wage scale for New Jersey laundries approved by State Labor Commissioner.

SEPTEMBER 1—A.F. of L. condemns NLRB for voiding contract in Ambridge, Pa.

Secretary of State Hull, in radio speech, announces the United States is willing to join any sincere disarmament conference.

E. A. Filene interests to operate Greenbelt model town on cooperative basis.

President Roosevelt signs the sugar quota bill at Hyde Park; denounces refinery monopoly.

SEPTEMBER 2—A.F. of L. solicits the aid of Senator Wagner in protest over voiding of contract by the NLRB.

A.F. of L. pledges to support West Coast teamsters union; plans fight to finish on Harry Bridges.

President Roosevelt signs slum-clearance measure; sails on holiday cruise.

Veterans of Foreign Wars demand mandatory neutrality; ask Roosevelt to explain Administration plans.

SEPTEMBER 3—John L. Lewis warns the Administration to support the C.I.O. or face a desertion.

New Northwest Passage linking Eastern and

Western Canada is opened by two arctic ships.

SEPTEMBER 4—Senator Burke backs John N. Garner for 1940 Presidential candidacy.

Secretary Hull warns that all naturalized citizens owe the United States full allegiance; specifically cites the German-born.

President Roosevelt in Labor Day message says both employers and workers have made mistakes in the recent strikes.

NLRB examiner finds the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation guilty of unfair labor practices.

SEPTEMBER 6—William Green speaking at Dallas, Texas, accuses C.I.O. of welcoming communist support and inviting fascist dictatorship.

John L. Lewis asks for a place for labor at industry's council tables at a rally of 150,000 workers at Pittsburgh.

SEPTEMBER 7—New York Labor Party pledges aid for the re-election of Mayor LaGuardia.

President Roosevelt accepts the resignation of Assistant Labor Secretary McGrady.

American chemists predict quantity production of gasoline from coal in the near future.

Chicago reports increasing spread of infantile paralysis; schools remain closed.

SEPTEMBER 9—NLRB witness says Bethlehem Steel Co. paid employe representatives to banquet at mill rates.

American civic leaders appeal to General Franco to save 2,000 civilians at Santander from firing squad.

SEPTEMBER 9—General Franco agrees to exchange Dahl, American aviator held under death sentence.

Secretary of State Hull urges all Americans to quit China's principal seaports.

Streamlined destroyers, with heavier torpedo armament and gun power, planned by Navy for 1936-37 program.

SEPTEMBER 10—State Department warns ships of dangers in Chinese waters because of Japanese blockade.

A.F. of L. receives majority vote over C.I.O. in Ambridge, Penn. poll.

## INTERNATIONAL

AUGUST 11—World Zionist Congress approves negotiations concerning partition of Palestine.

AUGUST 12—Argentina opposes United States leasing of warships to Brazil.

AUGUST 13—United States plan to lease warships to Brazil indefinitely postponed.

AUGUST 15—U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull makes strong plea to both China and Japan.

AUGUST 16—Germany makes bid for North Atlantic air trade as *Nordmeer* arrives in United States from the Azores.

AUGUST 17—U. S. Secretary of State Hull orders additional marines to protect Americans evacuating Shanghai, gives no indication that Neutrality Act will be invoked.

Great Britain announces that "all possible measures" will be taken to protect her interests in Shanghai, and authorizes navy to attack submarines threatening Mediterranean shipping.

AUGUST 19—Portugal breaks off diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia because of latter's failure to fill arms orders.

U. S. A. and Brazil conclude agreement for renting of warships to latter.

London *Times* correspondent expelled from Germany.

AUGUST 20—Premier Benito Mussolini delivers peace plea, will not insist upon League recognition of Ethiopia, but will not abandon Germany or Spanish venture.

AUGUST 23—Secretary Hull calls upon China and Japan to "refrain from resort to war."

Valencia Government appeals to League, charges Italy with sinking four merchant ships. Mandates Commission of League of Nations approves in principle of partition of Palestine.

AUGUST 25—Great Britain approves Secretary Hull's peace plea to China and Japan.

Great Britain, France, and the United States accept invitation for representatives to attend Nazi party congress at Nuremberg.

AUGUST 27—Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, British Ambassador to China, seriously wounded by Japanese plane.

Another British vessel reported bombed in Mediterranean; Britain warns Franco.

Hungarian proposal for resumption of part payments on war debts accepted by the United States.

Secretary Hull warns China and Japan concerning United States ships and nationals.

AUGUST 28—China announces willingness to accept Hull proposals and settle differences with Japan by pacific means.

AUGUST 29—Strong British note to Japan demands "fullest measure of redress" for wounding of Ambassador.

China signs non-aggression pact with Russia.

AUGUST 30—American ships warned by Government to avoid Shanghai after Chinese bombing of Dollar liner *President Hoover*.

SEPTEMBER 1—British destroyer attacked by submarine between Alicante and Valencia, Spain.

SEPTEMBER 2—British propose parley of Mediterranean powers on "piracy."

American merchant vessels visiting Shanghai to be escorted by naval convoys.

SEPTEMBER 3—Four British destroyers added to "anti-pirate" fleet in Mediterranean.

Benito Mussolini to visit Berlin at end of September.

SEPTEMBER 4—United States, British, and French Consuls-General ask Chinese and Japanese to end warfare around Shanghai; U. S. Far Eastern policy shows firm tone against aggressors.

SEPTEMBER 5—Russia charges Rome with torpedoing of two Soviet ships; both Russia and Italy dubious about proposed parleys; France

and Britain send invitations to ten powers. British unsatisfied with Japanese answer to note concerning wounding of Ambassador.

China will appeal to the League of Nations against Japan.

SEPTEMBER 7—Russia demands indictment of Italy at parley on "piracy"; objects to presence of Germany.

SEPTEMBER 8—Germany and Italy reject "piracy" conference; Great Britain resolved to continue with conference and stamp out threats to Mediterranean shipping.

SEPTEMBER 9—Mediterranean "piracy" conference opens.

SEPTEMBER 10—Nine powers agree to patrol zones in Mediterranean.

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

AUGUST 12—Valencia Government gains control of Barcelona regime.

Captain of Spanish tanker *Campeador* charges that Italian submarine sank his ship.

AUGUST 13—Heavily concentrated International Brigade attacks halted east of Cordoba.

AUGUST 15—Heavy rebel offensive presses towards Santander.

AUGUST 16—Reinosa, Basque arms-manufacturing center, 40 miles southwest of Santander, captured by rebels.

AUGUST 17—Rebels capture 20 villages in Santander drive.

AUGUST 21—Rebels capture Villacariedo, 16 miles south of seaport of Santander.

AUGUST 22—Rebels storm through Santander's "iron ring" of forts.

AUGUST 23—Insurgent Black Arrow division captures Castro-Urdiales, 30 miles east of Santander.

AUGUST 24—Torrelavega, key to Santander, captured by rebels without fighting.

AUGUST 26—Rebels press on from Santander into Asturias; loyalists threaten Saragossa.

AUGUST 29—Rebels claim victory after severe fighting in Saragossa area.

AUGUST 30—Loyalists press drive on Belchite in effort to drive wedge between Saragossa and Teruel

SEPTEMBER 2—Loyalists claim entry into Belchite, but rebels assert loyalist drive smashed.

SEPTEMBER 3—Rebels continue advance on Gijon, west of Santander.

SEPTEMBER 6—Loyalists report surrender of 600 rebels in Belchite.

SEPTEMBER 8—Asturians halt rebel advance on Gijon.

SEPTEMBER 9—Rebels claim to have surrounded Gijon.

## SINO-JAPANESE WAR

AUGUST 11—Japanese mass 32 warships at Shanghai.

AUGUST 12—Fighting breaks out at Shanghai between Japanese Navy and Chinese. Tokyo Government decides to negotiate with China.

AUGUST 14—Shanghai war continues on larger scale; Japanese beaten back in Nankow Pass.

AUGUST 15—Chinese bombs kill 600 in Shanghai foreign settlement; Secretary of State Cordell Hull makes strong plea to China and Japan.

AUGUST 16—Japanese assault Shanghai by land, sea, and air; foreigners prepare to evacuate; 1,500 troops killed in battle for Nankow Pass.

AUGUST 17—Troops pour into Shanghai as bitter fighting continues; Japanese masses reported unenthusiastic about war.

AUGUST 18—Lull at Shanghai shows 80 to 100 thousand fighting; Japanese halted at Nankow Pass; Japan to summon Diet September 3.

AUGUST 19—Chinese gain in Shanghai, sinking six ships to blockade river.

AUGUST 20—Chinese continue to gain in Shanghai; Japanese claim conquest of Nankow Pass, the gateway to Mongolia; Japanese spokesman declares that only a military settlement will be possible between China and Japan.

AUGUST 21—U. S. flagship hit at Shanghai; one quarter of city burning; Chinese launching triple offensive to gain North China.

AUGUST 22—Japanese resume bombing of Shanghai; attack on Nanking repulsed; 60,000 troops involved as North China conflict rages.

AUGUST 23—Japanese torpedoes inflict severe damage in Shanghai war zone

AUGUST 24—Japanese bombs kill 195, wound 475 in Shanghai; Japan plans control of private wealth in war-time economy; Japanese claim capture of Kalgan, but are forced back at Peiping.

AUGUST 26—Japanese institute partial blockade of Chinese shipping to increase economic pressure on Nanking.

AUGUST 28—Chinese retreat north of Shanghai.

AUGUST 29—Japanese bombing attack on Shanghai kills 200, wounds 400. Japanese claims gains in north.

SEPTEMBER 2—Japanese gain control of air, but experience difficulty landing troops north of Shanghai.

SEPTEMBER 3—Chinese air force thwarts landing of Japanese north of Shanghai; Koki Hirota, Japanese Foreign Minister, announces objective of crushing "anti-Japanism" and its "spearhead," Chiang Kai-shek.

SEPTEMBER 4—Chinese prevent landing of Japanese troops at Shanghai, claim to have regained two-thirds of Lotien, northwest of Shanghai; Chahar, as represented by "100 influential persons," sets up autonomous government; Japan plans drives on three fronts to mop up North China.

SEPTEMBER 7—Chinese counter-attack at Shanghai forces back Japanese; Japanese warships

and planes continue attacks on South China ports.

SEPTEMBER 8—Chinese press attack on Shanghai front.

SEPTEMBER 9—Japanese advancing inland north of Shanghai, but are halted in North China 35 miles west of Peiping; Japanese Diet enacts supplementary war budget of $600,000,000.

SEPTEMBER 10—Chinese hold their own in Shanghai; Japanese advance on Machang in North.

# FOREIGN

## *Canada*

AUGUST 15—Royal Commission of five set up to find new economic and financial basis for Canadian confederation.

Steel and textile strikes in Quebec grow more bitter.

AUGUST 16—Premier Duplessis of Quebec warns textile strikers against sabotage.

## *Germany*

AUGUST 11—Reich, having solved unemployment problem, faces labor shortage.

AUGUST 15—Catholic pilgrimage prevented by counter-demonstration of 150,000 Nazis.

AUGUST 24—Nazis forbidden to become Rotary Club members.

AUGUST 25—Hitler reported ready to conclude agreement with the Vatican.

SEPTEMBER 7—At opening of National Socialist party conference at Nuremberg, Hitler hails ties with Italy and Japan.

SEPTEMBER 9—Goebbels declares at Nazi Conference that day of democracy is past.

SEPTEMBER 10—Almost entire diplomatic corps attend Nazi Conference for first time.

## *Iraq*

AUGUST 12—General Bakr Sidky Pasha, dictator of Iraq, assassinated.

## *Mexico*

AUGUST 17—President Cardenas disturbs financial circles by declaring that revolution is only 30 percent completed.

AUGUST 19—President Cardenas declares intention to set up a "democracy of workers."

SEPTEMBER 1—President Cardenas affirms intentions of continuing revolution on industrial, commercial, as well as agricultural fronts.

## *Paraguay*

AUGUST 13—Army coup forces out cabinet; President Rafael Franco left in office.

AUGUST 16—Colonel Ramon L. Paredes, leader of Army revolt, decries abandonment of State socialism and return to constitutional Republican form of government; President Franco forced to resign, Felix Paiva becoming provisional President.

SEPTEMBER 7—War veteran, police, student, and labor rebels recall of ex-President Franco.

SEPTEMBER 8—New counter-revolt restores President Paiva; situation unsettled.

## *Russia*

AUGUST 11—Seventy-two spy saboteurs executed following wreck on Trans-Siberian Railway.

AUGUST 12—Sigmund Levanesky and five companions set off for United States via North Pole.

AUGUST 13—Trans-polar fliers overdue.

AUGUST 14—Faint radio message indicates safety of polar fliers.

AUGUST 15—Intensive search for fliers undertaken.

AUGUST 16—Commissars of Finance and Communications replaced.

AUGUST 17—Charges of espionage brought against members of State Planning Commission.

AUGUST 19—Sir Hubert Wilkins joins search for Soviet fliers.

AUGUST 24—Nine members of Leningrad factories executed on charges of "murderous sabotage."

AUGUST 27—Thirty-two "wreckers" executed in East Siberia.

# This Month's CURRENT HISTORY

**Every day's screaming** newspaper headlines are **scarcely necessary** to remind Americans of their **vital** interest in the present Sino-Japanese conflict. There is a comprehensive treatment of it **in this** month's issue. American neutrality and **the military** progress of the war are discussed in **the** *Log of Major Currents*. The most effective **check upon Japan** will be the social and economic **tensions** developing within her own boundaries, **rather than** the Chinese Army; these are analyzed **by the** editors in *The Power of Japan*. Japanese **objectives** in China and the relative strengths of **the Japanese** and Chinese fighting forces are **graphically** presented by **Charles Hodges,** professor of politics at New York University and **a frequent** contributor to this magazine, in *China—Back to the Wall*. Then there is *Asia's Irrepressible Conflict*, contributed by **William Henry Chamberlin.** There is no need to introduce the **Tokyo** correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* to our readers. His present article is a **valuable** document on the beginnings of the Sino-**Japanese** war, necessarily written some time be**fore** the magazine appears on the newsstands, it **sheds** incisive light upon the background of the **struggle**, and events have already justified many **of its** analyses.

**It takes an** intellectual gymnast to follow the **intricacies** of the New York mayoralty campaign. **A Democrat** who is against the New Deal is going **all out** to get the Republican nomination. And **the present** incumbent is an ardent New Dealer **who has** enjoyed the support of the party of the **Coolidges,** Hoovers, and Landons. In fact, no **less a** person than William A. White believes **that this** same individual is the "white hope" of **the Grand** Old Party. This political tangle and **this remarkable** personality, Fiorello LaGuardia, **are succinctly** described by **Leon Siler** in *New York Elects a Mayor*. Mr. Siler watches the **City Hall** for the *New York Post*.

**Reverting** once more to the wars which force their **attention upon** the world, there are two articles **on different** aspects of the Spanish war by writers **well-known** in their respective fields. **H. N. Brailsford,** one of a brilliant group of English **left-wing** writers, a contributor to the *Nation* and ***New Republic*** and other American journals, and author of *Property or Peace?* as well as of many other works, writes *Britain Blunders in Spain.* To all those who have been trying in vain to find the key to English policy, this offers a lucid and convincing answer. **Richard Watts, Jr.,** is best known as the able dramatic critic of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. But *Madrid's Victory Complex*, his impressions after a visit to Spain, is a testimonial to his flair for political analysis as well as dramatic criticism.

*Labor in America* is the second of a series of articles, later to be published in book form by the Yale University Press, by **Herbert Harris.**

Every aspect of Soviet life has been pretty well covered by the experts, but remarkably little has been written about the press. **Lawrence Martin,** professor of journalism at Northwestern University, made a special study of this subject on a recent visit to Russia and describes his findings in *The Soviet Press* with special emphasis upon the remarkable *Peasants Gazette*.

There were quite a few chortles when President Roosevelt greeted President Vargas of Brazil last November as a fellow New Dealer. For the general impression was that President Vargas was a pretty neat dictator in his own right. **Wilbur Burton,** an American journalist who has spent the last six years circling the earth studying history at first hand, surveys the dictatorships of South America in *Dictators for Neighbors.*

*Arms Over Europe*, by **Curt L. Heymann** of the editorial staff of the *New York Times*, is the third of a series of articles dealing with the military strength of plans of Europe's leading nations. This instalment deals with France and her allies.

The land-grabbers are hungry, and there are few places for them to turn. *Africa, Land of Promise* may be the next outlet for colonization, as the Ethiopian incident suggests. **J. C. Le Clair,** of the City College of New York, analyzes this situation.

There is quite a bit of current history in a pound of beef, and it is described in *Meat Enough for Everybody* by **G. M. Kilbourn,** who has been associated for many years with the Institute of American Meat Packers.

# TRAVEL

## Where History Is in the Making

ANYBODY who has ever been on a world cruise will tell you that for months after his return the favorite question seems to be: "What places and things impressed you the most?"

This is an understandable curiosity, and *Current History* has obtained a consensus of opinion from among several hundred travelers returning from a 1937 world cruise. The globe-girdlers, who made the trip on the Hamburg-American *SS. Reliance*, were asked what they considered the "most impressive sights" of their trip, according to these topics:

1. Botanical gardens
2. Cities
3. Countries
4. Drives
5. Edifices
6. Harbors
7. Islands
8. Mountains
9. Museums
10. Natives
11. Rivers
12. Temples
13. Views
14. Women

The answers reflect a surprising degree of unanimity, especially when it is considered that the voyagers visited hundreds of places. Among its stopping points, the itinerary listed Greece, Egypt, Siam, Ceylon, Malaya, Bali, Hongkong, Hawaii, California, Panama Canal, and New York. These were only a few of the famous places serving as virtual bases for tours to other sites of geographic and scenic interest.

Most impressive among the world's botanical gardens, according to the travelers, is Buitenzorg in the Dutch East Indies. Buitenzorg, or Bogor, as the natives call it, established its botanical gardens more than a hundred years ago and has been beautifying and enlarging them ever since. The government has recognized the gardens as one of its own institutions since 1868. Among the additions have been a museum, a school of agriculture, a culture garden, a library, a herbarium, and botanical chemical and pharmacological laboratories.

### *Cities*

Among the cities, Peiping received an almost solid vote. It is pointed out that at the time the cruise arrived at Peiping, the travelers were able to view a city as yet unscarred by the shells and bombs of the undeclared war now being waged on China by Japan.



*Courtesy, Thomas Cook & Son*

***VANTAGE POINT:** Globe circling tourists claim that the panorama of windward Oahu, seen from historic Nuuana Pali, is one of the finest views in the world. Nuuana Pali.*



*FAVORED IN POLL: A questionnaire among travelers returning from a world cruise revealed that the natives of Bali were selected as the "most impressive."*

Particularly impressive was the view of Peiping from the walls of the city. From these vantage points the ancient imperial city of China looks like a city of gardens. Few crowded neighborhoods are visible and the visitor gazes out upon an interesting arrangement of upturned roofs of temples, palaces, mansions—their gay blue, green, and yellow tiles blending with the deep colors of the tall trees. Peiping has a tower which boasts a bell weighing 120,000 pounds and which is 14 feet high, 34 feet in circumference at the rim, and nine inches thick.

### *Countries*

The Orient scored again with the selection by the world voyagers of Japan as the most impressive country. The reader is again reminded that the trip was made before the outbreak of hostilities and that the travelers were not appraising a form of government but a culture, an art, and an architecture. They visited Beppu, Miyajima, Kobe, Yokohama, and Nikko, and were interested in the orderliness of the people and the contrast between the growing Westernization and the traditional Orient culture.

### *Drives*

The world tour featured many drives, but none impressed the travelers as much as the ride from Colombo to Kandy, a 75-mile trip through the most beautiful sections of Ceylon. Starting out from Colombo, capital of Ceylon and home of the renowned Victoria Park, the tourists were able to see the Cinnamon Gardens, a locality of small dwellings lining a series of parallel roads named after former British governors. At Kandy, a unique tropical town, full of interesting historical and Buddhistic associations, the tour drove by the temples and tombs for which the city has been famed as a tourist attraction.

### *Edifices*

The Taj Mahal, which has appeared on many lists as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, was selected as the most impressive edifice. This marble monument, erected in 1648 at Agra, India, has remained the most imposing palace of the dead that the world has seen. It was built by the omnipotent Shah Jehan to perpetuate the memory of his wife.

### *Harbors*

Among harbors, Hongkong received the top rating. The Southern coast is deeply shaped and two peninsulas extend boldly for several miles into the sea, forming two immense natural harbors. The beauty of the harbors is enhanced by the spectacle of Mount Stenhouse rising high above the island of Lamma, largest of the islands surrounding Hongkong.

### *Islands*

The island leading all others in the choices of the travelers was Oahu (Honolulu). This most

famous of all Hawaiian islands is one of pleasing contrasts; of modernity in its streets and buildings—particularly hotels and government structures—and of unchallenged natural beauty in its beaches and interior. The world tourists drove around Honolulu and to Nuuana Pali and Diamond Head.

### *Views*

The view from Honolulu's Nuuana Pali was considered finer than from any other vantage point on the world cruise. Nuuana Pali, a lofty and picturesque precipice, looks out over hundreds of miles of sea and colorful landscape.

### *Mountains*

Japan's celebrated Fuji-San was selected the most impressive mountain. Rising to a height of 12,395 feet, Fuji-San is a cone of beautifully simple form, its simplicity even more accentuated because it stands isolated. Its summit is broken by a crater 2,000 feet in diameter. Great numbers of pilgrims regularly emigrate to the mountain.

### *Museums*

Of the world's museums (not including New York) those in Cairo, Egypt, were chosen by the voyagers. The museum of Egyptian antiquities, originally founded at Bulak in 1863 and later removed to its present quarters at a cost of more than $1,000,000, is said to contain the most valuable collection of its kind in the world. It is entirely devoted to antiquities of Pharaonic times.

### *Natives*

There was little disagreement over the category of "natives." Almost without exception, the visitors picked the Balinese. Although of the same stock as the natives of Java and resembling them in general appearance, the Balinese are bigger, stronger, more enterprising, and more advanced and skilled. Traveling through the heart of the enchanting, unspoiled island, from Padang Bay to the Bat's Cave, Kintamani and Dean Pasar, the tour stopped to watch special performances by a troupe of Balinese actors and dancers.

### *Women*

The women of Bali, incidentally, received a hearty vote as the most beautiful seen on the trip. Many artists and writers visiting the island have come away with nothing but praise for the high degree of perfection in body, face, color, and complexion attained by the female Balinese. Their features are delicately chiseled, but are

full and strong-looking. There is enough of the Oriental touch about them to give them an appearance of languid beauty, but they are far from inactive and work as long and as hard as the men.

### Rivers

There have been disputes as to which is the greater river—the Nile or the Ganges. The world travelers have given their vote to the latter. India's mighty river, which in its lower course supplies the river system of Bengal, and has its source in an ice cave at the foot of a Himalayan snow-bed, is essentially a river of great cities: Calcutta, Monghyr, Patna, Benares, and Allahabad all lie on its course below its junction with the Jumna.

### Temples

Finally, the world's most impressive temple, according to the tourists, is Angkor-Wat in Cambodia, the best preserved example of Khmer architecture in the world. The temple was originally devoted to the worship of Brahma, but afterwards to that of Buddha. Its construction is believed to be that of the first half of the twelfth century, B.C.

### Previous Selections

It is interesting to compare the 1937 selections with those of previous years. The travelers returning from the same world tour in 1935 and 1936 chose virtually the same sights. Eight of the fourteen places selected by the 1937 globe-girdlers were chosen by both the 1935 and 1936 groups:

| | 1935 | 1936 |
|---|---|---|
| *Botanical Gardens* | Buitenzorg | Buitenzorg |
| *Cities* | Peiping | Peiping |
| *Countries* | Japan | Japan |
| *Drives* | Colombo-Kandy | Colombo-Kandy |
| *Edifices* | Taj-Mahal | Taj-Mahal |
| *Harbors* | Hongkong | Rio de Janeiro |
| *Islands* | Bali | Bali |
| *Mountains* | Fuji-San | Fuji-San |
| *Museums* | Cairo | Hawaiian |
| *Natives* | Balinese | Balinese |
| *Rivers* | Nile | Ganges |
| *Temples* | Temple of Heaven | Angkor-Wat |
| [illegible] | From Great Wall | From Sugar Loaf |
| [illegible] | Balinese | Balinese |



## HERE AND THERE

BULGARIA claims distinction as a "nation of centenarians." Latest statistics reveal that the country numbers more than 4,000 people who are a hundred or more. Most of them live in villages or mountain districts, leading regular but primitive lives. They attribute their longevity to the healthy climate and to their diet of fresh vegetables and fruits. One of their favorite dishes is sour milk; they are also very fond of garlic. These two items, with brown bread, are the staple daily fare of this long-lived race.

Cells with southeasterly exposures are very much in demand at Alcatraz, especially among the inmates who expect to remain on the island for a few years at least. The "guests" at Alcatraz have discovered that one side of the island affords them an excellent view of Treasure Island, bay site of the San Francisco World's Fair in 1939.

They said it couldn't be done and that even if it could it would not mean anything. But that failed to discourage young Wilhelm Landauer who announced that he would copy the entire constitutional laws of Austria — some 52,000 words—on a postcard. Landauer said he hoped to obtain a government job when he completed the card. He worked at it for a year and a half. The card is now finished and not a single word has been omitted. The writing is so small it cannot be read without the use of strong magnifying glasses. Landauer has sent the card to the Austrian president, and according to latest reports, is still waiting for his job.

The foregoing account is not unlike that of a young gypsy scholar of Rumania who decided to translate Dante's *Divine Comedy* into her own gypsy tongue. The girl, 26, was one of the few gypsies to win a scholarship granted by the Rumanian government. Authorities encouraged her with her work, saying that she might have the translation published when it was completed. The girl worked for months, completed the translation, and sent it to the publishers. The manuscript was rejected when it was discovered that in all of Rumania, there are only 12 gypsies who can read!

# The World Today in Books

(*Continued from page 9*)

tional system by admitting her as a partner in Africa, it would, I submit, be worth while to make the sacrifice of placing some of our own African territory under a mandate from the League of Nations, and recommending that Germany should either at once or by a gradual process be substituted for Great Britain as the mandatory power."

Mr. Kennedy is certain to be asked many questions by his English colleagues. What, for example, if Germany should decide some time later that she is not satisfied with her new African gift and wants more? What if Germany might see fit to exploit her new colonies for the purpose of making her the dominant empire in Europe? What logic is there in the theory that if you are not willing to fight the enemy the next best thing to do is to provide him with more weapons with which to fight you? Is this masochism?

## *To Arms for England*

QUINCY HOWE'S *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty* offers an interesting possibility that Mr. Kennedy has overlooked in *Britain Faces Germany*. For if England fails to mollify Germany and is forced into war, she need not fear that she will have to carry the fight alone. Good old America will help out, just as she has done time and again. England not only hopes this. She expects it, according to Mr. Howe, who has attempted to prove in his little book that the "United States stands ready to go to war with any nation that commits the unpardonable offense of threatening a vital interest of the British Empire." The military policies of the Roosevelt Administration, he says, show that the Army and Navy are not preparing for a defensive war; their plans call for offensive warfare and the invasion of foreign soil.

Little short of sensational is Mr. Howe's explanation of the propaganda machinery through which Great Britain has sought to instill an allegiance for the empire in American citizens second only to the United States. Naming names of persons and agencies, Mr. Howe accuses the owners and editors of the *New York Times* of conducting the chief British propaganda organ in the United States. Half a dozen foreign correspondents of the *Times* are British subjects and Mr. Howe suggests that "one must have a British passport before one can hope to write news from abroad for the foremost newspaper in the United States." He admits, however, that the *Times*, "like the British Foreign Office and the House of Morgan," is sincere. Prominent, too, among those mentioned on the social register of Americans carrying the cross of England, are the Du Ponts, Charles A. Lindbergh, Lowell Thomas, Nicholas Roosevelt, Owen D. Young, John H. Finley, James G. Harbord, and John W. Davis. And among institutions, there are Harvard University, the English-Speaking Union, the Foreign Policy Association, the League of Nations Association, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Howe, as one might expect, is an isolationist. Isolation, he says, is "America's opportunity." She should aim at self-sufficiency as the only way to preserve not only her own interests, but the "interests of civilization, democracy, and progress throughout the world." Self-containment, of course, is an ideal situation and the United States could throw a wall around itself, for a limited time, at least, without severe consequences. But over the longer range, the only truly self-contained communities are the cemeteries, and it would be economic folly to pursue strict isolation. High tariff barriers are working hardship enough on the farmer and planter; isolation would complete their ruin. Mr. Howe is illuminating and entertaining, but that is all.

## *Still a Believer*

THE retreat from Moscow in full flight of many of its previously stoutest defenders has caused Lion Feuchtwanger to rush back to Russia. He wanted to see just what was happening. What he saw reassured him and in order that others who may have had doubts might also be reassured he has written *Moscow, 1937: My Visit Described for My Friends*.

What they say isn't true, he maintains. It isn't true that Russia has abandoned the principles of the revolution. It isn't true that the Zinoviev and Radek trials, among others, were unjustified and the result of Stalin's ambition and vengefulness. It isn't true that Russia has appropriated practices which are fascistic in conception and execution.

Mr. Feuchtwanger says he left the "counterfeit democracy and hypocritical humanism" of Western Europe to "breathe again" when he came into the "invigorating atmosphere of the Soviet Union." Here the air was tonic and he filled his lungs. He looked about. He inquired. He took notes. His enthusiasm mounted. Then it soared. Finally:

". . . already the framework of a mighty building is rising up pure and clear-cut. It is a

very Tower of Babel, but one which wants not to bring the people nearer to the sky, but the sky nearer to the people. And the work has succeeded. . . . It does one good after all the compromise of the West to see an achievement such as this, to which a man can say Yes, yes, yes, with all his heart; and because it seemed ungrateful to keep this "Yes" within me, I wrote this book."

Whether Mr. Feuchtwanger's "Yes" will be echoed by objective historians who prefer to write only with the incalculable advantage afforded by the perspective of time offers an interesting thought for the future.

### *Unsung Heroes*

IT IS no injustice to the American Friends Service Committee to say that not many know of it. The Committee's accomplishments entitle it to the most widespread recognition and in *Swords into Ploughshares*, Mary Hoxie Jones writes an interesting history of its work.

The American Friends Service Committee was born out of love of peace and hate of war. Its founders were Quakers who watched with horror a world gone mad in 1914-1918. They saw the war as an "ocean of darkness and death" and set in motion machinery to take care of innocent sufferers. Thousands of Europe's children—many of them orphans and near-orphans—were fed by the Committee in 1917.

What started out in 1917 to be a temporary measure has grown into a permanent organization. During the 20 years of its existence the Committee sent hundreds of loads of cod liver oil to Russia during the famine; carried on the work of peasants in the fields while it stamped out the typhus in Poland; rebuilt the houses and replanted the wastes in Serbia; became mothers and fathers to thousands of children in the coal fields in West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; and today, provides relief for children on both sides of the Spanish civil war.

Literally, the Committee has succeeded in turning "swords into ploughshares." Not only homes and land have been reclaimed, but lives. Where formerly ground was laid to waste by war, farms now stand. Faced with the enormous detail that a history of the Committee would entail, Miss Jones has chosen a unique method of presentation: she has created characters, given them names, and has allowed the story to revolve about them.

### *The Church and Politics*

THE Spanish war has served to bring the Catholic Church well out into the open as a political body. The place of the Church in politics is discussed by Hilaire Belloc in *The Crisis of Civilization* and by William Teeling in *Pope Pius XI and World Affairs.* The extent to which two Catholics can disagree is evident in the writings of the two authors.

Mr. Belloc, viewing a world crisis which "does not permit of indefinite delay," believes that only in the reconversion of the world to the Catholic standpoint is there hope for the future. Civilization has progressed because of Catholic ideals, he says, and now that civilization faces a crisis it can turn only to Catholicism for salvation, applying the same ideals that carried it forward in the past. "It was the Faith which gradually and indirectly transformed the slave into the serf, and the serf into the free peasant. . . . It was the Faith which by its moral atmosphere checked and curbed usury. . . ." And now? "It was the disruption of Catholic unity in Europe which let in all the evils from the extreme of which we now suffer and are in peril of dissolution."

Mr. Belloc urges the adoption of a "Print and Program" policy to extend the influence of the Catholic Church and to facilitate the conversion of large numbers of non-Catholics. "Print" is short for propaganda. The author calls for a subsidized weekly publication, the cost of which would be "insignificant" compared to some of the Church's "quasi-charitable entertainments." He proposes, too, that the Church hire first-rate writers and pay them well. The "program"—followed out very carefully in order that the individual and not the Church be responsible—should "go to the root of the matter, when and if it should appear as a positive political scheme which will draw men towards it, just as its immediate opponent, communism, draws them."

Mr. Belloc is for increased Catholic influence in politics, but that the Catholic Church has not always reflected the political views of all its members seems abundantly clear from Mr. Teeling's *Pope Pius XI and World Affairs.* It is a tragedy,

Mr. Teeling says, that the teachings of Catholicism should seem to be combined with fascism, in which only a very small percentage of the Catholic world believes.

In what is probably one of the severest criticisms of the Vatican by a Catholic to appear in recent years, Mr. Teeling declares that many Catholics believe that the Church is governed in world matters by an out-of-date machinery. The Pope has shown himself a "hard man," one who is unwilling to accept advice unless it is asked for, and the author wonders whether it might not be wise to set an age limit. Young blood is needed in the higher ranks of the Vatican, he says.

Mr. Teeling reveals that before he started his book, he tried to take the view that a Pope would not be influenced in his political activities by his geographical position in Rome. But investigation changed this view. The Pope, he finds, has become more and more friendly with Mussolini. Despite the growing numbers of Catholics in the western world he continues to appoint Italian Cardinals. And his failure to make a strong pronouncement decrying the atrocities of Addis Ababa have made Catholics "sigh, and sigh in vain."

Mr. Teeling examines the position of the Catholic Church in most of the major countries of the world, with special emphasis on Great Britain and the United States. He believes that Catholic center of gravity seems to be pulling in that direction. He states his views with admirable candor and his book is of particular value at a time when the Vatican is more than ever in the spotlight, the glare of which appears to have unusual intensity at the moment.

While on the subject of religion and politics, it might be well to say a few words about *Would Christ Wear Khaki?* This book, whose authorship is acknowledged by a W. Cloud Snyder, is a protest against what it calls "pulpit extremism," but fails signally to discredit any agency save itself. For it is manifestly the product of stunted thinking and elephantine emotionalism.

Mr. Snyder's literary formula is not unlike that found on the editorial pages of a large but little-respected newspaper chain operated by a California publisher. Sensationalism in topic and content; short, terse sentences; disregard for facts—all these Mr. Snyder has appropriated in his attempt to manufacture a "red scare" within the Church. Clergymen for whom America has had nothing but profound respect and admiration are accused of preparing the ground for Bolshevism in this country. Their constant preachings on behalf of peace, he claims, are un-Christian, arguing that he has "assurance" that Jesus would march off to war: "Christ would wear khaki."

Before dismissing the book as sheer nonsense, it should be pointed out that Mr. Snyder gives himself away—as to what he is and what he stands for—in his extravagant expressions of admiration for the form of government presided over by Europe's twin tyrants, Il Duce and Der Fuhrer.

The less said about this book the better.



### *The Fight on Syphilis*

There has been an abundant recent literature on social diseases but few books have dealt as thoroughly and as competently with the topic as *Syphilis: The Next Great Plague to Go,* by Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association.*

Dr. Fishbein discusses questions, one by one, which are most common concerning the Great Destroyer. He believes that a large-scale campaign involving the organization of facilities to take care of every person who requires medical care and for the purpose of education will have wide and lasting results.

Reviewing the experiences of other nations in combating the disease, Dr. Fishbein says syphilis can best be controlled when people are taught to recognize the nature of the disease and to attack it openly. "The time will come," he concludes, "when boys and girls of high school age will be suitably informed concerning the nature of this disease, the method of transmission, and the steps that are necessary for its control."

ROOSEVELT RIDES AGAIN

# Current HISTORY

NOVEMBER, 1937 PRICE 25 CENTS



## The Case for China

## The Case for Japan

N. B. Cousins
*Literary Editor*

# The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

***Books Reviewed in This Issue***

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *If War Comes* | R. Ernest Dupuy<br>George F Eliot | Macmillan | $3.00 |
| *Soldiers of Darkness* | Thomas R Gowenlock | Doubleday, Doran | 2.75 |
| *The War and German Society* | A. M Bartholdy | Yale Univ. Press | 2.75 |
| *The Great Adventure* | Edwin C. Parsons | Doubleday, Doran | 2.75 |
| *Forty Years of Japanese-American Relations* | Foster R. Dulles | Appleton Century | 3.00 |
| *Japan in American Public Opinion* | Eleanor Tupper<br>George E. McReynolds | Macmillan | 3.75 |
| *The Good Society* | Walter Lippmann | Little, Brown | 3.00 |
| *The Arts* | Hendrik Willem van Loon | Simon & Schuster | 3.95 |
| *Assignment in Utopia* | Eugene Lyons | Harcourt, Brace | 3.50 |
| *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President* | Marquis James | Bobbs-Merrill | 5.00 |
| *The Life of Henry Clay* | Glyndon G. Van Deusen | Little, Brown | 4.00 |
| *Free Lance* | E. Alexander Powell | Harcourt, Brace | 3.00 |

IT IS Parade Day at the recent American Legion convention in New York City. You are on your way home, a review copy of *If War Comes*, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George F. Eliot, under your arm. It is a short walk to the parade and before long you are caught up in a jumble of humanity stuffed and squeezed onto both sides of the street as the Legionnaires swing down Fifth Avenue. There is the steady, rhythmic sound of marching feet. "That sound," says a man of about sixty who is standing near you, "is not pleasant. I've heard it before. I heard it when these men were boys and marched off to war twenty years ago. It's the same sound you could hear if you were in Spain or China today. The only difference is that right now they mean business over there."

There must have been more than a few among both onlookers and marchers, you felt, who had similar thoughts that day. Our ex-doughboys were marching again and were able to smile and laugh because we were at peace. But it is a strange and uneasy peace for all around us the stage is being cleared for another world conflict and if we are to believe history, we will have a difficult time keeping out of it. We look back and see that as a nation we had hardly begun to walk when we were involved in a major European conflict in 1812, even though we had passed an Embargo Act only a few years earlier for the specific purpose of staying out of foreign entanglements. And more than a full century later, we re-elected a President because he kept us out of war, yet within a year we had forgotten all about that and ran off to Europe determined to save the world from itself.

What now? If the wars in China and Spain tumble over into all Asia and Europe, have we any reason to believe that we will not make the same mistake as in 1917? Could we protect ourselves against aggression? Just how strong are the world's leading military powers?

You are still turning these thoughts over in your mind when you sit down that evening and open *If War Comes*. Before long many of the points which are troubling you are clarified by

the authors, both of whom are Majors in the United States Army. Carefully charting a course clear of all speculation and prognostication, they concern themselves with a discussion of the objectives and military might of the major nations and indicate along what lines the next conflict may be fought—if it comes.

There is no need for us to gorge ourselves with guns in fear of war, they contend, for we are sufficiently prepared to defend ourselves against attack. As for aggression, we would do better to forget about attacking others and concentrate on keeping our defense mechanisms in perfect order. Our navy is at its greatest peacetime strength and our coast defenses in general are strong. Our land forces are not numerically impressive but a strong nucleus for a wide mobilization.

If war comes—and the authors will not hazard a guess as to the date nor the exact lineup of nations—it will be fought along lines similar to those of the World War. The development of new weapons and a new military technique is slow and evolutionary, they point out, and it is generally true that new wars begin where the last ones left off. They recall, too, that Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice once wrote with perfect truth that "no weapon, from David's sling to mother tank, has yet revolutionized war, though the claim has been made for scores of inventions during my life." During the next war, there will be no radical changes. Planes will figure more prominently in the plans of the armies, land forces will be divided into smaller, more mobile units, and will have better protection and a greater degree of mechanization, and greater emphasis will be put upon anti-aircraft operations. But as for death rays and similar "horror" inventions, the authors declare such devices exist solely in the minds of third-rate fiction writers who, "like Mr. Pickwick's Fat Boy, 'like to make yer flesh creep.'"

*If War Comes* reaches the same conclusions as Captain Liddel Hart's *Europe In Arms*, reviewed here September, concerning the extravagant descriptions of new poison gases. No new gases have been discovered, they contend, explaining that chemistry is still experimenting with new blends but has not yet produced the perfect gas that can inflict instant death. Other fallacies that have gained wide currency are taken up in turn:

NEW EXPLOSIVES: There are none, in the sense of explosives possessing new and extra-violent properties. Nothing has been discovered that for power, safety in handling and general usefulness can be considered an improvement as a military explosive over trinitrotoluol—TNT.

**DEATH RAYS:** Nothing of this sort has been discovered, despite all sorts of rumors about the secret work of such distinguished inventors as the late Guglielmo Marconi, who recently told an interviewer: "The nearest we ever got to a death ray in the laboratory was when we killed a rat at a distance of three feet."

**BACILLUS WARFARE:** Medical men tell us that cultures of most virulent disease bacilli are difficult to disseminate, hard to keep alive under conditions which would require them to be fired in artillery shells or dropped in airplane bombs—Moreover, how would one prevent the disease spreading to one's own army or country?

**RADIO-DIRECTED FLYING TORPEDOES:** Pilotless planes have been flown short distances by radio, and brought back—usually with a crash landing. But if bomber officers have difficulty now in hitting targets they can see, how is a radio operator miles away going to tell when his robot plane is in the right position? Finally, of course, the whole plan could be upset simply by vigorous radio-jamming by the defense.

In a forty-page appendix, the authors analyze, arrange, and annotate, according to armies, navies, air forces, armaments, and raw materials, the war-time strength of the world's important nations. From the charts one learns that Russia has the greatest manpower and the largest number of first-line planes. Great Britain, of course, has the largest and strongest fleet, with the United States, Japan, France, Italy, Germany and Russia rating behind in that order. From the standpoint of self-sufficiency and raw materials, the United States is best situated ahead of Russia, Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain, in that respect and in that order.

*If War Comes* is profitable reading. It is filled with all sorts of valuable information about arms and armies, war and war strategy, and probable lines of attack. It takes its place alongside of Captain Liddel Hart's *Europe In Arms* as the most authoritative and comprehensive recent treatments of the subject.

### *Still More War Books*

As IF the American Legion convention and *If War Comes* were not enough to remind you of the World War, you find three books on your desk the next morning all stemming out of the same theme. There is *Soldiers of Darkness*, the story of American Intelligence Service at the Front, by Thomas R. Gowenlock with Guy Murchie, Jr.; there is *The War and German Society* by Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, the latest in a series of volumes belonging to the

(*Continued on page 8*)

# *Highlights*



## *Years Publishing Program*

# THE GOOD SOCIETY

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### "The Most Important Volume He Has Yet Written"

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Thus Mr. Lippmann sounds the keynote of his attack, and introduces his argument for a return to true liberalism. "The most important volume he has yet written."—*Henry Hazlitt in the N. Y. Times Book Review.*

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### "Most Significant Contribution in Recent Years"

"Would appear to be the most significant contribution of its kind in recent years. It is a good book in both history and literature. It tells the story of cultural conflict and propaganda more vividly and comprehensively than any other book that has appeared."—*Howard W. Odum in the Saturday Review of Literature.*

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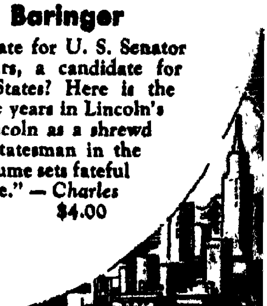
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**PUBLISHERS, BOSTON 1937**

(*Continued from page 5*)

*Economic and Social History of the War*, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and finally, there is the *The Great Adventure*, the story of the Lafayette Escadrille, by Edwin C. Parsons.

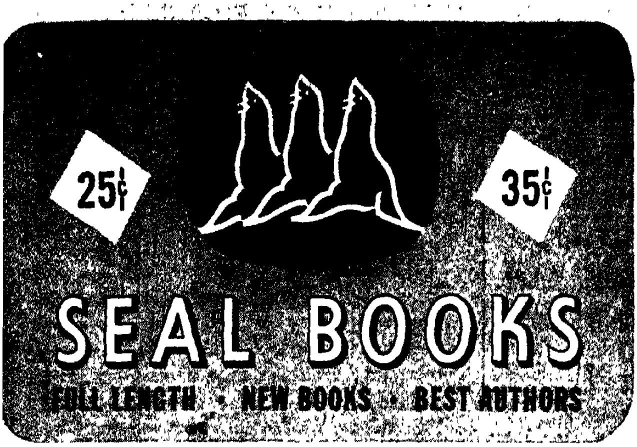
You are particularly anxious to read *Soldiers of Darkness* because Colonel Gowenlock was one of the founders of the American Legion, and, what with the Legion still in town, the coincidence has stimulated your interest in his book. It was in a small French club early in the Spring of 1919 that Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. and the author talked over plans for an organization to keep alive the spirit and contact of the A.E.F. and to take care of the war's innocent sufferers, widows and orphans, and also their own disabled veterans. Then and there, the American Legion was born.

Colonel Gowenlock came out of the war with a record as one of the Army's most brilliant combat intelligence officers. Combat intelligence is a branch of the service apart from spies and spy trackers, and the army is more dependent on it than upon almost any other single agency. In the last war, while only several hundred were engaged in espionage, tens of thousands were in the combat intelligence. The Army relied on it as the fingers of every attack, fingers which were to feel out the way for the force behind them. The men in the combat intelligence cut the wires, scouted the sentries, explored the ground, and then mapped the way. Without them, the casualties would have been multiplied.

To say that the combat intelligence division was the most hazardous of any branch of the Service would be stating the obvious. In Colonel Gowenlock's own division—the famed First Division of the A.E.F.—four hundred combat intelligence scouts were kept in constant service and had to be replaced as soon as they fell below that number. Within a period of seven months, there were one thousand replacements.

This is a story which can take its place with distinction in any war library. It tells of a type of espionage that has heretofore been almost entirely neglected and it is all the more appealing for its restraint and its lack of emphasis upon the sensational.

Familiar to most students of world affairs is the series on the history of the World War of which *The War and German Society* is one of several concluding volumes. Now being brought to a close, the surveys include approximately 150 volumes published in a half-dozen different lan-




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guages. Their purpose has been to describe the effects of war upon civilization. The monumental work has been made all the more difficult, and important, since all civilization was involved in the last world debacle. James T. Shotwell, Director of the Division of Economics and History for the Endowment, is editor of the series.

Mr. Bartholdy's volume is subtitled "The Testament of a Liberal." He tells of life in Germany during the black hell of the war and the years that followed. As published, however, the book does not tell quite the whole story, for Mr. Bartholdy's death last year prevented a revision of the volume which would have brought it up to date and, as Dr. Shotwell points out in a preface, "filled in some of the lacunae, especially in the sections dealing with the economic effects of the war." At the time of his death, the author was in exile from his native Germany, unable to reconcile himself with the prevailing form and dogma of government.

Despite the lack of revision, the work is a document of the first importance. Here is a record of a nation which had developed its military science to the highest point ever reached by any nation up to the time of the World War. Here is a record of a nation which harnessed its last ounce of energy for the cause of the conflict. And here is a nation whose attempt at reconstruction culminated in the advent of a dictator who seems bent on returning to the original theme.

Dr. Bartholdy's investigation takes him from the years immediately preceding the war to the late post-war period. With painstaking research and careful documentation, he examines not only the economic structure of Germany during these years, but also the individual and collective moral makeup of the country.

You turn from Dr. Bartholdy's book to Mr. Parsons' account of the famous Lafayette Escadrille in *The Great Adventure*. The Escadrille was a group of daring, hell-bent-for-leather aviators who organized themselves into a unit early in 1916 and attached themselves to the French Army and stayed together until the entry of America in the war, when the Escadrille was broken up.

Today, it seems impossible to believe that men have ever gone to war for war's sake, yet it appears from Mr. Parsons' book that this was precisely the case with the author and a number of other young Americans who virtually had to smuggle their way into war shortly after it broke out in 1914. Few of them were "over there" because they felt they were fighting for a "cause"; most of them were seeking adventure, pure and

simple. This, coupled with a hate of the "Huns," found them on the side of France.

The French were not anxious at first to avail themselves of their offers—at least, not in the aviation division, a branch of the service for which hundreds of young Frenchmen were clamoring to enroll. Then again, there was the danger of espionage. But with typical craftiness, the French correctly reasoned that the activities of the youthful Yankees would make good copy for the American papers and would serve as bait for United States support. In fact, without any misgivings and without the slightest sense of regret, Mr. Parsons states with damaging candor that he believes the Lafayette Escadrille, of which he was a member, played a strong part in sucking America into the war. He speaks of it as an accomplishment. All that matters was that he and the others had their share of thrills: "It was a great adventure. . . . I wouldn't swap my experiences, both at the front and in Paris, for all the money in the world."

And if war comes again tomorrow, Parsons will be off again for more thrills. "I hope that the next inevitable conflict comes along before I have to stagger to it with a cane, tripping over my long gray beard. Fed up at times as I was with the last, believe it or not, I'll be the first one there for the next." He might have added, too, that he will be doing his part, as he did it once before, to pull millions of other Americans into war with him, Americans who see war as nothing more than legalized mass murder and for whom the only "great adventure" is the adventure of peace.

## *Uncle Sam and Japan*

Of particular timeliness, especially now that President Roosevelt and the State Department seem committed to a policy of joint action with the League of Nations against Japan, is *Forty Years of Japanese-American Relations*, by Foster Rhea Dulles and *Japan in American Public Opinion*, by Eleanor Tupper and George E. McReynolds.

It seems clear from Mr. Dulles' book that if our State Department follows its own precedent in Far Eastern matters, it will continue to make bold declarations of policy whose possible effect will be nullified by conspicuous inaction: "We have advanced aggressively in defense of our interests, and on sober second thought have beat a cautious retreat."

Now that Japan is at work in China with both knives drawn and no holds barred, the United States finds itself in the awkward position of

having to admit that it can no longer maintain the Open Door nor preserve China's territorial integrity. At the turn of the century, things were different. Uncle Sam then rode the crest of the imperialistic wave. He had brought the Philippines under his wing to give him dominance in the Pacific. He had invested heavily in China and set himself up as the self-appointed protector of Chinese political and economic integrity. Japan was weak at the time and unable to do little except hide her envy and prepare for the day when she, too, could walk into China and say, "This much is mine."

That day has now come and there is little that we can do about it, unless, of course, we are willing to pay the price of interference. Mr. Dulles does not believe that the extent of our trade and investments in China affords any valid reason for us to risk war by doing anything that might precipitate an incident. We have long discarded our imperialistic policies and are a member in good standing of the "haves" while Japan is still in the "have-nots." Yet we do not think it is fair to stand by and watch China, a giant who has slumbered too long and who is thin and weak and cannot yet stand on his feet, dismembered and his pieces pinned to the imperialist mast of Nippon. In fact, there are many who will contend that if the ascent of the Rising Sun is not checked very soon, the entire Pacific area will be dominated by Japan and we will have to worry seriously for our own security.

But Mr. Dulles is reassuring on this point. His study has convinced him that there are no rational grounds for the fear that Japan has expansion aims that involve this side of the Pacific. It is absurd, therefore, for us to fight today in fear of tomorrow. The best thing we can do, he believes, is to pick our way cautiously. There is little in the way of a definite stand that we can take since in numerous incidents of the past, particularly the Manchurian episode of 1931, we have convinced Japan that while we may wave a big stick and scowl, scold, and bluster, we really have no intention of cracking down and even if we did, it would hardly be anything more than a half-swing.

Starting with the administration of President McKinley and the appointment of John Hay as Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles traces the development of the Open Door policy through the Boxer Rebellion, the Russo-Japanese War, the World War, the Washington Conference, and the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations. He writes against a background of experience in the Far East as a teacher in Peiping and as a newspaper

correspondent. His book shows careful planning and documentation and is well written.

An excellent complementary work to *Forty Years of Japanese-American Relations* is the exhaustive work by Eleanor Tupper and George E. McReynolds. Their *Japan in American Public Opinion* is a product of research for which years of painstaking work must have been necessary. As the most important phase of public opinion, newspapers and periodicals since the beginning of the century were examined for reference to Japan. Carefully examining and analyzing news, reports, editorials, articles, and special material appearing in the press, the authors have been careful to select the views which were most representative of public opinion at that time.

American public opinion, it is clear from this work, has been an important factor in our foreign policy toward Japan. Public opinion was deeply aroused almost six years ago over the Japanese attack on Shanghai, just as it is being aroused today over the Japanese attack on a wider front in China. But whether we can translate our indignation into an effective instrument for peace in the Far East is a question with which the State Department is attempting to cope at this time with more than a little difficulty.

The record and analysis of public opinion has always been a fascinating study. It is even more engrossing in *Japan in American Public Opinion* for Americans, as the authors point out, are thinking more about the Far East today than ever before.

### *Mr. Lippmann and Liberalism*

The Good Society is another step in the evolution of Walter Lippmann. The oneirocritic of the status quo has came a long way from his crusading days on the old *Everybody's Magazine* when he worked with Lincoln Steffens and helped prove to the people of staid, ivy-vined Greenwich, Connecticut, that their town was just as corrupt as any other. He has come a long way, too, from the beliefs he expressed in his *Preface to Politics*. Whether we are to accept *The Good Society* as the completion of his political and philosophical hegira is difficult to say. He admits that even as he wrote his latest book he discovered that many of the ideas with which he started to write had to be revised or scrapped altogether.

You can admire Mr. Lippmann for his disarming frankness when he says that for more than twenty years he has been writing about critical events with no better guide to their meaning "than the hastily improvised generalizations of

a rather bewildered man." In this respect, he is no better than the rest of us. We live in a world of snap judgments where half-truths are the order of the day.

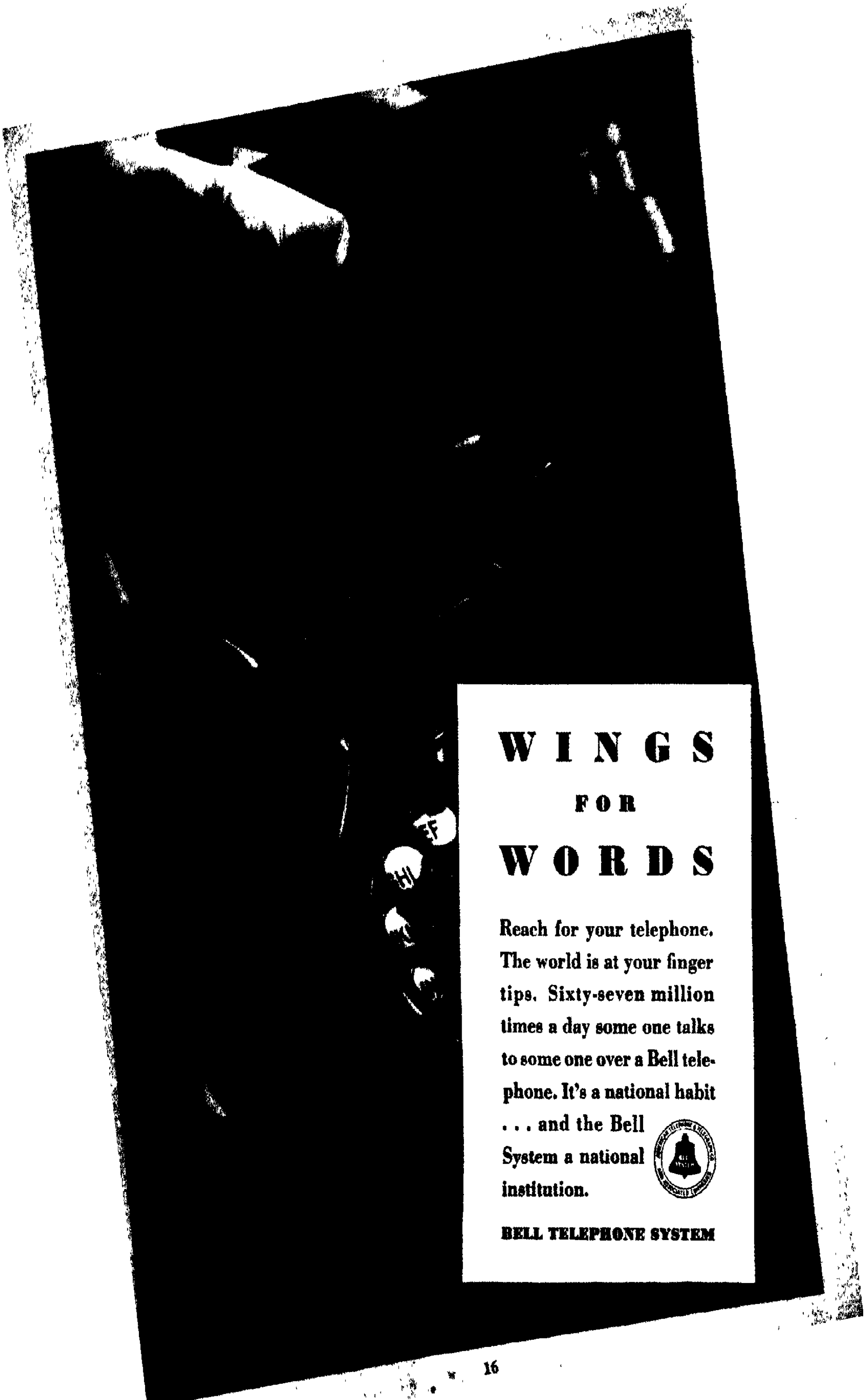
But Mr. Lippmann is convinced that somewhere there must be a solution: "Many a time I have wanted to stop talking and find out what I really believed. For I should have liked to achieve again the untroubled certainty and the assured consistency which are vouchsafed to those who can whole-heartedly commit themselves to some one of the many schools of doctrine."

Casting about, then, for a place to pitch his tent, he examined a wide stretch of territory, from the flat, arid, inviolate plains of extreme conservatism to the sharp ridges of extreme radicalism. But though his wanderings took him from Right to Left he could find no attractive site. In this predicament, he decided to clear his own ground and erect his tent. As he worked at it, he discovered that his stakes were not perfectly suited and had to be whittled down, the ties had to be shortened, and a good part of the canvas had to be reinforced.

When he finished, he stood off at a distance and surveyed the tent approvingly. But for all his original plans and for all his pains there is something very familiar about it all. Most of it we have seen before and despite the manufactured locale, the tent bears something of a similarity to the tents pitched somewhere in the vicinity of the Right. Mr. Lippmann would invite into his tent all who believe in liberalism, liberty, and justice. Here life flows freely according to *laissez-faire*. "Its ideal is a fraternal association among free and equal men. To the initiative of individuals, secure in their rights and accountable to others who have equal rights, liberalism entrusts the shaping of the human destiny."

All the particular skills which Walter Lippman has developed as a writer and which have established for him one of the largest audiences ever to follow a political commentator have been brought into play in *The Good Society*. His genius for expressing himself with easy, effortless grace; his choice of words that turn just right; his even, unhurried style; his facility for persuasion; his slow, deliberate use of logic, wearing down opposing arguments in the manner of an army of ants carefully leveling off a mound —all these you will find in Mr. Lippman's latest work. *The Good Society* should cement the ties to all the author's present friends. It will be interesting to observe the number of new ones it will make.

(*Continued on page 125*)


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## The New Deal Falters

PERHAPS it is too soon to say that the American Republic has returned to normalcy. For normalcy, in both the political and economic sphere, would connote the failure of the New Deal, and the eclipse of President Roosevelt. To speak of failure may be premature. And to speak of the eclipse of President Roosevelt may not jibe with the facts. Certainly, as his trip through the West demonstrated, President Roosevelt's personal popularity has not diminished. Nor would it be intelligent to state that his political prestige has entirely disintegrated. In the brawl over his court bill, the primary objective of his opponents was clear enough—to destroy him and with him the New Deal. As for the popular myth that the Supreme Court plays the role of Father in the Freudian psychology of the average American, as the King plays the part of Father to the average Englishman, that myth was evaporated. For the average American as singularly callous concerning the fate of his psyche Papa. It disturbed him not at all that the President was administering an undignified drubbing to the Supreme Court. Nor did it, apparently, concern him that the President failed to do so. This attitude on the part of the average American would unfortunately presage a tragic chapter for the remainder of the President's incumbency.

Apparently, there is nothing in the President's tactics upon which to place a finger and say: by this token the President was destroyed. Not even the defeat of the Supreme Court Bill can be so designated. It was significant, of course, but only for the fact that, at this point, the President and his partisans met the enemy in force. What was revelatory was the resource and power of the opposition to the New Deal.

Again Democratic history would seem to repeat itself. President Wilson also dared direct the dynamic forces released in a nation shaken from its lethargy by the War. He also attempted to turn the nation from old paths into new. At the time, it was said that the cynicism of the post-War years defeated him; that he would not have failed had he been a more flexible man of less academic demeanor. Yet no more perfect combination of personality, tenacity, and strategy could have met in one man more successfully than in President Roosevelt. It was supposed in 1933 that, given the opportunity of the depression which, in effect, shook the nation from its lethargy no less than did the War, President Roosevelt, with his skill in political combinations, would have achieved his objectives with the minimum of friction. However, the facts are to the contrary. Objectives gained have been at the expense of broader, more profound social aims. Hydroelectric dams have been constructed, the forests conserved, the mild Securities and Exchange Commission placed in watch upon the Stock Exchange, and yet the ingrained habit of *laissez faire* is still with us healthy and unharmed. For




Arizona Republic

***NO USE TAKING CHANCES WITH A CHILD'S HEALTH.***

the preservation of this latter vice the Democratic Party may claim full credit. For the former accomplishments the President may curtsey. For the staggering deficit in the national treasury no one man nor group of men may be credited or blamed. The responsibility belongs to the people who must shortly pay the bill.

### *Congressional Failure*

In a normal period the record of the 75th Congress would have been noteworthy and pleasantly surprising. But, in its time, that same Congress is infamous for what it didn't do. Among the abandoned wreckage of the session lie the Wages and Hours Bill, its companion the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and a vital plan for the reorganization of the whole Federal Administration machinery. That this last project, incorporating a professional civil service, was quickly throttled by the "pork-barrel" politicians is not so surprising as the fact that its defeat indicated once and for all that the Washington politicians were ascendant over President Roosevelt. The fate of the other two bills merely confirmed this truth. The Old Guard Southern Democrats destroyed the Wages and Hours Bill in the interest of their textile mills, dependent, like their cotton fields, on sweated labor. With that bill went its complement, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, that purposed through a powerful central control to work from the planning of scarcity, to the planning of abundance. In order to achieve this, the first essential was to raise the demand for food, clothing, and shelter among the oppressed third of our population, and above all the degraded proletariat of the South. This was the purpose of the AAA. What would follow depended entirely upon the strength and diffusion of this newly created purchasing power. Secretary Wallace believed it would gain strength with such rapidity that, within two years, crop control would change from one of scarcity to one of abundance.

This was the social program wrecked by the rebellious Democratic majority in Congress. President Roosevelt was left with the wreckage, a man still popular with the people, though lacking the support of his party. Without the enactment of that social program, the New Deal will have failed. What next?

### *Reform and the Major Parties*

The President has gone to the people, and has returned reassured of their continuing support and with renewed determination to press his program to a logical conclusion. At present, his immediate plans are obscure. Calling a special session of Congress may avail him little. Faced with the hostility of a large number of his party any positive attempt to enact vital legislation will meet almost certain sabotage in committee. To overcome this probability the President must organize a large enough public opinion to intimidate the saboteurs. Possibly he can, although there is evidence enough that mass opinion has been largely dissipated by the first wave of fictitious economic recovery.

Unfortunately, the two major parties blanket class interests. There is no way, at present, for the President to isolate those

groups within his party most sympathetic to his legislation. In accepting the political leadership of his party he accepted not only the proletariat but also the economic bourbons. His recent experiences with the reactionary wing of his party should be a salutary lesson to all those progressives who still hold the unrealistic view that reform can be affected through one of the major parties. That is an illusion. And no one is more qualified to testify to its illusory nature than President Roosevelt. Until the Spring of 1937, the President might have thought that he had successfully out-maneuvered the professional politicians. Through personal charm, ruthless opportunism, and mobile tactics he appeared victorious until that time when, for lack of breath, he paused. Then the Old Guard fired. And Roosevelt, like many another progressive operating within the preserve of one of our major parties, has been done to death when apparently on the verge of triumph.

## Quarantining the Aggressors

ON OCTOBER 5, President Roosevelt pledged the New Deal Administration to a "concerted effort" with other peace-loving nations to "quarantine" aggressor nations. Anxious statesmen throughout the world were reassured or antagonized in direct ratio to their political philosophy. While it was left for *The Times* of London to express the foreign statesmen's collective reactions. Said *The Times:* "Mr. Roosevelt was defining an attitude and not a program."

Thus, with the United States declared in, began the biggest poker game in the world. Britain deals the cards, and there are those who say the deck is cold.

Where then, does the United States stand? It is patent that Mr. Roosevelt's speech described a tentatively emerging foreign policy in fundamental conflict with the Neutrality Act on the statute books. First, because it explicitly rejects the theory that the United States can avoid the risks of war through isolation. Secondly, because it affirms the necessity of combining with other nations to uphold the principles of international law and order. Thirdly, because it commits the United States to a policy of positive action to suppress international lawlessness.

The Neutrality Act is too well known to discuss its logical checks to the above enumerations. At all odds, it is an historical fact that logic, and even reality, is invariably destroyed whenever the morality of international obligations takes the field. And the President's speech was nothing if not moral. Nor is this surprising from a man whose early maturity was shaped within sight and sound of that brilliant logician of morality, Woodrow Wilson. For in the President we reap the sowing of Wilsonian idealism. With this difference: President Roosevelt realizes that a loaded shotgun behind the door is, above and beyond all treaties, the best guarantor of peace in this present pathological world.



*Arizona Republic*

***FAREWELL TO ARMS?***



St. Louis Post Dispatch

***OVER THE HILLS TO THE PENSION RACKET.***

### *That Loaded Shotgun*

He has shaken the Navy from its apathy and has lavished money on the Army. Never, since 1917, has an administration been so solicitous of the welfare of the armed forces. In brief, the President believes that a strong military and naval force will guarantee absolute independence of action for the United States in whatever scheme of collective security appears necessary. Unlike Woodrow Wilson, it is his plan to retain for the nation an independence of judgment and a right to examine all problems as they arise in the light of selfish interest. Such an attitude eliminates the possibility of embarrassing commitments in advance to abide by the decisions of foreign governments.

However, the day inevitably will come when the United States must choose between action or inaction. And it is to this day that the foreign nations look. What will the United States do then?

Specifically, Britain is most interested in the disposition of the United States Navy if and when League sanctions are imposed upon Japan. There is a strong possibility that Japan, faced with an oil shortage, would not hesitate to break the embargo with a preliminary attack upon the British naval base at Hong Kong. Certainly she could win an easy victory. What then? The British are compelled to keep their navy in the Mediterranean and the North Sea, checking Italy and Germany respectively. Few ships could be spared for action in the Far East. Thus, it was in the light of these facts that *The Times* of London chose to call the President's words "an attitude and not a program."

At present, the American Navy is concentrated in the Pacific. If, having joined a collective security group, a measure of coercion was necessary against Japan, would the United States be prepared to act? Would we be prepared to use force? These questions must be answered soon. For the United States has only recently endorsed strict neutrality and isolation. It cannot afford two policies.

# The Rome-Berlin Bargain Counter

NO ONE can say what transpired between Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini during the latter's visit to Germany. Conversations of importance must have taken place between the two dictators in the few moments remaining after the orgy of military displays, fascist propaganda, and visits to munitions plants; there were mutual problems concerning a possible four-power pact, Austria, the war against communism, Spain, and so forth. There was also, of course, the professed aim of cementing the "Rome-Berlin axis." But essentially the meeting was a convenient opportunity for driving short-term bargains—bargains between the two fascist powers themselves and between the members of the Rome-Berlin axis and the outside world. As such, the much-ballyhooed meeting of the giants scarcely possessed permanent significance.

Mussolini arrived with some good cards.

Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, had recently held out a friendly hand. While the Nyon Agreement had left Germany and Italy out in the cold, Italy had gained promises of "practical modifications" to permit her participation in the naval control and had been recognized as a "great Mediterranean power." She had, furthermore, been invited by Britain and France to attend a three-power conference on intervention in Spain. It is doubtful, however, whether these implied threats of desertion to the democratic powers were sufficient to persuade Germany to lend sufficient assistance to pull Italy out of her Spanish venture with success. It is estimated by military authorities that from 50,000 to 100,000 more foreign "volunteers" will be needed to ensure a rebel victory. Germany is now only lukewarm in her efforts to help out General Franco; the General Staff is opposed to the venture, and considerations of economic resources are discouraging to the assumption of further burdens. It is also doubtful whether Italy would be willing to throw in Austria as an additional enticement.



*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

*UNOFFICIAL DELEGATE AT THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.*

### *Beginning of the Anti-Fascists*

The Mussolini-Hitler meeting was also conducted with a view to driving bargains with the rest of the world. The two dictators have so thoroughly established themselves as the bad boys of Europe that they can say, in effect, to other nations, "What will you pay us to behave?" at the same time as they parade their weapons of war.

The immediate objective of this policy has been to buy off the formation of a strong anti-fascist front, based upon Great Britain, France, and Soviet Russia, and particularly directed against fascist intervention in Spain. Such a development seemed not improbable, and at the Nyon conference it appeared that at last the non-fascist powers were going to take a strong stand, even if only because their vital interests in the Mediterranean were being too seriously threatened. And the British and French notes demanding the removal of Italian "volunteers" from Spain, backed by the threat of opening up the French frontier, confirmed the impression. Later reports, however, announced the withdrawal of this threat—the only one likely to be effective—and the restriction of demands to rights in the Balearics and North Africa. The bluster of the two dictators seems to have been successful once again.

### *Bargaining for Money*

From a long range point of view, the Mussolini-Hitler meeting was less successful. The prime need of both dictators is money. Great Britain has the funds; but she is keeping them as a final trump card with which to exact political conditions from Italy or Germany. These conditions the dictators do not wish to concede. The only other nation in a position to help them financially is the United States, who would not demand the same political guarantees. Germany and Italy have tried to raise money here before, and there is little doubt that the joint pronouncements of Hitler and Mussolini during their gala week were aimed at this country. Hence the professions of peace and the emphasis upon Germany and Italy as the great barriers against




*WESTWARD HO!*

bolshevism. It is, however, inconceivable that either nation will succeed in raising a loan in the United States in the face of legislative obstacles and the temper of the Administration and the people.

### *The Axis is Flimsy*

Finally, there are strategic considerations which effectively threaten the permanence of the "Rome-Berlin axis." Italy is essentially concerned with the Mediterranean; Germany's aims are thoroughly continental, and she can find no satisfaction in promoting Mussolini's ambitions in "*mare nostrum.*" By the same token, Italy has no vital interest in Germany's ambitions in southeastern Europe; in fact, she has a positive distaste for them. Whatever community of ideals the two dictators may profess, Mussolini would not like to see Germany occupying Austria and bordering on the semi-Italianized Tyrol. Germany in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, next to Yugoslavia and Roumania would be nearly as unwelcome. The Berlin to Bagdad highway cuts across Italy's ambitions in the Balkans.

For these reasons, the fascist entente is a pretty flimsy affair, rigged up to gain advantages in diplomatic bargaining, but with no fundamental unity. Diplomatically, it has been eminently successful, but only on the basis of a bluff which somebody ought to call pretty soon.

# Geneva Stirs in Her Sleep

IT IS a long time since news of the League of Nations appeared on the front pages. That reports under a Geneva date-line are now doing so is due to the fact that the most promising sign of the month—the reawakening of the democratic nations—has been reflected in small flurries of League activity. The Spanish question, after a bleak and fruitless period in the hands of the London non-intervention committee, was raised once more at Geneva, while it was impossible that a major conflict like the Sino-Japanese war should escape the consideration of a body with any pretensions whatsoever as a peace-maker.

### *Spain Comes to Geneva*

Premier Negrin of the Valencia Government threw the Spanish question into the lap of the League, complaining of the foreign invasion and asking aid in obtaining materials. His proposals, however, found the major parties to the argument at odds. Senor Del Vayo and Maxim Litvinov argued warmly for the dropping of the non-intervention sham, but were opposed in the committee by Mr. Walter Elliott of Great Britain and, less enthusiastically, by M. Yvon Delbos of France. Subsequently, however, the League political commission pointed to the presence of a "veritable foreign army corps" in Spain and put the whole neutrality issue up to Italy, implying the abandonment of non-intervention if her volunteers were not withdrawn. This strong report, not surprisingly, failed to gain the necessary unanimous approval of the Assembly. Spain could also count herself the

loser in that she failed of reëlection to her "permanent" non-permanent seat on the Council of the League. But the stirrings in the League did coincide with more insistent English and French demands that Italy withdraw and, later, by new reminders by the French General Staff that they would not hold themselves responsible for anything that might happen to France should Spain fall into the hands of the fascist powers.

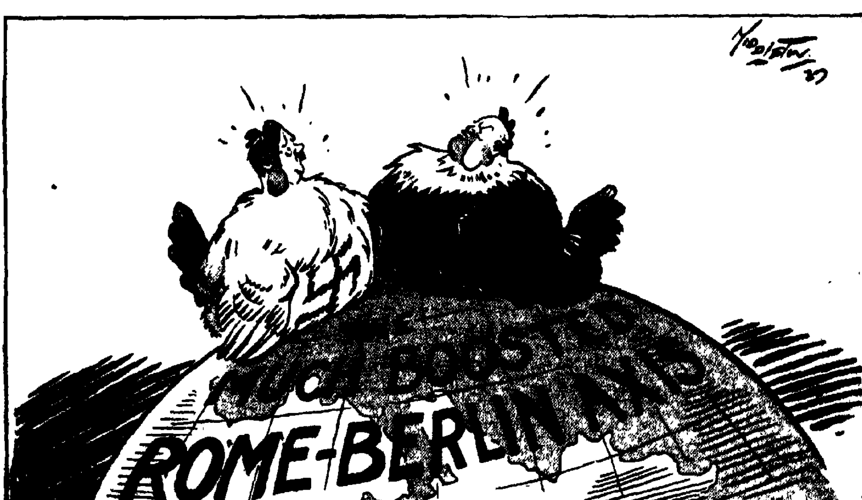
### *Japan and the League*

The story of Japan and the League shows that there is in Geneva infinitely more agreement over the Far East than over Spain: infinitely less chance of action.

In fact, it must have been a jarring moment for the assembled statesmen when Dr. Wellington Koo blandly brought them into contact with a nasty reality in the words "I have the honor to invite you to take cognizance of the fact that Japan has invaded China." The Chinese delegate sought to invoke articles X, XI, and XVII of the Covenant. Under the first of these members of the League undertook to preserve each other's territorial integrity; under the second, any threat of war was to be considered a matter of concern to the whole League; and the third was designed to make possible the imposition of sanctions in the event of a non-member state (as Japan is) going to war against a member. Note that there is no reference to a state of war being in existence or to Japanese aggression; in other words, Dr. Koo put China's case before the League in a modified form and in such a way that the imposition of sanctions against an aggressor would have to be discussed.

Following a time-honored custom, the League referred the matter to a committee —in this case, the Far Eastern Advisory Committee, set up during the original Manchurian conflict. This step was taken for two reasons: In the first place, it conveniently postponed all discussion of enforcing economic or military sanctions against Japan. Secondly, the United States were represented on this particular body, and as the American attitude towards the Far Eastern conflict was expected to be the determinant of Europe's point of view, the thought was a happy one.

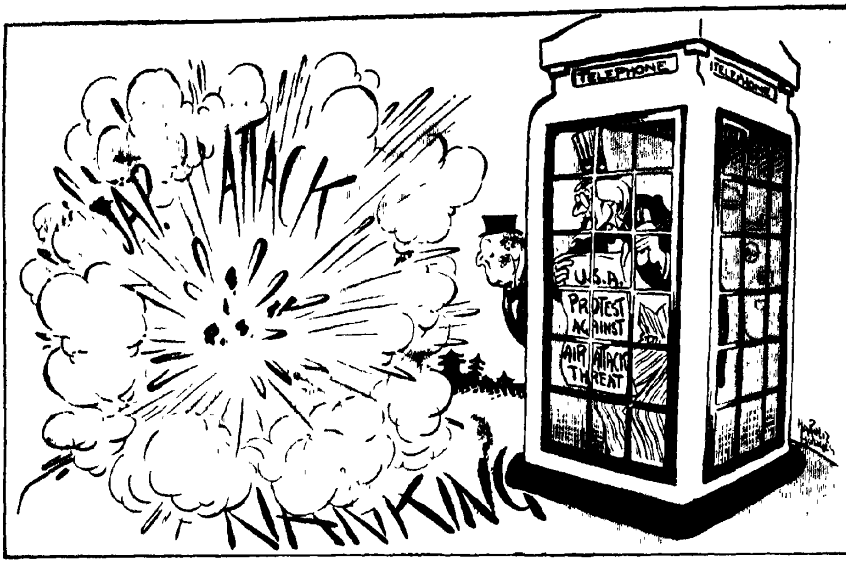
On September 27, the Advisory Committee condemned the brutality of the Japanese air-raids. The same day the British sent another protest note to Japan. Two days later, the League Assembly approved




*Birmingham Gazette*

***GOOD EGG!***

***Well! We shall have to produce something to cackle about!***




*South Wales Echo*

***JAPAN REPLIES!***

the Advisory Committee's resolution: at the same time Japan announced that she would consider no change in her policy.

### *America Takes the Lead*

The Far Eastern Advisory continued to meet, and was about to issue another resolution on October 5 when President Roosevelt made his highly important announcement concerning the "quarantining" of aggressor nations. The tone of the committee's resolution was immediately stiffened by this significant shift in American policy, and it issued a strong statement condemning Japan as an invader and treaty violator. The American Administration expressed agreement with the resolution, and on October 7 the United States appeared ready to accept an invitation to the proposed nine-power conference. In the meantime, the parliamentary opposition, labor and church groups, and peace societies in Great Britain were calling for a boycott on Japanese goods.

Consequently, there is now a strong "moral" united front against Japan, with the United States taking the lead. There is talk of economic action. There is, however, no disposition on anybody's part to walk into the Far East and help China fight her battles. This last factor can be understood. But it is also true that it would be the only way of stopping Japan. Economic sanctions, applied on a universal scale, might slow her down—but much wishful thinking has been done about both their probability and their enforcement. It is also clear that the European powers are so engaged in their own worries that they are not likely to take more than "moral" action, which would be useless. In the final analysis, if China wants any substantial and effective help, she will have to look to Soviet Russia. The two nations have signed a non-aggression pact: Russian troops have massed on the border, and the Russian Ambassador to China paid a hurried and mysterious visit to Moscow. But at the moment Russian intervention is only an unknown possibility; the Soviet has its worries to the West as well and does not want war on two fronts.

# CAN THIS BE NEUTRALITY?

## *The President's pronouncement finds the people caught in a sore dilemma*

By THE EDITORS

THE United States Administration has conducted its foreign policy on the basis of a new compromise every twenty-four hours. This procedure, at first apparent as an unfortunate aping of the time-honored English custom of "muddling through," is no more than a direct reflection of a public opinion groping confusedly between two direct alternatives—isolation or international cooperation.

The choice is not a new one. But it has been thrown into sharp relief during the last two years. Few Americans welcomed the sight of Mussolini gobbling up Ethiopia with fascist avidity. But they were not sure what to do about it. They disliked the idea of joining the League in applying sanctions. But, when the League nations passed the buck and blamed the non-participation of the United States in the proposed oil ban, they felt somehow that their moral status had been impaired.

Again, they wanted none of the Spanish war, and the State Department imposed an embargo on the exports of arms to that country. But when it was realized that this embargo did not apply to Italy and Germany, who were in the war up to their necks, and that it therefore operated in a discriminatory way against the Spanish loyalists, there immediately arose an outcry for its extension to the fascist powers. In addition, many American individuals saw fit to fight in the Spanish war—predominantly on the anti-fascist side; organizations formed to assist one or another of the parties to the conflict were preponderantly pro-loyalist, and as the war progressed most Americans began to exercise their well-known favoritism for what they saw as the cause of democracy, and some felt that something ought to be done about it.

It was, however, the Sino-Japanese conflict that brought the dilemma into its sharpest focus. While the Japanese were merely continuing their policy of gradually absorbing North China, relatively little concern was felt in this country over the developments. When, however, the first attack was launched on Shanghai, the war was immediately transposed to America's doorstep. There were American investments, trading interests, marines, battleships, and prestige involved. The press started to shriek about Japanese atrocities; "horror pictures" appeared in the tabloids. This war was infinitely closer than the seemingly remote affair in Spain.

Americans are at one in announcing their perfervid desire to keep out of war. It would be surprising if they were otherwise. But the matter is not quite as simple as that. Peace, like war, demands its price, and Americans are far from unanimous as to the conditions under which they feel they can command this peace. This query thrusts itself promiscuously into the press, over the air-waves, through offices, and into the home. And least of all are Americans certain that the present Neutrality Act is the most satisfactory answer to this ever-recurring alternative—isolation or cooperation.

### *Unneutral Neutrality*

At this juncture, it is timely to consider the 1937 Neutrality Act and its implications. The bare bones of the present legisla-

tion are as follows: The first part of the act is mandatory; it comes into operation as soon as the President officially declares that a state of war exists abroad. Its primary provision is the ban on the shipment *of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to the belligerents. Of almost equal importance* is the prohibition of loans to warring nations.

The second—the "cash and carry"—part of the act is discretionary. The President need only invoke it if he deems it necessary. Under it he may place an embargo upon the export of any other products, besides war materials, unless they have already been paid for by some foreign government or other agency.

There is America's neutrality legislation. It has been duly inscribed on the statute books, ready to be put into operation at a moment's notice. One certainly does not have to look far to find a state of war to which it might be applied. Why, then, has it not been invoked?

The first and least convincing reason is that no war has yet been declared. Modern diplomatic technique seems to demand straight aggression without any consideration of breaking off diplomatic relationships. There is also the argument that, were the President to invoke the Neutrality Act in connection with the Sino-Japanese war, he would obviously brand Japan as an aggressor. This would impose upon the League of Nations the duty of invoking against Tokyo the article of the Covenant which provides for sanctions against an international lawbreaker—a highly embarrassing situation!

Neither of these explanations can be said to cover the case. The answer lies in the nature of the 1937 Neutrality Act and the time at which it was evolved. With the act in operation, banning the shipment of American arms to belligerents and selling only to those who can put cash on the barrel-head, the natural consequence would be the strengthening of the power with the best domestic arms industry, with control of the sea-routes, and with the most credit. It so happens that the act was devised at a time when war seemed much more imminent in Europe than in the Far East. And, in the event of a European war, the act would obviously work to the advantage of Great Britain and France as against Germany and Italy. Americans could find no fault with that. They could have their neutrality and at the same time help out the democratic nations.

But when the war scene shifted to the Far East, the story changed immediately. In this instance, the act would obviously favor Japan, with her superior industrial resources and dominant navy. This consummation would, however, go entirely against the grain of the great majority of Americans, who see Japan as the ruthless, militaristic imperialist, and China—to a lesser degree and by a considerable stretch of the imagination—as the defender of democracy.

By this time it is apparent that the 1937 Neutrality Act is not a *neutrality* act but an *isolation* act. It passes no judgment upon the rights and wrongs of a given war; it knows that it will hurt someone, but doesn't mind whom as long as America is not entangled. It is apparent, too, that most Americans are also isolationist, in that they are anxious to keep out of others' disputes, but that they are not neutral. The 1937 act as applied to Europe suits them all right; but its partiality as applied to the Far East conflicts directly with their preference for China. Hence the Administration's hesitation in pursuing the obvious course.

Realizing that day-to-day compromises cannot constitute a satisfactory foreign policy, Americans are groping towards a more permanent solution of their dilemma, before events thrust an undesired solution upon them.

On the one hand stand those who favor

greater American participation in the affairs of the outside world. They do so for a variety of reasons. There are business interests who find their life in international trade. They are skeptical of the efficacy of neutrality legislation. They generally adopt the fatalistic attitude that America is bound to become involved in any major conflict in any event. Therefore, they say, we might as well enter the next war rich as poor: let's make hay while the sun shines and, come the post-war revolution, we'll at least dangle from lampposts with a few shekels in our pockets. Others drape their arguments in more ideological terms. America, they say, ought to cooperate with the League of Nations. We wished that institution upon Europe, then ruined it by our desertion; we must now assume our proper role in the world. Or, they say, we cannot see Great Britain inundated by the fascist hordes, or China overwhelmed by the imperialistic orgies of Japan. We must stand with England to preserve the peace.

These groups are small numerically, though occupying places of power. Categorically, they are the traders, the internationalists, and the militarists. In order of importance the traders come first, with the internationalists still too confused to maintain a strong line, while the militarists eliminate themselves strategically, since one and all agree that American forces cannot prosecute a war to a successful conclusion in the Far East. Such, at least, was the order accepted by the neutrality partisans as being the battle line of their opponents. That this appraisal of the enemy forces was not correct did not become known until President Roosevelt revealed the true positions on October 5. For the moment, however, this article will concern itself only with the events leading up to the destruction of neutrality.

Despite the avowed national policy, as chrystalized in the Neutrality Act, that trade must be abandoned in those areas where continued activity would involve the United States in war, it became evident, a few weeks after Japan invaded Shanghai, that we were fumbling in that very direction. In early September, it was established that our naval forces, for tactical expedience, had worked out plans in the Far East for combined naval action with the British arm.

For a long time it has been known to the exponents of neutrality that the tactics of the State Department under Secretary Hull in promoting foreign trade had been diametrically opposed to the policy of neutrality embargoes and the abandonment of trading areas in the event of hostilities. Provided with such knowledge, it shouldn't have surprised the neutrality partisans that the combined action of the naval arm with the past policy of the State Department would serve to sterilize the national policy of isolation. If this were not enough, other factors soon made their appearance.

In warning American citizens to evacuate the war zone, or remain at their own risk, President Roosevelt was significantly silent concerning the disposition of the Far Eastern naval squadron and the armed marines deployed on the mainland. Concurrently the State Department and the Navy, by word and action, made it quite plain to all interested parties that withdrawal was no part of the Government's policy. And to clarify this attitude, Admiral Yarnell promulgated an official policy in Shanghai on September 21, 1937. He announced that the Commander-in-Chief (a position occupied at all times by the President of the United States) would employ "United States naval forces—so as to offer all possible protection and assistance to our nationals in cases where needed. Naval vessels will be in ports where American citizens are concentrated and will remain there until it is no longer possible or necessary to protect them or until they have been evacuated. This policy, based on our duties

and obligations, will be continued as long as the present controversy between China and Japan exists and will continue in full force even after our nationals have been warned to leave China and after an opportunity to leave has been given."

Note, then, that the Government of the United States, during the first stages of the conflict, had three official policies, either one capable of being substituted for the other in the event of a show-down with the American people. They can best be described in terms of a dynamic policy, a positive policy, and a policy of improvisation. The neutrality legislation and the sentiment it embodies ostensibly works along positive lines, while the agrandizement of trade and the assumption of international responsibilities is the dynamic element still powerful enough, if we are to believe President Roosevelt, to nullify isolationist sentiment. Complementary to this latter combine was the policy of improvisation calculated to screen the sabotage of any effective neutrality action.

Thus, the peace societies and the isolationists have just cause to complain. It is their view that effective action under the neutrality legislation was wrecked by persons in places of power within the Administration. They point out the contradiction of Secretary Hull's position. In his public speeches he waved the moral principle, implying, at the same time, that such principles will most certainly involve the United States in armed crusades. And yet this same Mr. Hull, apparently, was coldly aloof to suggestions of joint action with any foreign power to invoke the Nine-Power Pact.

Nor was Mr. Hull any less contradictory, in the eyes of the isolationists, than was the President in his imposition of a partial embargo on arms and ammunitions carried in Government-owned ships. Such a move was neither fish, fowl, nor fair game. Rather, it was a gesture to partisans of isolation and peace-pressure groups amounting to less than nothing in relation to the President's larger powers under the Neutrality Act.

Today, there are only four Government-owned ships running regular schedules between the United States and the Orient. Dwarfing this embargo is the fact that nearly $15,000,000 worth of military supplies have recently been ordered in the United States for delivery to China.

It is argued by the internationalists that to go further with the neutrality embargoes would irreparably hurt China. But if this is true, the isolationists reply, then the President is already guilty of un-neutrality. In short, he has openly taken sides with China. And the longer the war continues, the more flagrant will become this preference.

The international element in the United States has already proclaimed China a democratic power, and, therefore, deserving assistance against the aggression of the so-called fascist powers. And Britain and France are also democratic powers. By such reasoning, the isolationists object, the United States would have also to defend them. But, the isolationists ask, what have the imperialistic rackets of Britain and France in China to do with democracy? What has the dictatorial Chiang Kai-shek to do with the democratic form of government? These are the questions that must be answered by the whole nation, that cannot be answered by a chief executive whether he be a President or a prophet.

Thus the isolationists plead their case. They point out that the essence of trade neutrality is that it be made automatic. This lesson they learned from the present Neutrality Act. For Congress placed in the hands of the President the discretionary power to act after, and not before, a state of war has been declared. In the heat of conflict he must decide whether or not a war is actually in progress.

# THE CASE FOR CHINA

## *Japan's demands for "cooperation" mean dismemberment and ultimate chaos for all*

By WILLIAM SEAVER WOODS

*Former Editor of The Literary Digest*

IT NOW turns out that Japan's real aim in all the row-de-dow over there is to win China's lasting friendship! The Japanese Army is striving "for the attainment of enduring peace in East Asia!" So said Hirota, the Japanese Foreign Minister, a few days ago. In other words, we are witnessing a cave-man courtship, where the bridegroom clubs his inamorata a crack over the head, and drags her home by the hair. It is the familiar newspaper story of the suitor who shoots the girl who jilts him. "Love me or I will kill you!" Japan is machine-gunning the Chinese to cement international friendship!

Of course that sounds like comic-opera stuff, but if we just phrase it differently, it comes out as clear as daylight. "We are fighting anti-Japanese movements in China," said the Foreign Minister. "We want to see China governed by statesmen who can maintain friendly relations with us." "After all," he declared, "Japan and China are neighbors and old friends, and it should not be difficult to realize an ideal of mutual prosperity and well-being." And a few days later, Mr. Hirota added that "Japan has no other objective than to see a happy, tranquil North China." To bring this about, Japan is going to "take a resolute attitude and compel China to mend her ways," he told the Diet. By this he said he meant that the statesmen of China are to "be brought to take a broad view of East Asia, that they speedily realize their mistakes, and that, turning a new leaf, they will act in unison with the high aim and aspirations of Japan."

There it is, in a nutshell. So it is well worth exploration, for it may be vitally important for us to know what "the high aims and aspirations of Japan" are, and what will follow when the 400,000,000 Chinese "act in unison" with them. It sounds formidable, to say the least.

That is why I took this statement to leading Chinese authorities in New York City, to find out what it meant. I sat down and asked them frankly:

"What are the 'anti-Japanese movements' in China that are so serious as to bring on this conflict?"

"Is Japan trying to control China?"

"Is her 'high aim and aspiration' to control all Asia, dominate the Pacific, and become the leading power in the world?"

"Can China drive out the Japanese?"

These searching questions go straight to the heart of the matter. If we can find the answers, we shall know much more about the destiny of a big part of the human race, and how it is going to affect John Smith of Smithville, U. S. A.

"What are the 'anti-Japanese movements' in China?" I asked Mr. Chih Meng, Director of the China Institute in America. Mr. Meng is tall and scholarly, quiet and deliberate in speech, but his words are penetrating, incisive, and show a firm grasp of the situation. He is the author of a book entitled *China Speaks*, and as I was referred to him by the Chinese

Consul General, we can take it that when Mr. Meng speaks, China speaks.

"An 'anti-Japanese movement' in China," said Mr. Meng, "is any movement to keep Japan from getting control of China. Anyone who tries to protect China from Japan is declared to be 'anti-Japanese.' Japan avers that it respects the independence and integrity of China and wants only peace and order and friendly relations, but there is a serious discrepancy between her words and her deeds that amounts to a paralysis of reason and a distortion of fact. Japan claims the exclusive right and privilege to keep peace and order in the Far East in accordance with its own imperialistic designs, and is trying to impose a *pax Nipponica* upon China."

### *What Is Japan's Program?*

What, then, will be Japan's program if she wins? Perhaps we may find the answer in one of the two methods she has already used—in Korea, military occupation; in Manchukuo, the imposition of a "friendly" government.

The story of Korea, as told by Korean patriots, is a tale of bloody and fiery oppression, and, as told by the cold figures of trade and of administrative expenditure, it has been a losing business for Japan. So it is perhaps no wonder that Japan took a different tack when she entered Manchuria. The new idea there was to have a complete Manchurian governmental set-up, with home-grown Emperor, Cabinet and legislature, but all absolutely under the influence of Tokyo. It is commonly referred to as a "puppet" state, like a figure in the marionettes, guided by strings worked by unseen fingers. Nobody is fooled, of course, either in the marionette theatre or in Manchukuo. The "Emperor" is Henry Pu Yi, the former "boy Emperor" of China. He has a "Cabinet" of Chinese, but behind every key position in the administration stands a Japanese adviser—their number exceeds 600. There is a "Legislature" of 100, half named by the central government and half recommended by the provincial governments. It is needless to say that the entire administration there is totally and completely harmonious and sympathetic with every whisper from Nippon.

Is that what Japan means now when it asks for a "friendly" government in China that will "coöperate" with Tokyo? In one way, Japanese rule has done wonders in Manchukuo, and some Japanese spokesmen claim it would do as much for China. Manchuria was in a sad state of political graft and corruption, disorder, banditry and distress, and the Japanese began housecleaning with ruthless thoroughness. They were harsh, but efficient. They put the currency on a sound basis, lowered taxes, built new roads and railways, opened schools, and set up measures for public health. In 1933 Manchukuo had only 8,200 miles of motor roads; in one year 2,500 more were built, and the program is 31,000 miles. Mail, express and passenger services have been instituted on eight air routes totalling 1500 miles, and the new schools have 600,000 pupils.

In a word, the plan of Japanese control in Manchukuo has worked, while the plan of military occupation in Korea has produced nothing but friction, hatred, and expense. The Japanese demands for "friendly cooperation" by some new government in China, then, would seem to look toward providing something of the same sort of friendly echo as is given by the Emperor Henry Pu Yi.

Japan's progress to westward is like a slow-motion picture, extending over the thirty years since 1910, when Korea was taken under the Japanese wing, or arms, and renamed Chosen. It was taken over to "safeguard Japan," because it was too near to let any other Power control it. Then very naturally Manchuria had to be taken to protect Korea, Jehol had to be taken



European

***POOR HOSPITALITY: China is the underdog in the current conflict but is not running away from her Japanese "neighbors." Photo shows a Chinese anti-aircraft unit in action.***

to protect Manchuria, and the northern provinces of China had to be occupied to protect all the rest. Is this slow-motion picture a continuous performance? And where does it end, if at all?

### *Will Japan Run Amok?*

In short, what is Japan aiming at? "What is the 'high aim and aspiration' of Japan that China must 'act in unison' with, or perish?" I asked Mr. Meng, the Chinese spokesman. In reply he drew for me a picture of Japanese ambition that, if it succeeded, would make over the map of the world and plunge the nations into another blood-bath like that of 1914. "It is now clearly evident," he declared, "that Japan aims at building a great Asiatic Empire, which would include not only the whole of China, but also Siberia, the South Sea islands and the British colonies and dependencies in the Far East. Japan plans not only to dismember China, but also to drive out the U. S. S. R., the Dutch Empire, and the British Empire from their influence in the Far East. This is no idle dream of the Islanders, but a systematic delusion of grandeur which compels the Japanese to push their Empire to the continental west and the oceanic south."

In confirmation of this world-shaking prediction, Mr. Meng handed me a copy of the famous Tanaka Memorandum, which Baron Tanaka, Premier of Japan, is said to have presented to the Emperor on July 25, 1927, four years before the appropriation of Manchuria. The Baron wrote:

> In a certain sense Manchuria and Mongolia are key positions, by holding which we can seize the wealth of the whole of China. After this, we shall subjugate India, the South Seas, Asia Minor and Central Asia, and finally Europe.

Japanese spokesmen pooh-pooh this, and of course the latter part of it sounds as if the Baron was a bit exhilarated. but it is a fact that not a few responsible people think that Japan is growing intoxicated by her success to a point where she may be a military menace to world peace some day. Books are appearing in England making forecasts of this sort: one of them, called *Japan at the Crossroads*, has a chapter entitled "An Anglo-Japanese War is Inevitable," based on the belief that Japanese and British interests in the Far East are bound to clash. Mr. Hallett Abend, the well-known correspondent of *The New York Times*, who knows Japan and China like the palm of his hand from many years of residence and observation, says that "Japan's intentions are plain. She aims to rule not only China, but all Asia. With the great arsenal of China's natural resources at her disposal, with China's mountains of minerals, her lakes of salt, her fields of rice, wheat and cotton. Japan will be ready to try the economic conquest of the world." He believes Japan has in mind a "Pan-Asia movement," based on the idea of "Asia against the world," with a great union of all the colored races of Asia against "Western exploitation."

China, too, has the same conviction of Japan's "high aim and aspiration." Dr. Wellington Koo, the illustrious Chinese statesman who represents his country in the League at Geneva, declared before the League Assembly that "If the day should come—which God forbid!—when Japan would be able to lay her hands on a great part of what China possesses in man power and natural resources, then she would feel herself so much stronger as to challenge the treaty rights and territorial possessions of Europe and America in the South Seas and the Pacific, as well as on the mainland of Asia." He added that Japan "aims not only at political domination and conquest of China, but also at elimination of foreign interests wherever the Japanese sword holds sway, and the eventual expulsion of Europe and America from territorial possessions in Asia."

If these surmises are correct, then Americans have only to glance at the map and note the location of the Philippines and Hawaii to see if this menace has any meaning for us. It is true that we are releasing the Philippines from our protection, and American public opinion, in its present temper, might not favor sending our men against foreign guns for the sake of islands that have never shown any special affection or profit of any sort for this country. The sunrise flag may very possibly float over them before they have enjoyed many years of their wished-for independence.

But with Hawaii it is a different story. The government authorities at Washington have naturally not said what their opinion is of a possible "Japanese peril," but there is no denying the fact that the American fortifications in Hawaii are particularly formidable, and our naval maneuvers and "war games" in those waters from time to time are said to irritate the Japanese because they seem in a way to be directed toward Japan. Of course, this is pure inference on the part of the people of Nippon, for the naval game of defending Hawaii can be meant only for any power that may attack Hawaii. If Japan has no such intention, then the maneuvers have no possible meaning for Japan, and the Japanese worry about them is hard to understand. Perhaps they are intended for a possible attack by Latvia or the Republic of San Marino.

We Americans know as well as the Japanese do that Nippon could not whip the world, or any considerable fraction of it, and that the more grandiose parts of the Tanaka dream are sheer poppycock. But we also know that history's great slow-motion movie, picturing thousands of years on its film, proves that great empires

like Rome, Spain, and Britain come and go. You could not tell citizens of Rome or Spain, in their heyday, that their glory was something evanescent; and you cannot tell the colonial powers of the Far East today that they will ever lose their possessions there. Yet change is as certain as the rise and fall of the tides, and who will hold those colonies a hundred years, fifty years, twenty-five years from now, no man can tell. Japan is certainly rising like the morning sun, flaming with ambition, and those who stand in her way will do well to be prepared.

### *An Undeniable Peril*

But there is more than one kind of war, and more than one kind of conquest. Japan does not deny that she is out for the second kind of war which may not take our life, but takes our living. Japan does not want Chinese territory, declared Consul General Wakasugi in New York the other day, but only desires "a friendly cooperation in the supply of raw materials as well as in the development of natural resources to sustain our existence." That is, China is to supply her raw materials to the Japanese, who will use them to sustain their existence. Every year a million additional Japanese appear on the scene to have their existence sustained. Fifteen or twenty years ago, their annual increase in population was half a million; six or seven years ago it was three-quarters of a million; now it has reached the million mark. What will it be in another ten years?

A change, too, has been made in the plan to take care of this rising tide of Nipponese. We used to hear of plans to send them to South America and other places around the globe; then it was said that they were to go to Manchuria; but it seems they won't go. So the new idea is to turn Japan into a manufacturing nation and so sustain a much larger population in the same area, as in England and Belgium. That is how they are to "sustain their existence" with the raw materials supplied by China. And that, also, is where America's interest comes in. Japan's cheap labor, using China's cheap raw materials, is expected to undercut American and European prices in the world markets. "American industries that are now feeling the force and effect of Japanese imports can look for more intensive and keener competition," said Captain F. X. Eble, managing director of the Made-in-America Club, in New York City a few days ago. Exporters believe that China's markets will be very largely captured by Japan, "cooperating" with a "friendly" government there, and that Japanese products may even be made so cheaply as to leap our tariff barriers and compete with our own manufacturers here.

The industrial rise of Japan is no slow-motion picture, at any rate. In the ten years from 1908 to 1918 the number of her industrial plants doubled, from 11,000 to 22,000, and in the next six years more than doubled again, to 48,000. Now there are 67,000. In 1934 Japan sent $119,000,000 worth of exports to the United States and bought $210,000,000 worth of goods of us. In fact, we buy of, and sell to her far more than does any other nation, so that if outside nations lose her trade, we shall lose more than anyone else. It is of interest to our Southern States, for example, to know that China is growing cotton and Japan is spinning cotton. Japan gets much of her cotton now from America, but if her foray into China succeeds, she may produce it there. China grew three million bales of cotton in 1934, and in that year Japan exported two and a half billion square yards of cotton piece goods. Without tiring the reader with further statistics, that gives an idea of what Japan is doing and suggests what she can do.

The alert Japanese mind, however, is able to grasp this situation and to argue that, instead of being injured by Japanese

success, we shall share in the resulting prosperity. A nimble but unnamed Japanese thinker, who belongs in the class that extracts sunshine from cucumbers, visions a new and transmogrified China, where the beneficent Japanese influence will eliminate all political and commercial graft and corruption. All the Chinese will have more money to spend, as they will not have to pay it out in graft, so there will be a great increase in prosperity. (He omits to mention the poor grafters, left out in the cold, with no money to spend, decreasing the prosperity by that much.) Then, besides, there will be a great inflow of Japanese capital to develop China's natural resources, and, taking it all together, the buying power of the Chinese will rise to heights never known, and will keep the Japanese mills running overtime. Japan, in turn, will thus have such a burst of prosperity that American and European goods will have a big sale there, more than before. This roseate picture is reminiscent of the rich plan of Colonel Sellers, who said if we could get the 400,000,000 Chinese to add an inch to the tail of their shirts, it would keep the American cotton mills running day and night. The Japanese optimist is more modest. He would only have his mills running overtime.

### *Dark Views of the Outcome*

He takes it for granted, of course, that Japan will win the present conflict. I asked Mr. Meng, as representing China's views, if he thought the Chinese could drive the Japanese armies out of China. A sad look came over his face, and he replied: "The Japanese forces, of course, have much better and more modern equipment." That seemed to be the answer. Looking farther into the future, he said: "Japan will emerge from the war a greatly shattered and disillusioned empire and China a vast devastated country. There will be no conquerors or conquered and no glory or prosperity for either of the conflicting parties." Japan's plan to set up a friendly and cooperating regime in China is impossible, declared Mr. Meng, for "as long as Japan occupies Chinese territory, no government of China could put an end to popular feelings of resentment and hostility."

This idea, that the Japanese will lose even if they win, is lent a certain amount of color by a remarkable newspaper dispatch from Tokyo, which must have been OK'd by the government censor. It says flatly that the Japanese acquisition of Manchukuo has proved a "total fiasco." It is a dispatch from Frank A. Hedges to *The New York Times* and the North American Newspaper Alliance. He recalls that the conquest of Manchukuo was held out to the Japanese people as a panacea for all of Japan's economic ills, "but it has proved to date a total fiasco in this respect." For, instead of adding to the empire's wealth and affording an outlet for surplus population, Manchukuo is declared to be "a steadily increasing drain on the Japanese purse," with taxpayers already taxed nearly to their limit. More and more money is called for, and "it is realized that very much the same tale would be repeated if the empire undertook the economic development of North China, alone and unaided." It is remarkable, and perhaps significant of popular feeling in Japan, that the censor should pass such doubtful remarks about the adventures in Manchukuo and North China, but the real sting of the dispatch is in its tail. "The Japanese militarists are having their way at the moment," we are told, and "if they succeed in crushing China at not too great a cost, all may go well with their plans and aspirations," but "if not, they may find their troubles increasing at home and abroad."

# JAPAN'S CASE AGAINST CHINA

***A Japanese observer holds China responsible for forcing Nippon's hand in the current war***


**By K. K. KAWAKAMI**

*Washington representative of Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichi Nichi*


NO WAR is started on the day the opposing camps fire their first shots. Dr. G. P. Gooch, eminent British historian, in compiling the official "British Documents on the Origin of the World War," goes back 16 years from 1914. To understand the present Sino-Japanese hostilities, a similar perspective is required.

Sixteen years ago, at the Washington Conference, under Anglo-American pressure, Japan made a number of important concessions to China—concessions beyond which no nation similarly situated would have gone. She gave back to China her rights in Shantung which Nippon got, not from China, but from Germany. She withdrew her troops from certain interior points in China. She gave up certain important railway and other rights in Manchuria. Japan made these concessions in the hope that China would henceforth enter into normally neighborly intercourse with her.

China, far from meeting Japan half way, launched a national policy of hatred against Japan with a view to driving her completely from Manchuria. She had forgotten that but for Japan's supreme sacrifices in the war with Russia in 1904-5, the whole of Manchuria would have been annexed by the Muscovite. She had forgotten that Japan could have appropriated Manchuria at the end of that war, for she (China) had been Russia's ally under a secret treaty. Yet Japan, having wrested Manchuria from the Czarist grip, gave it back to China, retaining for herself a few hundred miles of railway, a very small leased territory around Port Arthur, and a few coal mines. These holdings indicated a limit beyond which Japan's conciliatory policy could not go. It was useless for China to attempt to deprive the Japanese of these holdings, for the development of which Japan had invested billions of yen, to say nothing of the blood and treasure she had sacrificed in the war with Russia.

Yet that was exactly what China attempted to do. She spread anti-Japanese propaganda in the schools through textbooks, among the troops through catechisms and war songs of hate, and among the populace through placards and the activities of secret societies. The plan was to make it so dangerous to the Japanese in China that they would be forced to liquidate and go home.

For the ten years following the Washington Conference, in the face of this Chinese propaganda of hate, Japan strove to conciliate China. During most of that period Baron Shidehara was Japan's Foreign Minister. Again and again he expressed a desire to adjust Japan's relations with China on a basis of live and let live. In 1926, Shidehara, speaking before the Japanese legislature, laid down these four points as the cardinal principle of Japan's China policy:

1. Respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China and scrupulously avoid all interference in her domestic strife.
2. Promote the solidarity and economic rapprochement between the two nations.

3. Entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations of the Chinese people and cooperate in their efforts for the realization of such aspirations.
4. Maintain an attitude of patience and toleration in the present situation in China and at the same time protect Japan's legitimate and essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the disposal of the Government.

Even in January, 1930, when Sino-Japanese relations, due to the aforesaid anti-Japanese movement in China, had appeared to be approaching a crisis, Baron Shidehara, again addressing the legislature, struck a similar conciliatory note.

### *Conciliation Not Wanted*

All such overtures elicited from China studied rebuffs and more intensified anti-Japanese agitation. The upshot of it all was the so-called Manchurian incident, which resulted in the setting up of the new state of Manchukuo under Japanese guidance. The immediate occasion of that incident is comparatively unimportant. What is overwhelmingly important was China's provocative attitude towards Japan during the ten years of conciliatory policy persistently followed at Tokyo.

This anti-Japanism is only a manifestation of the general anti-foreignism which is deeply rooted in the traditional Chinese conviction that the Chinese are the chosen race of Heaven. When this superiority complex is jarred by justifiable foreign pressure, it takes the form of general hatred of foreigners. Text-books used in Chinese public schools in the last decade or more are filled with anti-foreignism. The *New Age Reader* has a passage which, translated roughly, reads as follows:

> China's burning question is foreign aggression. The foreigners compel us to lease lands which are clearly Chinese. They commit crimes on Chinese territory, yet they do not submit to Chinese law and Chinese jurisdiction. The maritime customs are forcibly administered by foreigners.

The *New Age Geography* says that "for the last hundred years China has been victimized by the Powers which have exploited our vast and rich country and have almost gobbled it up." That anti-Japanism is only a prelude to general anti-foreignism is evident in the following declaration issued in June, 1928, by the National Convention of Anti-Japanese Societies which were encouraged and subsidized by the Nanking government itself:

> The objective of our anti-Japanese movement is to ruin the Japanese by pushing economic rupture with them. The pressure will next be brought to bear upon all the rest of the Imperialist nations with the ultimate object of nullifying all unequal treaties.

### *"Divide and Rule"*

China's motto is "Divide and Rule." Now she centers her assault upon Japan, now she concentrates upon England, now she assails Russia, tomorrow it may be America's turn to bear the brunt of this anti-foreignism. Before August, 1929, the Nanking-subsidized "Societies for the Revocation of Unequal Treaties" openly enforced anti-Japanese boycott by meting out direct punishment to Chinese merchants handling Japanese goods. This naturally caused diplomatic complications with Japan. While China was conducting insidious, virulent propaganda against Japan, she waged open and violent agitation against the British during 1925-27, driving the British from all the trade centers up the Yangtze, and culminating in the famous, or infamous, Nanking outrages. England would have met this menace with as forcible a measure as in now being used by Japan had she been China's next-door neighbor as Japan is. But England was thousands of miles away and was, moreover, struggling to recuperate from the devastating consequences of the World





*RESCUER AND RESCUED: When Madame Chiang Kai-shek obtained the release of her kidnapped husband almost a year ago, it was reported that he agreed to liquidate his eight-year-old campaign against the communists.*

War, while the unsettlement in post-war Europe claimed her absorbing attention. So England willy-nilly retreated from her former position of supremacy in the Yangtze Valley.

With the British thus beating a retreat, the Chinese Nationalists turned upon Japan with added violence using the same technique as they used against the British. Twelve years ago it was Red agents, Messrs. Borodin and Galan (the latter of whom later unmasked himself as General Bluecher, Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army in East Siberia) who advised Chiang Kai-shek that the best strategy to rouse Chinese nationalism was to exploit Britain as the visible symbol of foreign aggression and concentrate his assault upon it. The scheme proved a success. Chiang Kai-shek rode into power upon the crest of anti-British agitation. Then Chiang, in order to win the support of the Shanghai financial clique, native and foreign, abruptly proclaimed himself an avowed enemy of communism.

Chiang Kai-shek, having driven the Red advisers from his camp, turned to German military experts for advice. In 1931 General von Seekt, Hindenburg's right-hand man during the World War, organizer of the Reichswehr, went to Nanking at Chiang's invitation. His first advice was similar to the advice given by the Russian agents. The only difference was that the objective of Chiang's new offensive was the Japanese instead of the British. The German General was known to have told Chiang that the most effective strategy to unite distracted China was to make Japan the visible symbol of foreign imperialism and concentrate his assault upon her. In 1935 General von Falkenhausen brought almost a hundred German colonels and captains to train the Chinese army. That was, of course, before Tokyo and Berlin were united in an anti-Comintern pact. Today Berlin undoubtedly is advising these German experts not to participate in China's war with Japan.

For some eight years from 1928 Chiang

Kai-shek busied himself waging war against the Chinese communist forces in various provinces south of the Yangtze. The communists, driven north and west, gradually penetrated into Shensi, Shansi, Ning-Hsia, and Suiyuan provinces. Whether Chiang Kai-shek deliberately drove them in that direction cannot be ascertained, but this communist movement undoubtedly pleased him, thinking that henceforward the Reds would plague Japan as much as China.

### *The Price of Liberty*

Last December the world was treated to the tragicomedy of Chiang Kai-shek's capture and imprisonment by Chang Hsueh-liang at Sianfu. Madame Chiang, that ambitious, much-publicized wife of the captured generalissimo, flew to Sianfu and obtained her husband's release. Of course, a huge ransom was paid. Furthermore—and this is significant—Chiang Kai-shek agreed or was forced to agree not only to liquidate his eight-year old campaign against the communists, but to extend material support to them on condition that the Reds would no longer bother him, but would penetrate into North China to harass the Japanese. Last January, immediately after Chiang Kai-shek's release, the third plenary session of the Nationalist Party at Nanking was reported to have resolved that the ideology and technique of the party be so revised as to expedite harmonious relations with the communists.

Thus was formed the Chinese counterpart of the popular front, a common front against a common enemy, Japan. Should the Chinese communists entrench themselves in Ning-Hsia, Suiyuan, and Chahar, which are part of Inner Mongolia, they could easily effect junction with the Red forces of Outer Mongolia completely dominated by Soviet Russia. No wonder that Nanking's relations with Moscow in the last year have been perceptibly cordial. Although the so-called Sino-Soviet non-aggression pact, with a secret annex for military cooperation, was made public at Moscow and Nanking only on August 21 last, Tokyo knew that it had actually existed for some time. This explains, at least partly, the *raison d'être* of the Tokyo–Berlin anti-communist agreement concluded November 25 of last year.

Project the recent incidents which started the fighting at Peiping and at Shanghai against the background painted in the above passages, and you begin to understand the why of the present conflict. Obviously, no two nations can remain at peace when the ideology and national policy of one is to incite its people against the other. In all sincerity Japan thinks herself an aggrieved party whose desire to maintain normal intercourse with her next-door neighbor has not been requited. China wants Manchukuo abolished and the *status quo ante* restored in that region. This idea is a chimera. Manchukuo was brought into existence because of China's own mistaken policy. It is an accomplished fact which none, not even Japan herself, can alter. To demand its abolition is to ask the impossible. Yet that is what China has been demanding. Because Japan refuses to consider the demand, China, like Achilles, sulks in her tent, and nurses hatred of Japan.

### *One Neighbor to Another*

Since 1933, Japan has repeatedly said to China: "There is no use in crying over spilt milk. It does nobody any good. Be a good sport and admit you have gambled poorly. Recognize the accomplished fact in Manchukuo, and enter into normally friendly intercourse with us. You and we are next-door neighbors. If we do not stand together, that is just too bad for both, especially for you. You are menaced by communism from within and without. We can help you in the suppression of communistic activities. We will cooperate with

you in the development of your dormant natural resources for the benefit of both. We have scientific knowledge and engineering skill. You have more man power and more natural resources than you can use. Here is an opportunity for a partnership between you and us on the basis of give and take, live and let live. If you refuse to co-operate with us, if you embrace some dangerous third power or powers and scheme to undermine Manchukuo and our own interests in your country, then we must reluctantly take cognizance of that fact and chart our course accordingly."

Stripped of diplomatic subtlety, this is what Japan has been seeking from China. Had China cooperated with Japan in the same spirit, Japan would not have backed the autonomy movement in North China. But China scorned all such Japanese appeals, even setting the native communist forces against Japan and concocting sinister designs with a third party hostile to Japan and Manchukuo.

Finally, a few words seem in order on the immediate occasion of this conflict. First as to the Marco Polo Bridge incident. On the evening of July 7 some 150 Japanese soldiers, carrying only blank cartridges, were engaged in maneuvers on the usual grounds near that bridge southwest of Peiping. The Chinese authorities had been duly notified so that there could be no mistaking the Japanese movements.

And yet, at 11:40 of that evening, this Japanese unit was fired upon by Chinese soldiers, who formed a part of the 37th division of the 29th army. The maneuvering Japanese could not return fire, as they carried no real shot. They retreated some distance and notified their local headquarters in the former British barracks at Fengtai where a Japanese contingent had been stationed since 1935 in accordance with an agreement concluded between Japan and the Nanking Government. When the Japanese re-enforcements arrived on the scene the next morning at about 1 A.M., the opposing camps exchanged shots. That was the first clash.

Immediately a Sino-Japanese mediation party organized in Peiping hurried to the spot, and arranged cessation of the fighting at 6 A.M. the same morning, July 8. But at 3 P.M. and again at 6 P.M. of that day the Chinese, for no comprehensible reason, fired upon the Japanese.

On July 9 a truce was again arranged, according to which the Chinese were to retire to the right bank of the Yungting River, and the Japanese to remain on the left. But on July 10 at 5 P.M. about 100 Chinese soldiers, violating the truce, brought up trench mortars near the Marco Polo bridge and attacked the Japanese. Within two hours another 100 Chinese advanced into Lungwangmiao, and there opened fire upon the Japanese. The Japanese, in self-defense, launched a counter attack. Again a truce was arranged.

On July 11 the Japanese Government instructed its military representatives on the spot to do all in their power to localize the clash and effect a speedy local settlement. Colonel Matsui, of the Japanese Special Service at Peiping, succeeded in obtaining from the Chinese representatives, General Chang Tsujung, Mayor of Tientsin, and General Ying-Yung, Chief of the Public Safety Bureau of Peiping, agreement to these terms:

(1) Apology by the representatives of the 29th Army and punishment of those directly responsible.

(2) Chinese troops to evacuate Lukouchiao and to be replaced by the Peace Preservation Corps for the purpose of keeping the Chinese troops sufficiently separated from the Japanese.

(3) To take adequate measures for curbing the activities of the Blue Shirts and communists.

### *A Test of Strength*

By July 12, however, it had become evident that the Central Government at Nanking had been bent upon testing its prowess with Japan. It had overestimated its own military strength. It had exaggerated the unrest within the Japanese army as manifested in the assassination of Premier Inukai by soldiers in May, 1932; in the murder of Lieutenant General Nagata by a Colonel in 1935; and in the revolt of a group of young officers in Tokyo in February, 1936, involving the murder of two senior statesmen, Viscount Saito and Baron Takahashi. It had entertained an exaggerated idea of an alleged disaffection in the Manchukuo army. Thus the Nanking leaders had inclined toward the belief that China had at least an even chance to win a war against Japan and to bring back Manchuria to her own fold. Acting upon this belief, Nanking notified Japan that no local settlement of the Marco Polo Bridge incident would be recognized by the Central Government. Simultaneously, Nanking dispatched to Peiping and Tientsin General Hsiung Pin, militant assistant Chief of the General Staff, who admonished Sung Cheh-yuan and other northern leaders, who had agreed to negotiate with the Japanese, to stand pat and ignore the agreement. It also mobilized 25 divisions and sent them up to the North over the Nanking-Tientsin Railway and the Hankow-Peiping line. This was in addition to the 80,000 men of the 29th Army who had already been detailed in the Tientsin-Peiping sector. The fact that for ten days the Japanese strove to enter into negotiations instead of taking immediate military action, as they had done in the case of the Manchurian incident of 1931, was taken by the Nanking militarists as a sign of Japan's lack of preparation and her unwillingness or inability to fight.

So Nanking launched an aggressive military movement against the Japanese. Seeing this, the Commander of the Japanese Garrison at Tientsin, on July 19, announced that unless Nanking immediately stopped these provocative acts, he would take appropriate action to counteract them. Thus the fat was in the fire.

### *Slaughter in Shanghai*

The scene shifts to Shanghai, the hotbed and fountainhead of anti-Japanese boycotts and propaganda. Here, as at Peiping, Japan was utterly unprepared. On August 9 at 6 P.M., a Japanese naval officer, Lieutenant Oyama, and a sailor, while driving through Monument Road in the Hunchiao district where there are various Japanese industrial establishments, were suddenly pounced upon by a large body of Chinese soldiers of the so-called Peace Preservation Corps. The two Japanese were unarmed. Oyama was instantly killed, with more than 30 bullets riddling his body. The sailor was carried away and was probably tortured and murdered. Both Oyama and the sailor belonged to the Japanese naval headquarters in the International Settlement.

Monument Road is an extension of the International Settlement and is within the demilitarized zone established by the truce agreement of May, 1932, concluded between the Japanese and the Chinese military authorities after brief fighting at Shanghai in that spring. Within the demilitarized zone no regular Chinese soldiers were to be stationed, but only a Chinese police force known as the Peace Preservation Corps, over whose organization, equipment, and distribution there was no foreign supervision. At the time the above murder took place, this police force was known to comprise some 20,000 men who were in reality soldiers.

On August 10, the morning following the murder, the Japanese Consul General in Shanghai requested a meeting of the aforesaid international committee of which the foreign Consuls concerned and the Chinese Mayor of Shanghai, Mr. O. K.

Yui, were members. At this meeting the Japanese made a full report on the murder incident, and proposed that the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps be temporarily withdrawn from the section adjacent to the International Settlement and the French Concession. The foreign members of the Committee approved this plan, while Mayor Yui promised he would do all in his power to carry it out. Meanwhile Vice Admiral Kiyoshi Hasegawa, suave, friendly, cultured, instructed the Japanese naval headquarters in the International Settlement to keep cool and do nothing to complicate the situation. He landed no marines.

On August 11, Mayor Yui, evidently under pressure from Nanking's military authorities, abruptly notified the Japanese Consul that he was "powerless" and "could do nothing." Consequently, on that evening, a contingent of Japanese marines was landed for precaution.

### *The Match Flares*

By the morning of August 12, it had become clear that Chinese regulars, in addition to the Peace Preservation Corps, had poured into the demilitarized zone and even occupied Chapei contiguous to the Japanese section of the International Settlement. Alarmed by this, the international committee held another meeting at 4 P. M. on the same day. The Japanese again proposed the withdrawal of the Chinese troops from the demilitarized zone, but the proposal was futile as the Chinese militarist temper had become such as to defy any foreign mediation or good offices. The next morning, August 13, skirmishes were fought between Chinese regulars and Japanese marines.

On August 14 the British Ambassador at Tokyo suggested to the Japanese Government (1) that the Chinese troops be withdrawn from the area adjacent to the International Settlement and the French Concession; (2) that the Japanese marines, who had been newly landed, be withdrawn from the International Settlement; (3) that the area evacuated by the Chinese troops be policed by an international force. Japan was favorably inclined toward this suggestion. Just then news reached Tokyo that Chinese planes bombed the Japanese flagship "Idzumo" as well as the Japanese Consulate buildings, Japanese naval headquarters, and Japanese cotton mills in the International Settlement—which rendered the consideration of the British proposal impracticable. Japan had to conclude that China was bent upon war.

Thus has the undeclared Sino-Japanese war in North China spread into the Shanghai Sector. At this moment emotions excited by the carnage and holocaust defy neutral judgment. The future historian, delving into archives and weighing actual facts, will have to pronounce an unbiased verdict.

# ROOSEVELT RIDES AGAIN

## *The President's trip through the West and back finds him as popular as ever*

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

*Political writer, the Portland Oregonian*

THE President of the United States recently spanned the continent on one of his longest journeys since he took office more than four years ago. While Mr. Roosevelt's private car, the *Roald Amundsen*, clattered along at the rear of his special train, 20 or 25 members of the capital press corps traveled up ahead in compartment Pullmans on a jaunt that extended from ocean to ocean and back again. Over the great plains and across the Rockies, through the Cabinet Mountains of the north and down into the vast basin of the Columbia River, the newspapermen rode in a pilgrimage which took Mr. Roosevelt deeper into the wilderness of the Far West than any Chief Executive ever had been before.

For this prolonged and costly trek, the nomadic writers were rewarded with the sight of a major political phenomenon. They watched enthusiastic throngs cheer and applaud a President whose entire legislative program had just been defeated outright or reduced to anemic proportions by a revolting Congress. They stared in amazement while crowds of unprecedented size and campaign fervor came out of the hinterlands to welcome a man under the heaviest fire of his career for having appointed a former member of the Ku Klux Klan to the Supreme Court. They heard Senator Borah, who wrote in the report of the Judiciary committee that the judicial reform plan "violated every sacred tradition of American democracy," introduce the sponsor of that plan as "our great President."

The whole trip was an astonishing performance. Mr. Roosevelt had recently sustained a succession of humiliating setbacks at the hands of his supposedly outnumbered foes in Congress. The agonizing fight over the Supreme Court had resulted in a stunning defeat for the Administration. The Wages and Hours Bill lay stifled in the House rules committee. Senator Norris's proposal to create regional power and conservation authorities had not even been reported out of committee in the Senate. Hostile amendments had shrapneled the housing legislation. The Democratic party seemed split by a chasm bleak and awful. The New Deal forces appeared to be in a shambles. The rout was ostensibly complete when the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* published its devastating series of articles on Hugo L. Black, the first appointment by Mr. Roosevelt to the Supreme Court. The adversaries of the President were confident that at last he was in retreat.

The 6,500 mile hegira from Hyde Park to Puget Sound and back again was the direct reverse of these events. In the capital the opposition may have had Mr. Roosevelt badly befuddled, but in the West he was hailed like some Caesar or Napoleon fresh from new conquests. The correspondents were astonished as they looked from their compartment windows at great crowds wildly cheering a President whose congressional proposals lay pigeon-holed in committee rooms back in the District of Columbia. Everywhere along the route—Cheyenne, Boise, Portland, Tacoma, Seat-




*GLOWING TRIBUTE: Passing through Boise, the Roosevelt party heard Senator Borah herald the author of the Court plan as "our great President."*

tle, Ephrata, Spokane, Grand Forks, St. Paul—the throngs far exceeded advance expectations.

On this trip the President was at his genial and most dramatic best. He appeared on the observation platform at dozens of little towns. He talked with scores of farmers, and drove far into the hinterlands to see the wilderness for himself. The grimness and intensity of the recent congressional session was gone when the President faced the country. He joked and bantered with the crowds. At Boise he specifically said he was glad to get into the country and away from the narrowness and factionalism of the capital. He made the people of the vast rural areas feel that it was them he preferred to be among, and that his presence in Washington arose from necessity rather than desire.

In Wyoming, Mr. Roosevelt received what the *International News Service* described as "a big ovation." Robert P. Post of the *New York Times* wrote that the audiences were "friendly, attentive and at times enthusiastic." Here is what Ernest K. Lindley of the *New York Herald Tribune* had to say of the welcome in Oregon:

> The President motored to Portland through demonstrative crowds culminating in a reception along the streets of Portland that reached a note of campaign frenzy. More than 150,000 must have applauded and cheered him on his twelve-mile drive through the downtown area. They were packed from the building line to the edge of a narrow lane in the center. Police and Secret Service men had difficulty at times in keeping the crowd from surging over or into the President's car.
>
> As a popular reception, this far exceeded in both size and enthusiasm those which he received here on his two previous visits. . . .

Most interesting of all to the newspapermen was the fashion in which Senator Borah introduced the President at Boise. The Congress recently adjourned had seen Borah drafting the Judiciary committee report which literally accused Mr. Roosevelt of unwholesome motives in submitting the Court bill. The Idaho Senator also had opposed the Wages and Hours Bill and other White House advocacies. The corre-

spondents waited tensely when they noticed Borah on the platform with the President. What innuendo or outright rebuke was about to come forth? Would Borah refer to the Court fight? Would Mr. Roosevelt answer in turn?

The press corps emitted a collective gasp when the dean of the Senate heralded the author of the Court plan as "our great President," and Mr. Roosevelt reciprocated by referring to Borah several times in his extemporaneous address.

Arthur Krock in the *Times* attributed the Senator's glowing laudation of the President to the fact that Borah, on his return to Idaho, discovered unmistakable evidences of the continuing popularity of Mr. Roosevelt. "'Our great President,'" wrote Mr. Krock, "was just another proof that the Senator knows what to say and when."

### *Hitching on to a Winner*

An irrefutable indication that the President still commands majority support in the West was the desperate manner in which local politicians fought like the Light Brigade at Balaklava to be seen in his presence. Senators and Representatives up for re-election next year regarded it as an unparalleled asset to appear with Mr. Roosevelt on the back platform of the *Roald Amundsen*. A leading foe of the Court bill, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, sped across the plains in a new automobile to be present when the Presidential Special rolled into his state. All the way over the prairies and through the mountains, politicians clambered for a publicly-spoken good word from Mr. Roosevelt. And despite the assurance of Postmaster General Farley that there will be no reprisals, the President chose carefully those on whom he bestowed his blessing. In Wyoming, he referred to Senator Schwartz, a New Deal nonentity, but did not mention O'Mahoney. The Montana performance was even more striking in this respect. At Fort Peck Dam, Mr. Roosevelt told of the appropriation-seeking efforts of three of the four members of the State's congressional delegation. The fourth member he did not mention. This was Burton K. Wheeler, militant adversary of the judiciary legislation.

Although the President deliberately refrained from mentioning the Court plan rebels in his speeches, no one expects that he ever will pit himself against them in open combat. The joust will not be fought on the tilting grounds, but in less direct fashion. Mr. Roosevelt is too shrewd to risk his prestige in a personal tiff. An example of how retaliation can be achieved by other means was indicated in the advance program for the annual convention of the National Reclamation Association, held at Casper, Wyoming. Senator Schwartz was listed as a speaker. The name of Senator O'Mahoney was not on the program. Wyoming is an important irrigation state. Many of its farmers would be unable to grow a healthy clump of sagebrush without reclamation assistance from the Federal government. In the arid districts, a Senator who shows himself impotent in the obtaining of irrigation benefits might as well have his name printed on the ballot in invisible ink.

The President's great personal popularity was apparent to his foes as well as his adherents. "I never saw so much enthusiasm in my life," said Governor Charles H. Martin of Oregon, a conservative Democrat who has opposed most New Deal policies. "There is no doubt about it. The people are sold on the President." And some Administration adherents on the train professed to see significance in the fact that, when Mr. Roosevelt was nearing Wyoming, Senator O'Mahoney did not condemn the Court plan but instead defended the appointment of Hugo Black.

One circumstance was apparent to every member of the Presidential party. The West is excited neither over the Supreme Court in general nor Mr. Justice Black in



*THE "HINTERLANDS": The President's trip was an astonishing performance. Everywhere, enthusiastic throngs turned out to cheer and applaud Mr. Roosevelt.*

particular. There was discussion of both issues, but little understanding or comprehension. It is safe to state that the President encountered scarcely any visible approval of his battle against the Court, and that Senators Wheeler and O'Mahoney and others were equally bereft of popular support in their defense of the high tribunal. The people simply had not gone into the situation. They had observed it only superficially. A great many of them showed no indication of caring at all. It is difficult to get worked up about dictatorship and judicial supremacy—hazy terms—when you live in a vast wilderness 50 miles from the nearest neighbor. As one of the New York newspapermen put it as the Presidential party drove past a lonely ranch in the rugged, lava-strewn fastnesses above Grand Coulee Dam:

"I bet it's a superhuman job getting that guy worried about collectivism and the budget!"

### *The Labor Front*

Mr. Roosevelt found the West concerned over tangible things—crop reduction benefits, hydro-electric power rates, irrigation dams, the labor wars. And in the last item the President met the one problem which marred the placidity of his trip. Seattle was the largest city Mr. Roosevelt visited in the Pacific Northwest, but he spoke there neither extemporaneously nor formally. Possibly this was due to his desire to avoid the labor struggles that have made Seattle the battleground of the desperately-contested combat between Dave Beck of the A. F. of L. and Harry Bridges of the C. I. O. The Presidential party found that an entirely logical result of the labor conflict in the West might be the breaking away of the A. F. of L. forces from the New Deal. The Central labor councils of Seattle and Portland were attacking the regional officials of the Labor Board as biased in favor of the C. I. O. Added to this was bitter condemnation of Secretary of Labor Perkins, and a growing belief of A. F. of L. leaders that the Wagner act was operating to the advantage of John L. Lewis and the disadvantage of themselves.

The labor difficulties also were fraying the already slender ropes holding farmers and workers in the West together in a mutual political alliance. In the Columbia River basin all brewery employees must join the teamsters' union, and Dave Beck's boycott of Eastern and California beer was forcing a counter-boycott against hops grown in Oregon and Washington. And maritime strikes and disturbances were

again threatening to leave perishable farm produce stranded in warehouses and supply depots. Under such circumstances the farmers were having to employ their imaginations to conjure a mutuality of interests with their erstwhile labor allies. A projected C. I. O. organization drive among agricultural and cannery workers also was operating to widen the potential chasm between the New Deal's two principal groups of support on the sundown side of the Mississippi River.

But aside from the looming consequences of the labor dilemma, the transcontinental trip of the President was more like a triumphal tour than the journey of a man just buffeted about by an obstreperous Congress of his own party. It was recognized that Mr. Roosevelt had lost some following among business men, but the rank and file of the people—whether in populous Seattle or in the wilderness of the Cascade Mountains—cheered him as zealously as ever. "With the population generally," wrote Mr. Lindley in the conservative *New York Herald Tribune*, "he does not seem to have suffered a material loss in popularity." This was the case everywhere. Even when the President made an automobile trip into the tangled fastnesses of the Mount Hood country in Oregon, he was hailed enthusiastically by trappers, lumberjacks, and woodsmen who lined the road to see him.

## *The Issue of Power*

At the giant Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River, where he started the first generators, Mr. Roosevelt laid down a national power policy that found immediate favor in the Northwest. He said that the electricity from the vast projects at Bonneville and Grand Coulee would be used primarily for farms and homes. He rebuked the political and business interests that sought to have the power monopolized by new industries, and declared he would rather see rural communities develop than to encourage a duplication of Pittsburgh in the West. The speech struck a popular response. It appealed to the people who wanted cheap electricity, and favored the farmers over industry. The address also showed that the President, to further his economic views, did not hesitate to widen a breach in the Democratic party. For many months prior to his journey, Governor Martin of Oregon, the Mayor of Portland and other prominent conservative Democrats had insisted that the power from Bonneville Dam would be wasted unless devoted primarily to the expansion of industry. Mr. Roosevelt's address was a direct repudiation of their stand and a challenge to them to contest with him for mastery of the party in the Northwest.

Few features of the journey impressed the pilgrims of the press corps as much as the fact that where there are vast Federal undertakings such as Bonneville Dam and the Casper-Alcova irrigation project, the Republican newspapers and Republican politicians in those districts have abandoned talk of economy and marched in the Democratic spending procession. Consider, for example, the *Wenatchee Daily World*. It once was an orthodox Republican paper. Then the New Deal started to build the monumental $404,000,000 Grand Coulee enterprise 98 miles from Wenatchee. When Mr. Roosevelt arrived, here is what the hitherto Republican *World* had to say:

> He (the President) has proven himself to be a builder and a developer, and those qualities appeal especially to the forward looking people of this state and the entire West. We would welcome anyone who occupies the Presidential office, but a double welcome awaits the present incumbent based upon gratitude and appreciation for the interest he has taken in our problems.

## *Dressing Black in White*

In other words, the West indicated little interest in Hugo Black's alleged Klan affiliations, but plenty of concern over hydroelectric power dams and irrigation canals.

The tangible questions of electric rates and crop conditions completely subordinated the relatively evanescent issue of the character of Mr. Justice Black. A farmer questioned by one of the newspapermen said Black could wear a Klan hood and sheet while Court was in session if he would vote to restore the nullified Agricultural Adjustment Act. Senator Borah declared he had heard or noticed little excitement about the Klan exposé since his return to Idaho. By and large, the people showed alertness and attention only about matters that tingled the pocket nerve. They wanted higher wages, or cheaper power bills, or lower interest rates, or less labor trouble, or more relief appropriations, or another dam on the Columbia River. Whatever worry there was over the President's asserted dictatorial tendencies seemed to exist largely on paper.

One question disturbed the analytical processes of the press corps' collective mind as the special train turned eastward again and put the Continental Divide between itself and the Far West. Were the great demonstrations along the route tantamount to an indorsement of the President's recent policies, or were they merely due to curiosity and a desire to see the President of the United States? Were the cheers for the office, or for Mr. Roosevelt? And if they were for Mr. Roosevelt, were they for his charming personality and friendly manner, or were they for his Court plan and his championing of labor and his appointment of an outright New Dealer to the nation's highest judicial tribunal?

This series of questions will probably wait to be answered until the Democratic primaries and general elections of the congressional year of 1938.

Mr. Roosevelt's intimate conversations with rank and file farmers was said to have convinced him, and this was borne out by his radio talk, that the agricultural regions wanted the A. A. A. revived—but that this was the only Supreme Court decision that still rankled large numbers of voters. The N. R. A. and other discarded legislation was not even mentioned; it was as dead as Judas Iscariot. If there was anything the President heard discussed more than the demand for new dams and more crop benefits, it was the general wish for peace. In every speech his denunciation of war won the most applause. Cheers echoed through the gorge at Bonneville when Mr. Roosevelt said the United States was fortunate that it could spend its income on great dams rather than for bullets and rifles. Perhaps it was this sentiment throughout the nation which impelled the President to deliver his historic plea for peace at Chicago. There was one feeling he could not escape on his trip: both the cities and hinterlands wanted peace, desperately and eagerly.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*(The answers to these questions will be found on page 87)*

1. Can a Supreme Court Justice be removed from office?
2. Has a Justice of the Supreme Court ever been impeached?
3. Who was the only bachelor President of the United States?
4. Did Italy and Germany join forces in the last great war?
5. At the time of his inauguration, who was the oldest President of the United States? The youngest?
6. Has any President attempted to hold office a third term?
7. Are there more people in China than in Russia and Japan combined?
8. Is Russia as large as China?
9. Who are the women members of the Senate?
10. What President of the United States never claimed any religious affiliation?
11. Who was the first President to live in the White House?
12. Distinguish between Rafael Franco and Francisco Franco?
13. Who is President of Spain?
14. Harry H. Woodring holds what office?
15. William B. Bankhead represents what State in Congress? To what branch of Congress does he belong?
16. Afghanistan is on what continent?
17. With what country does the United States carry on the largest volume of trade?
18. Of what State is Frank Murphy Governor? Of what State is Frank P. Murphy Governor.

# RAINBOW OVER THE DANUBE

***The nations of the "Sixth World Power" turn hopefully towards democratic ways***

By EMIL LENGYEL

*Author of "Hitler," "Millions of Dictators," etc.*

NINETEEN years after the armistice the countries of the Danube valley are turning over a new leaf. This group of six states occupies a strategic position at the intersection of the Transcontinental Highway of the Middle Ages, connecting the East with the West, and of the Amber Road of classical antiquity, linking the Mediterranean with the Baltic Sea. This is the "Sixth World Power," with a total population of more than seventy millions. From the earliest times this has been the home of war, and even the *Pax Habsburgica* assured merely a temporary lull. It was here that the signal was given for the outbreak of the World War. The Danube has always been a turbulent river, along the banks of which neighborhood was always synonymous with enmity. These countries lack the cohesion of common race, heritage and language.

Recent events have called attention to the significant change. At the end of September, Hitler and Mussolini sealed their newly-formed friendship with a spectacular reunion, and when two fascist dictators smile into the cameras their neighbors have reason to worry. At the height of the festivities, Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg and Czechoslovak Premier Milan Hodza met in a supposedly "secret" conference in a former imperial villa in Baden near Vienna. While no official communique disclosed the topic of their conference they were obviously discussing the possible result of the fascist dictators' love feast. Although the event itself may look drab, in reality it is one of the most dramatic occurrences in recent Danube history. It means that Austria has seceded from the fascist bloc of nations and is seeking contact with the Western democracies through the intermediary of the Czechoslovak statesman. This is also the trend in the other countries in the Danube basin.

Austria's neighbor, Hungary, has set her political stage to return to a modified form of parliamentary democracy this Fall, after a protracted period of semi-fascism. Farther down the Danube, in Yugoslavia, an undeclared dictatorship seems to have yielded to mass resistance in the battle over the Concordat. Bulgaria, in the heart of the Balkan region of the river basin, has triumphed over a military clique and let sanity prevail in her relations with the neighbors. Roumania, where the Danube meets its end, is still engaged in struggle between forces of democracy and the Nazi brand of fascism, the odds favoring the former. That democracy is far from dead east of the Rhine was shown by millions of Czechoslovaks at the bier of their ex-President, Thomas G. Masaryk. The self-negation of the mourners, who let themselves be splashed by a dismal rain for hours, vindicated the belief that it is not only dictators who can count upon spontaneous manifestations of loyalty.

This picture would not be a true one, however, if it left the impression that all was well in the Danube valley. Conditions of perfect peace cannot prevail in a part of Europe which is wedged in by Italy,



***BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN:** Scenes such as these were the order of the day when Mussolini recently visited his neighbors across the Alps. General Goering is at the left.*

Germany, and the Soviet Union. Irredentist resentment is still strong in Hungary, the Government of which is ready to announce that she is openly arming, thus discarding an important provision of the Trianon Peace Treaty. In Yugoslavia the problem of unassimilated nationalities is still an overwhelming problem, the Croats warring upon the Serbians, and the Serbians trying in vain to pacify the Croats in an undeclared war of nearly twenty years. Roumania is still a question mark, an outpost of the West and a relic of the East. Nor is Czechoslovakia's position an enviable one, with her three and a half million Germans, most of whom have become Hitler's followers.

What is fundamental in this change is that in the Danube valley *la mystique fasciste* is broken, the dictators are on the defensive, and the trend is toward democracy. Until recently all of these countries, except Czechoslovakia, were either fascist or semi-fascist. They were the first ones to fall under Il Duce's spell and he had them in mind some years ago when he proclaimed to a frenzied mass of Black Shirts in the main public square of Verona that to posterity the Twentieth Century will be known as the Fascist Era.

Mussolini has been at work for years, cementing a bloc of fascist states, which on blue prints was to stretch from Vienna to Istanbul. He was the father of the Rome Pacts, the birth-certificate of an economic Holy Alliance of Italy, Austria, and Hungary. He was to secure the adherence also of Bulgaria and Roumania. Since fascism is a dynamic force, it must provide for means of expansion, and the Danube river provided the line of least resistance. This scheme also served the purpose of isolating Yugoslavia, which for many years was Mussolini's pet enemy.

Nearly five years ago Hitler appeared on the scene and then diplomacy was jazzed up in the Danube valley. Nazism is as dynamic as Italian fascism and it also wanted a place in the sun. There are some fourteen million Germans in the Danube countries, supposedly awaiting deliverance at the hands of the brown-shirted Messiah. Besides, the southeastern corner of Europe has long been among Germany's best cus-

tomers. Once more the Berlin-Baghdad axis became the guiding thought of the Wilhelmstrasse Foreign Office.

Naturally, the interests of the two dictators clashed. Hitler, too, wanted to assure Austria and Hungary. He cast his nets also for Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Roumania. Against Czechoslovakia he carried on a campaign of diplomatic frightfulness. Imaginative writers already saw his planes roaring over the Czech capital, Prague, reducing it to shambles.

Three years ago last Summer the Nazis assassinated Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss of Austria, and Mussolini thrust out his fist. Italian army divisions were on their way to the Brenner Pass on the Austro-Italian frontier from which on clear days one can peer into Germany. Were the dynamic policies of the two dictators to end in a head-on collision?

Today the strong men of Germany and Italy put their affection on public display. They are carrying on the crusade of "virile" fascism against "effeminate" democracy, which they denounce as the pacemaker of communism. They extol war, and when Mussolini calls upon Hitler they attend the army maneuvres, inspect the formidable arms plants of the Krupps in Essen, and talk of peace. But their talk has a ring of threat, and the western democracies have no illusions as to what they mean. The two fascist countries represent themselves as the alliance of the "have-nots," and their arms are thrust against the "haves." The champions of anti-communism believe in a kind of international bolshevism, to equalize the possessions of the poor and rich.

In spite of their vociferations, the stock of the two dictators in the Danube valley is low, and the reasons are not far to seek. These countries are enjoying a spell of economic prosperity, and fascism is a by-product of national bankruptcy. Besides, the two dictators have weakened their positions through the cut-throat competition of their pre-amity days. Nor does high-pressure nationalism seem to lend itself to international cooperation. More important still, the Danube countries see the fascist nations on the road to ruin by carrying on an undeclared war against the economically superior democracies of the world. They know that Italy and Germany have already exhausted themselves in the armament race, while Great Britain is in the pink of condition.

### *New Trends in Austria*

Leaving out Czechoslovakia, which is the only Danube country that has remained true to democracy, our attention is arrested by recent events in Austria, one of the former pillars of the Fascist International. Addressing the new Storm Corps of the Fatherland Front in July Chancellor Schuschnigg sounded the keynote of "the organized will of the people." This statement contrasted dramatically with his previous utterances extolling the idea of the authoritarian State, omnipotent and omniscient. Vienna has not followed the examples of Berlin and Rome in breaking off relations with the Madrid-Valencia Government and recognizing the Burgos-Salamanca regime. In Austria's government-controlled press, Rebel General Franco is not glorified as the defender of Western culture fighting the "red bandits." Vienna has maintained friendly relations with Moscow.

During four anxious years Austria feared being conquered by Nazi Germans and Mussolini was her guardian angel. This necessitated his expenditure of large sums for the local Fascist Home Defense, "Heimwehren." When Mussolini gave orders that Socialism in Austria must be liquidated, his word was obeyed in February 1934, even though the operation cost the lives of an undisclosed number of men, women, and children—probably running into the thousands. Today Il Duce no longer finances the Home Guards, and when he passed through Aus-

tria the other day, on his way to Munich, every inch of the road had to be closely watched, and he had to travel in an armored car, with curtains tightly drawn. Italy has become so unpopular in Austria that it is next to impossible to stage an Austro-Italian football match without courting serious trouble.

### *Hungary Looks to Democracy*

Hungary's turn to democracy is even more dramatic. Dr. Koloman Daranyi, the present Premier, is a liberal, the first one in eighteen years. He is at work now on a new electoral law, providing for universal secret ballot. Under the law now in force voting for parliament is open, except in a few cities. Daranyi is also trying to relieve the strain on the economic structure of the country, burdened by a poverty-stricken land proletariat. He is urged by Tibor Eckhardt, leader of the Farmers' Party, to enable the landless to acquire much-coveted soil.

Fascism has made great inroads into Hungary. It would be perhaps more correct to say that she was the first fascist country of Europe. After the precipitate departure of Bela Kun at the end of a short-lived Communist rule, the return to "law and order" took the form of a White Terror, which, fourteen years before Hitler, set up concentration camps, massacred liberals, Jews, socialists and communists, co-ordinated the press, the cinema, and education. It reduced parliament to impotence, set up an uncrowned King in the person of the Regent Governor, introduced secret military service, and inaugurated a system of autocracy based upon the bureaucracy and the small gentry, strengthened by a few "good Jew" bankers and the survivors of the landed aristocracy.

Mussolini took Hungary under his wings by making her the pivot of his group of disgusted states. He sent her Italian air-



***"THE GOOD OLD DAYS": This photo was taken when Roumania's fascist-nazi organization, the Iron Guard, was in full bloom. But King Carol II put his foot down on the group, forced it to disband. The Iron Guard now goes under the* nom-de-plume *of "All for Our Country."***

planes and ammunition, and became the spokesman of Hungarian irredenta. Then came Hitler, basing his claim on prior friendship with Magyar reaction dating back to the Munich beer hall putsch of 1923. Nazi organizations of the cross, double-cross, scythe-cross, reinforced by politico-religious sects of fanatics, began to mushroom in the country. Early in March, the Budapest Socialist daily, *Nepszava,* published a document allegedly issued by the Berlin A. O. *Auslandsorganization,* Nazi Party Foreign Office, containing instructions for a more intensive campaign in Hungary. Simultaneously, rumors began to spread in Budapest about an impending

Nazi putsch, and the matter was taken up in parliament. The Government had a few ring-leaders put under lock and key, thus admitting the existence of the plot. The German Minister in Budapest went on an unscheduled vacation and two Reich journalists hurriedly packed their trunks.

Since then Premier Daranyi has publicly stated that Hungary will resist the Nazi attempts to "co-ordinate" her. Early in September the Hungarian Minister to Bucharest served as an "unofficial observer" to the Little Entente conference in Sinaia. For the first time in the history of the Czech, Roumanian, Yugoslav alliance, their representatives returned home without issuing a warning to Hungary. Such incidents have given rise to the belief that Daranyi is seeking to establish the conditions of good-neighborly relations with the Little Entente. If he succeeds in carrying the day against die-hards in his own household, Hungary will have beaten a new path. Neither Italy nor Germany are in impregnable positions, so far as Budapest is concerned.

### *Church Issues in Yugoslavia*

In Yugoslavia, mass resistance against the semi-dictatorial rule of Premier Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch has assumed the form of a church controversy. Shortly before his tragic death three years ago, King Alexander started negotiations with the Vatican looking toward the conclusion of a Concordat. It is a well-known fact that his object was not so much solicitude for the Catholics as his desire to antagonize the Roman clergy and his own rebellious Croat subjects. It is also a well-known fact that the Croats are Catholics while the Serbians of the Yugoslav Kingdom are Greek-Orthodox. The Concordat granted such exclusive privileges to the Catholics as that the children of mixed marriages must be brought up in their faith.

Under ordinary circumstances, the Greek Orthodox would not have budged. While they are religious, the Serbians are not militantly so. Their capital, Belgrade, has long been known as the churchless town. But they were stirred to action when the Government submitted the Concordat for parliamentary ratification. The authorities themselves knew that the religious processions were camouflaged political demonstrations. The resentment of a traditionally democratic people against the perpetuation of a semi-autocratic regime found a new outlet, and the masses won. The Government decided not to submit the Concordat to the ratification of the Senate. What is more important, steps are being taken to recognize the legal status of the opposition parties, which would, no doubt, obtain a large majority in a free election.

The humor of the population has clearly been reflected in other manifestations, indicative of the trend in the Danube valley. When President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia called in April on Prince Regent Paul, the ovation he received was not only for himself but also for the head of a democratic State. At the same time, Italy and Germany were jeered. The more recent visit of Reich Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath gave occasion to a hostile demonstration against Nazi economic and political penetration. Two months later students and workmen demonstrated in front of the German tourist building of Belgrade. The Yugoslav masses object to being kept in bondage by so-called friends of the fascist creed.

### *Bulgaria and Roumania*

A word must be said also about Bulgaria and Roumania. For the last quarter of a century Bulgaria has been on the warpath against her eastern neighbor and for the last fourteen years she has wavered between fascism, semi-fascism and mildly democratic experiments. It was one of the funda-

mental tenets of Italian policy to keep the Bulgarians and Yugoslavs at loggerheads and to bar the way to democracy. Now the two countries are linked together by a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. While it is true that meanwhile Italy's attitude toward Yugoslavia has changed, so much friendship between the two Slav cousins may be considered too excessive in Rome.

King Boris III of Bulgaria plays a leading part and he is not, by nature, anti-democratic. He has probably been forced into this role in an effort to eliminate army officers from the political field, pacify turbulent Macedonia, and prevent out-and-out fascists from seizing full control. His motives are not, of course, always clear and by some he is looked upon as a self-seeking little Napoleon of the Balkans. More seasoned opinion, however, is willing to let him have the benefit of the doubt.

The easternmost Danubian country, where the river ends its fifteen hundred mile voyage from the Black Forest to the Black Sea, is the Kingdom of Roumania. There again the trends are contradictory. Roumania is almost torn to pieces by friends courting her favors. Germany has gone into this field on a large scale, financing newspapers, subsidizing a terroristic anti-Jewish organization, corrupting public officials, utilizing minorities and exchange students to propagandize the Nazi tenets. Italy is holding out the hope of trade advantages, such as were accorded to Austria and Hungary in the Rome Pacts. But France has more money and Czechoslovakia controls the vast Skoda arms factories and, besides, is a fellow-member of the Little Entente. Poland has sent her President and aggressive Foreign Minister to Bucharest, and Russia seems to be ready to abandon her claims to Bessarabia for the sake of friendship with Roumania.

King Carol II himself does not always seem to know what to do. He likes France and his lady-love is an ex-Jewess. But he also likes Hitler and envies the "dynamism" of the fascists. There was a time when he seemed to have gone over to the black and brown shirts bag and baggage, but more recently democracy appears to have regained its former lustre in his eyes. He put down his foot against the terroristic ex-Iron Guard, now known under the *nom-de-plume* of "All for Our Country." It was mainly against the members of this league that martial law was extended for another six months. The King forced his brother, Prince Nicholas, to resign from the throne, not so much because of his morganatic marriage, as because of his alleged membership in the Iron Guard. Quite recently, Roumania has decided to cover her arms supplies in Czechoslovakia, and at the autumn army maneuvers the French Chief of Staff was much in evidence.

In spite of impediments to peace, the countries of the Danube basin seem to be determined to live a saner life. It is obvious, of course, that no real progress can be made until the basic elements of the situation can be changed. It is absurd for these countries to set up separate households in a territory created by nature as a unit. Real prosperity and happiness cannot come to these parts of Europe until the ideal of the Danubian Confederation is realized.

# SOUTH AMERICAN GRAB-BAG

## *Italy, Germany, and Japan are making attempts to spread the fascist doctrine among our neighbors*

By WILBUR BURTON

*Specialist on South American Affairs*

ONE of the major aspects of the current South American scene is the campaign for economic and political penetration of the continent by the three great "outlaw" nations of the modern world—"outlaw" being used simply to connote imperialistic adventure in defiance of the treaties and other instruments of the post-World War status quo.

Ever since the first important overturn of the status quo applecart, by Japan's conquest of Manchuria in 1931, Germany, Japan and Italy—in the order named—have been exceedingly active in South America, although Germany did not begin operations until after the triumph of Hitler in 1933. So far, sufficient success has not been achieved by any of these powers to justify alarm in either South or North American quarters, but neither have developments been so negligible as not to warrant apprehension for the future. Germany in particular has made marked strides in Brazil, and the general South American trend toward fascism that I discussed in the last issue of *Current History* creates a condition for rapport beyond the ideological with Berlin and Rome.

Other nations besides the "outlaw" ones may be accused, of course, of efforts to penetrate South America. There has, for example, always been much French propaganda, but I think it may be said categorically that this is without any ulterior significance beyond trade, which by the very nature of French economy is bound to be rather limited. Otherwise, it represents nothing more than justifiable French pride in their culture and perhaps a not-so-commendable propagandist impulse always to present their viewpoint on everything to the world.

The position of England is somewhat different. British investments in some South American countries, notably Argentina, are far larger than those of any other foreign nation. And Argentina is also a very important source of grain and meat for England. Thus there is inevitably a very close economic tie-up between the two countries, but without any pronounced political implications. Perhaps, as is believed in some quarters, England played a hand in the last Pan-American conference in Buenos Aires, to prevent Argentina from entering into any agreement with the United States for an embargo on exports to warring countries. But even though encouraged by England, Argentina's attitude was clearly in self-interest: she would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by selling meat and grain to England, war or no war. Argentina has neither an appreciable navy nor merchant marine, and so England would have to keep open the lines of communication in order to obtain supplies. Consequently, Argentina would be taking no national risks; further, without the English market she would be without practically any market, for she could sell little of her chief exports to the United States.

The English position everywhere in




South America antedates the Monroe Doctrine, and due allowance must be made accordingly. And while that position necessarily mitigates against any complete Pan-American alliance under the leadership of the United States, I think it may be stated flatly and firmly that there is no fundamental conflict whatsoever between British and American interests in South America. Rather, today they have solid common ground for a united front against powers that would convert the South American states into a fascist hegemony and a dumping place for Japanese immigrants.

To the "have-not" powers, South America is inevitably very tempting. There are tremendous natural resources of virtually every kind, although no one country has a sufficient variety for a balanced, well developed national economy. Argentina, for example, is overwhelmingly agricultural with extremely limited mineral resources. Brazil, best endowed of all—including iron deposits exceeding those of the United States—lacks both the coal essential for a steel industry, and oil. Everywhere, indeed, economic nationalism except in a limited degree is precluded; instead, nature seems to have designed the South American lands for imperialistic exploitation. Further, there is room for almost unlimited immigration, but settlement in most areas—especially the huge equatorial ones—can be successful only when carried on with careful and coordinated social planning; tropical nature cannot be mastered by isolated homesteaders.

Despite the temptations of South America, its geographical location must make it secondary in the imperialistic

dreams of European and Asiatic "have-not" powers. At the same time, when any of these powers is unable to expand in accordance with primary ambitions nearer home, it has added incentive to turn to South America. This probably explains why Italian activities are least and German greatest; Italy has been preoccupied with Ethiopia while Germany so far has found no European or African satisfaction for her colonial urge. At the same time, Spanish events have doubtless handicapped both Italy and Germany elsewhere.

### *Italian Penetration*

Italy is in some ways in the best position to expand in South America, for Italian immigrants—mostly with continuing ties to the homeland—are a large element in every country of the continent. In Argentina, 35 per cent of the population is of Italian origin; in Uruguay 30 per cent; and in Brazil 35 per cent. In fact, while Brazil is primarily Portuguese in culture, Italian immigration to the country since 1820 has been five per cent greater than Portuguese immigration; and consequently, under the present law limiting immigration to a percentage of the settlement of various nationals over a period of time, the Italian quota is about 27,500 a year while the Portuguese quota is 23,000.

Anyone familiar with the ways of dictatorships can readily realize how immigrants may be organized and employed as overseas colonies. The stronger the ties, family or business, with the homeland, the greater the hold of the dictator, even though he is 10,000 miles away. A cousin in Milan or Hamburg may suffer for an act of commission or omission on the other side of the world, or a job or business will be lost for political nonconformity. And, human nature being what it is, most persons under such conditions tend to conform—often enthusiastically—without being conscious of actual or potential pressure.

Thus vast numbers of the Italians in South America, particularly those born in Italy or no more than one generation removed, constitute 100 per cent pro-Mussolini overseas colonies, and an appreciable part of the fascist trend on the continent is due to this fact. Otherwise, however, there is no great amount of Italian activity. I did find considerable Italian propaganda in Uruguay and Argentina, with some Spanish newspapers subsidized by Rome, and there was a curious incident in Montevideo last Christmas when the Italian Legation gave bags of delicacies to anyone calling for them. Also there are, or have been, a number of Italian missions in South America, one of which is now training the Peruvian police.

### *German Claims*

Germany has no large overseas colonies to depend upon in South American intrigue. In Chile alone there are more Germans than Italians, but no large number of either. In Brazil, where the German foray is most intense, about 3.5 per cent of the immigration since 1820 has been from Germany, which means probably about 100,000 Germans in a population of some 10,000,000. The bulk of them, however, are strategically concentrated in the state of Santa Catherina, and one of the reasons for Brazil declaring war against Germany in 1917 was to forestall an anticipated Teutonic uprising there on behalf of Potsdam.

Many of the Brazilian Germans who were pro-Kaiser are very definitely not pro-Hitler; but save for those who have no appreciable ties with Germany, they have been largely whipped into line by the Nazi Party in Brazil. This was organized by a Herr von Cossel, who last May attended the Nazi Congress in Germany and publicly proclaimed that "Germany and Brazil are culturally and economically complementary." This caused a vigorous

protest in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies against Nazi "infiltration and penetration" by Senhor Cafe, Jr., who declared that "Germany was more and more dominating the culture and commerce of Brazil."

When Herr von Cossel returned to Rio de Janeiro, it was not only as leader of the Brazilian Nazis, but as "cultural attache" of the German Embassy. German schools have now been Nazified, and in some Brazilian state schools of Santa Catherina the German language is used more than Portuguese, while the children are taught to "Heil Hitler" instead of "*Viva O Brasil.*" Many German propagandists, in the guises of tourist agents and journalists, have been sent to Brazil, and in Rio I witnessed the incredible spectacle of the Jewish president of the Brazilian Press Association publicly welcoming a Nazi "journalistic" delegation.

Germany has also effected a close politico-economic tie-up with Brazil through the compensated mark, although when the present arrangement expires at the end of this year, there will presumably be some mitigation of this situation in consequence of the negotiations of the Brazilian Finance Minister, Souza Costa, in Washington last summer. The compensated mark is a complicated flight of Hitlerian economic fantasy whereby German and Brazilian goods are exchanged on a politically fixed basis of valuation, with the result on one hand that German imports into Brazil have from a 20 to 50 per cent price advantage over imports from any other country, while on the other Germany can obtain certain Brazilian raw materials cheaper than she could elsewhere.

Both American and British imports have declined enormously through this arrangement; and in further consequence, Germany has been buying more cotton from Brazil than she has from the United States. In imports into Brazil, for example, Germany formerly was fourth with the United States first; since the beginning of 1936, Germany has been first and the U.S.A. second. At the same time, we have continued to be by far the best customer for Brazilian exports.

Indicative of Nazi tactics is an incident I learned about in San Paulo. A certain Brazilian engineering executive was preparing to make a trip to the United States to inspect plants there, and after this was announced in the press, an official of the German Consulate-General called on him with the offer of a free trip to Germany if he would abandon his plan of going to the United States. In this case, at least, the German offer was rejected.

### *Brazilians Copy the Nazis*

In a previous article discussing dictatorship in South America, I pointed out that the *Action Integralista Brasileira* was not only the strongest organized fascist movement on the continent, but was modeled after the Nazi Party. Whether there is any direct connection between these facts and the German penetration of Brazil—as many Brazilian anti-fascists believe and fear,—I cannot say. Evidence is not available. But with or without an organic relation, they both tend to the same end. The Integralistas—who sport green shirts (from the green in the Brazilian flag) and not only wear the Greek letter *sigma* (in its higher mathematical meaning of "totality") on their sleeves but plaster it on all the streets and houses of Brazilian cities—have copied their Berlin mentors in all details, with the addition of castor oil from Rome. They have a misty creed of the "totalitarian state" with "the spiritual over the moral, the moral over the social, the social over the national, and the national over the individual," and the past year has been marked by beating up opponents on the streets and dosing allegedly backsliding comrades with castor oil.

Further, the policy of the Vargas dictatorship has played into the hands of both

the Integralistas and the German-Italian-Japanese propagandists for an international front against communism. Successive official statements have been issued about the "communist menace" to Brazil, and a widespread Red scare thereby worked up—without any substantial basis in fact.

Although the Integralistas were ostensibly opposing the government of President Vargas, he gave a warm public reception to a delegation of them last June, which naturally created much speculation, and the significance (if any) of the move has not been revealed as this is written.

Germany is also active, but not so pronouncedly, in other South American countries. In Bolivia, however, the present army ruling clique (as this is written) is largely surrounded by German advisers. The Chilean army is being trained by a German mission, and there was formerly a German military mission in Peru, but the one now engaged in training the army there is French.

### What About Japan?

Japan has long been seeking an outlet for both industrial products and immigrants in South America, and for about three years greatly intensified her activities toward these ends. There was almost a never-ending procession of Japanese good-will missions to various South American countries, and impressive percentage strides were made in trade. Also, there was a new tactic of international diplomacy by publication in Tokyo of a magazine called *Asia-America* that was ostensibly sponsored by various Central and South American consular officials in Tokyo. The editor was Dr. Carlos Rodriguez Jiminez, Consul-General for Venezuela. Editorially, the magazine gave tacit recognition to Japan's pretensions in both Manchuria and China, although only El Salvador had officially recognized Manchukuo. Articles in Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and English boosted Japanese-Latin American trade and cultural relations.

In 1935, there were 9,611 Japanese immigrants to Brazil, which was not only 6,762 in excess of the legal quota but the largest number of immigrants from any country during the year. However, much opposition developed to this both because of the obvious difficulty of assimilating so alien a people as the Japanese and their tendency to settle in colonies. In one case, a group of native Brazilians in an area largely populated by Japanese solemnly—with tongue in cheek—petitioned Rio to send them a Brazilian consul. Since then Japan has been kept within her quota of immigrants, but many powerful vested interests have been trying to have the immigration bars lowered for admission of larger numbers of cheap agricultural laborers—which would mean mostly, if not entirely, Japanese.

There are now about 500,000 Japanese in Brazil, which is more than in any other country of the world outside Japan, excepting Tokyo-dominated Manchukuo. Two Brazilian scholarships have been established in Japan. And five new ships, of from 13,000 to 19,000 tons each, are scheduled to be added to the Rio-Tokyo run (via both South Africa and Panama) next year.

Japan has also been very active in Peru and has an overseas colony there of about 50,000. Among Japan's Peruvian enterprises is a large concession for growing coca leaves—to supply Chinese with cocaine.

Japan has made no headway whatsoever in Uruguay and Argentina, but she has a small colony in Paraguay and is seeking further immigration outlet there. Generally, Japan's South American campaign has declined during the past year—probably because of increased empire-building efforts in the Far East.

# TWENTIETH-CENTURY PIRACY

## *The record of the Great Powers in Spain as seen from the Spanish point of view*

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

*New York Times and London Times Correspondent in Spain*

BRITISH foreign policy since the beginning of the conflict in Spain which has been threatening to upset the applecart of European peace, has been an enigma to the world and to the British themselves. In London one hears the most cocksure expositions thereof on the part of persons whose business it is to know. But the trouble is that their diagnoses are as contradictory of each other as British foreign policy has been contradictory of itself. One sometimes suspects that the only persons in on the secret of British Foreign policy are Hitler and Mussolini. Striking at Great Britain, they have thrust their rapiers home at vital spots, and some sincere friends of England are beginning to ask whether she is not showing signs of partial paralysis. A distinguished British writer has called her attitude "masterly inactivity."

Until, in September, she took a seemingly firm stand on the question of piracy, England appeared to be letting the mastery of the Mediterranean go by default into the hands of her pre-World War rivals thereto, Italy and Germany. It was the attempt to maintain a Mediterranean equilibrium, and by that fact the equilibrium of Europe, which led to ententes and alliances, which in turn had issue in the World War. The deciding weight in this equilibrium was the neutrality of Spain. But now Italy and Germany have again combined to challenge that equilibrium, joining hands with Spanish fascist-imperialists who have as one of their dreams the annulling of Spanish neutrality, and who only poorly conceal their hostility toward England. Yet the world has beheld the spectacle of England—and of a less willing France hanging on to England's coat-tails—collaborating with these two European powers, taking hit after hit, giving ground and coming back for more. Indeed, Italy and Germany, jointly or severally, are planted at Majorca, Malaga and on both banks of the Straits of Gibraltar, thereby menacing the British direct routes to the East and the French highway to Morocco. They have also gained a foothold on the African Atlantic coast, on the Canary Islands, at Ifni and Rio de Oro, and on the Bissagos Islands belonging to Portugal. Italy and the rebel *cabecillo*, Franco, moreover, by their campaign of piracy challenging the right of nations freely to send their ships on the Mediterranean, together would seem to have gained by default one of the causes over which millions fought and died during the World War—the mastery of the Mediterranean. To this they have joined potential domination of England's and France's alternate sea routes to the East around Africa.

In September, at the time of the Nyon conference, it appeared that England and France were getting fed up, were calling a halt, were proclaiming their own mastery of the middle sea. They were to drive out pirate submarines, destroyers, and other warcraft, be their nationality what they might, from the broad highways of the Mediterranean, and they agreed to scrap sea control of the Spanish coast, which had

only served as an instrument in Italian and German hands to further their designs. Italy, if she chose, might patrol the Tyrrhenian sea, roughly bounded by the Italian coast, and the Italian islands of Sicily and Sardinia. There Italian submarines might sink Italian shipping to their hearts' content, and other Italian men-of-war might, if they saw fit, sink the Italian submarines which had sunk the Italian merchantmen. The plan was a rare stroke of irony.

But scarcely had the agreement been made, and scarcely had this new mastery of the Mediterranean been proclaimed, than the world heard that Italy—whose men of war have too frequently been identified in acts of piracy to admit of doubt—was asking for parity—nay, was being invited to accept parity—in the control of piracy. Was Italy, coached perhaps by Hitler, striking once more at a vital spot, thus advancing the process of paralyzing the victim? Was the Mediterranean league against piracy now going to take the pirate to its bosom? Was Mussolini out-matching the irony of Eden?

These are questions which, as this article is written, yet remain for the morrow to answer.

### *Looking at the Record*

Before proceeding to a consideration of British policy, let us look at the record since the Spanish civil war began:

> It is too easily forgotten that on the 28th of July, 1936, four Caproni aeroplanes staffed with officers and non-commissioned officers of the Italian army had the bad luck to land or to be wrecked on the wrong side of the border between Algeria and Spanish Morocco. Mr. Peyrouton, the high commissioner in Rabat, personally cross-examined those men whose names and military ranks were indicated in papers found on board. They all declared that they had been recruited from various units of the Italian air forces at the beginning of July and had received their final instructions on the 15th, that is three days before the outbreak of the counter-revolution. As early as March or April in the same year, the French Ambassador in Berlin had informed his government that General Sanjurjo, who would have been the leader of the rebellion but for the accident which cost him his life, had reported himself there and had been welcomed in official quarters.

The foregoing recites facts perfectly well known to any student of the Spanish situation, but I have preferred to quote them from an article written by "Pertinax" in the August number of the *Fortnightly*, of London, because "Pertinax" is the diplomatic correspondent of *L'Echo de Paris*, for many years the most solid and stolid Catholic daily newspaper of Paris, and he cannot well be accused of partiality in favor of the Spanish Government which the Catholic press in general opposes. The situation when non-intervention was proposed, therefore, was that Italy and Germany were already putting into effect a conspiracy to upset the Mediterranean order and, as "Pertinax" further comments, it was an error of France and England that they should fail to prevent that, "under the pretext of the fight against communism, Italy and Germany should disturb in the slightest way the Mediterranean order or infringe upon the existing international treaties."

Had England and France taken some such action as blockading the Spanish coast against the illegal shipment of arms and foreign troops, they could well have nipped the whole conspiracy in the bud, might have averted the necessity of a huge naval building race (especially in the case of England), would almost of a certainty have "crimped" the schemes of two countries which, to put the case mildly, had only contempt for such notions as "playing the game." The non-intervention committee was set up in the hope of "localizing" the



Pictures

*AID FOR BILBAO: Three British cargo boats and a destroyer wait at St. Jean de Luz with supplies for besieged loyalists. The British Government, after warning ships not to attempt to make Bilbao, finally backed down under pressure and granted naval protection on the high seas to ships carrying legitimate cargoes.*

war, and in the meantime Italy and Germany were pouring troops and arms into Spain, adding fuel to the flames of a conflagration which, through their actions, threatened to spread over Europe.

These two countries contended that their course was forced upon them by the action of Russia in sending great numbers of men and huge quantities of munitions to Spain. This writer has already noted in these articles and elsewhere the indifference with which Russia in the beginning regarded the Spanish conflict, and the fact that during the first two months of it the so-called Spanish "reds" were bitter in their recriminations of Russia for failing to help them. Nor must it be forgotten that Russia joined in the non-intervention plan, and kept to her bargain until, after two months, her representative in the London committee openly stated that Russia would not feel longer bound so long as other parties to the contract were flouting it. Only after this open and honest statement did Russia send some limited munitions, airplanes, and men to Spain. Inasmuch as this supposed Russian "conspiracy" is being made use of by a certain sadly misinformed sectarian press, let Pertinax, of the Catholic *L'Echo de Paris* be quoted again:

It is absurd to assign to Soviet Russia a decisive part in the sequence of events. During the whole month of August, last year. Stalin remained indifferent to the fate of the Spanish Communists, outnumbered by Anarchists, Trotzkyists, Socialists and Syndicalists of all descriptions. When he was stirred out of his passivity and forwarded the airplanes and tanks which probably saved Madrid last November, his motive was not so much to help in the creation of a Soviet in Spain --he is intelligent enough not to have dreamed of it—as to maintain the Third International, the weapon he wants to have in hand against Germany. . . . We have played to the end with cheaters the game of non-intervention. We have complacently witnessed the arrival in the peninsula of an expeditionary force of some 70,000 Italians and about 13,000 Germans (later on reduced to 7,000 or 8,000), and we have found whatever justification of our conduct we could in the presence, on the side of Valencia, of an international brigade of 25,000 or 30,-000 which has now shrunk to 6,000 or 7,000.

The same writer finds the entire Russian man power in Spain to consist of about 2,000 engineers, mechanics and airmen. This corresponds with my own observation. I have never seen a Russian common soldier or infantry officer in Spain. In the face of all the evidence of German and Italian aid

to the rebels, in the face of warnings of what was occurring contained in notes of the Spanish government, France and England dallied. In the meantime, on January 2, there was concluded between England and Italy a "gentleman's agreement" to preserve the status quo in the Mediterranean which Italy promptly broke by sending more men and material to the Franco side.

Last February, apparently after Italy and Germany judged they had enough men and arms in Spain, the agreement to stop volunteers, first proposed in December, was finally accepted by those two countries. Almost immediately afterward Italy was caught red-handed sending some 20,000 additional troops to Ceuta and Cadiz, but the British end of the non-intervention committee apparently accepted its explanation that these constituted medical units.

### *Sea Control*

The next step in control was the "sea control" which went into effect in late April. As in the former case it was only accepted after delay, and after Italy and Germany judged that they poured into rebel territory a sufficiently large additional number of men and supplies to insure a swift rebel victory. How the Italian and German naval units used the sea control as a pretext for cooperating with the rebels along those parts of the Spanish Mediterranean coast assigned to their vigilance, is now part of the Spanish Civil war history. The bombing of the German battleship *Deutschland* by Spanish government planes after the Government had been warned in a telegram from the German admiral that its planes would be fired upon without warning, found issue in the systematic shelling of the defenseless Almeria by a German naval squadron. The same German admiral has now admitted that his anti-aircraft guns were all set to fire upon government planes as soon as they hove in sight. It has seemed to this writer that in all the discussion about the bombing of the *Deutschland* the vital point had been overlooked. The fact was that Germany was making war on the Spanish Republic, and that German men of war, including the *Deutschland*—which moreover had no right under the sea-control plan to be where it was, at Ibiza—were at enemy bases in the furtherance of that war. So far as Spain was concerned, Germany was putting itself beyond the pale of international law. Yet having done so, it appealed to that same international law which it flouted when its battleship was bombed.

Notwithstanding the sea control in which Italy and Germany had assignments which enabled them to favor their own particular games, the expected swift annihilation of the Spanish governmental forces did not occur. Then came the supposed submarine attack on the *Leipzig*, which has all the earmarks of a purely trumped up charge, and other supposed attacks on Italian and German men-of-war. This served to break up the sea control which the Fascist Powers no longer found useful, in spite of certain advantages which it offered to them.

Finally came the piracy campaign on the Mediterranean, in which Italian destroyers have been identified, and Italian submarines repeatedly sighted under circumstances which make their culpability eminently probable—indeed Russia categorically charged in her note to Italy that she had proof of Italian submarine piracy.

### *The Spanish View*

Let us now turn to the more immediate Spanish scene and get a closeup of the Spanish view on this question.

It was the "Negus," school teacher, Socialist "militant" of pre-civil war days, and more recently soldier, who was speaking to me.

They called him the Negus because of the cut of his beard and a certain ascetic

cast of countenance which combined to give him the appearance of a famous leader of a lost cause whose name he now bore. It was during an heroic defense of Toledo bridge in a moment when it seemed lost, that he received his wounds which after nine months did not yet seem willing to heal.

Here in his small chalet high in the Pyrenees he was trying to recuperate. In this solitude and calm one would never have thought that there was war in the land. The only echo of it was indirect—the laughter and chatter of boys and girls in a mountain lodge across a ravine. In the battered houses and streets of Madrid they had lived like the terrified acolytes of Death. They had forgotten to laugh then. Brought from Madrid they were now restored to their birthright of laughter and play. A slight and attractive Catalan young woman imposed her gentle rule on them and was obeyed.

The "Negus" was speaking:

"Spain is fighting the war of France and England against her traditional enemies in the Mediterranean. When will they begin to see this? Spain, to whom arms and munitions are denied, is not only fighting an internal enemy, but single handed is fighting two other nations—Italy and Germany. Yet England and France. . . ." He made a despairing gesture.

"England doesn't understand Spaniards —*Que lastima!* (What a pity!) She doesn't see that if she and France had Spain as a friend they would absolutely dominate the Mediterranean. They say England is afraid of communism. Well, I who have long been a militant Socialist can tell you it will never come to Spain. At the most there would be a federation of Republics of socialistic tendencies. They say, too, that the British bankers are behind the attitude of their government, that they are secretly lending money to Franco in return for guarantees, and that if Franco loses and the Government wins they will expect the Government to make those guarantees good just the same. Is it that England supposes whichever side wins the British financiers think we will have to come to them? But we see what is going on, we Spaniards. There is a great deal of the Arab in us— we are great observers. Well, perhaps we will lose our patience some day and teach all the world a lesson. Perhaps some day we will throw all of the foreigners out of the country—all of them."

What the "Negus" had said may be taken as a cross-section of Spanish opinion on this subject.

Of the diverse views one hears in London about the attitude of the Foreign Office, one is that the Foreign Minister is in the hands of his permanent officials whose views exercise a dominant role in shaping its policy. "Sir Robert Vansittart, the permanent under secretary, and Sir Maurice Hankey, also of the permanent staff, never believed in the League and set out to sabotage it," one is told. Similarly, one hears, "their class prejudices and their obsession of the Communist bogey have made them at heart favor Franco and to stretch every point in his interests." However that may be, one thing is plain, namely, that the undercurrent of sentiment in favor of Franco has been strong in certain quarters of the Foreign Office. It hardly seems fair to say the same of Mr. Eden, whatever criticism may be made of his policy. Certainly such anti-Franco sentiment as may exist has not been helped by the openly expressed prejudices of some of the Foreign Office's official informants in Republican Spain. The communist bogey seems likewise to have influenced the older and more conservative members of the government, blinding them to Britain's own interests. Some of them are represented as believing that the danger from Italians and Germans planted in Spain is more apparent than real. "The Spaniard has always driven out the foreigner and the

same will happen again, whichever side wins," we are told. This is a current myth which does not square with history. And even if it did, the conditions of warfare in those days and this are quite different. By what stretch of the imagination can it be assumed that Spanish arms will be able to drive out the power of Italy and of Germany should they draw on all their resources to keep themselves planted there? Foreign arms or foreign pressure would be required to do it. That would be Spanish history repeated. Foreign arms, not Spanish, have always driven out the invader. The last time it was Wellington who drove out Napoleon.

Whatever may have been the factors to account for the strange peregrinations of the Foreign Office on the Spanish situation, it may be reported that the current has definitely set in against Franco. The fact that the Foreign Office which, when Parliament adjourned, was openly accused of designs to recognize the belligerency of Franco over the heads of Parliament during the vacation period, suddenly seemed to forget about any such plan, was of the highest significance. No doubt it was also influenced by the Quai d' Orsay, which has a way of seeing more clearly in such matters than Downing Street. Other factors certainly contributed: the threatening and blustering of Franco; Italy's throwing off of her mask in boasting that ten Italian Generals took Santander; the Mediterranean piracy. The latest contribution by Franco is his threat against French consuls in retaliation for the arrest of one of his chief spies in France, Major Julian Troncoso, who openly boasted about his lawlessness on French soil in attempting to kidnap a Spanish government submarine from a French port. A self-styled head of state who resorts to a form of blackmail in order to obtain license for lawless activities in a neighboring state, of a surety has weird ideas of the comity observed among nations by which he aspires to be recognized.

However, notwithstanding the earlier adverse Foreign Office attitude which has been noted, an examination of the evidence would not substantiate a charge of out-and-out British governmental hostility toward Republican Spain. If for a time it showed a complacent attitude in the face of insurgent attacks upon British commerce, if it almost stopped the supply of food to starving and fighting Bilbao, if it joined France and other countries in denying to the Republic the right to buy arms in its own defense, it has, on the other hand, afforded the usual facilities to British ships carrying supplies to government ports on the Mediterranean, has continued her recognition of the government as the legitimate regime, has refused belligerency to the insurgents, and finally has taken the stand against Mediterranean piracy noted in the beginning of this article.

Some say the British Government has been merely looking on, waiting for both sides to wear themselves out. Indeed most commentators seem to agree that such has been part of British policy. That seems a very heartless attitude. But European international politics are like that. It is a cold blooded and calculating business with not a scrap of humane sentiment behind it. Professions of humanitarianism are a mask. He who fails to understand that, at the outset, will never see European international politics in their proper perspective. It is a chess game in which the players consider nothing excepting the moves that will favor their own particular calculations. Sometimes they think they have figured out a sequence of moves which inevitably must lead to determined results. Then something happens to wreck their most carefully laid plans.

# LEARNING'S NEVER TOO LATE

## *The Federal Adult Education Project has been a boon to thousands of Americans*


By NED H. DEARBORN

*Dean of Division of General Education, New York University*


OUR latest economic debacle gave us, *mirabile dictu,* a few results for which we should be eternally grateful. One of them is a national consciousness of the possibilities and power of adult learning. The Federal relief program included, among its made-work projects, adult education and emphasized a type of program new to this country.

Public adult education used to center around the reduction of illiteracy, citizenship training or Americanization work, night school study, extension activities in agriculture and home economics, and parent education. The new type of adult education is for all. It is mass education for that part of the population past high school age. America could afford it in her years of worst economic depression. Will she feel able to afford it in more favorable economic times? Let us hope so.

The programs of study in our colleges and universities are regarded by some as a part of adult education. They provide learning opportunities for approximately one million people. Then, too, there are literally thousands of private schools throughout the United States for adults. In New York City alone there are nearly two thousand. Some are supported by private philanthropy, some by religious organizations, some by political groups, some by industry, some by organized labor, some by social service agencies, and others, privately, for commercial gain. They range all the way from scholarly study of social problems to the profundities of charm schools. The methods include correspondence study, lectures, group discussion, studio practice, library reading, "laboratory" procedures, directed home reading, and consultation.

Other agencies providing opportunities for adult learning are museums, art galleries, libraries, the public forum, the pulpit, the press, the motion pictures, and the radio. A few of these agencies offer programs of systematic study, but for the most part they are the agencies of unorganized education. Some of them are propagandistic rather than educational in a true sense. Many of them rival the schools in the extent of their influence, but the character of that influence may be called into question. Notable in this group are the motion pictures and the radio, each being a powerful instrument of true education if properly utilized. The profit-motive in each case at present is allowed to stand in the way of their maximum educational usefulness.

The distinguishing characteristics of the new, general, and informal type of adult education are their catholicity, universality, and adaptability. Adult education is for adults of any age, scholastic achievement, or interest level. It embraces study ranging from the development of simple manual skills to that of abstruse and abstract thought. It not only selects content suitable for the adult learner but also employs a system of instruction that attracts and holds the student to the point of effective learning.

Adult education can be classified roughly

under seven main headings. First, it provides the means for solution of many and varied *personal adjustment* problems. As examples the following may be cited—the family and family budget, marketing for the kitchen, buying clothing for the children, physical health, community hygiene, personal hygiene, neighborhood relationships, religion and civic responsibilities. Systematic study individually or in groups usually provides the solutions for this class of problems.

Second, it provides for the solution of *occupational adjustment* problems within the limits of our economic structure. These are often personal problems but, due to their basic importance to society as a whole, they may be considered in a separate classification. Occupational adjustment includes education for occupational usefulness, training for new occupations, re-education to meet the changes in rapidly developing industrial technologies, occupational guidance, and knowledge of placement methods and agencies.

Third, it provides for the discussion and study of *contemporary affairs*. Modern means of communication with the press, motion pictures, and radio as outlets bring us into daily contact with the whole civilized world. As a result, the masses of our people are alive to a large number and a great diversity of the social problems of the day. These problems are chiefly economic and governmental and because they loom so important in everyday life they merit a classification by themselves.

Fourth, it provides for *intellectual satisfactions*. Some American adults have individual interests in intellectual pursuits. This is learning for the sake of knowledge. The range is limitless. It includes philology and astronomy, epistemology and modern American verse, archeology and modern foreign languages, science and religion, ancient Chinese culture and suspension bridges. The boundaries of purely intellectual study are the boundaries of human knowledge. There are none.

Fifth, it provides *appreciational study in the fine arts*. Oil and water-color painting, sculpture, etching, vocal and instrumental music, and literature probably head the list from the standpoint of popular interest. Travel, reading, and the radio whet our appetites for more and better understanding of one or more of the fine arts. We want to enjoy. To enjoy is to appreciate and that in turn is aided by understanding.

Sixth, it provides opportunities for *creative expression in the fine and applied arts*. Who hasn't believed himself capable of some creative capacity? We yearn to write a novel, poem, short story, magazine article, motion picture scenario, drama or radio script. So we take a course. We try musical composition aiming for a symphony, scherzo, or ballad. We study harmony and counterpoint. We have a flair for design. It is applicable to copper, silver, and brass; to automobiles, airplanes, ships, and trains; to textiles, leather, and paper; to steel, iron, and aluminum. There is no end. We crave some direction in creative work not necessarily that we may become professional artists but merely perhaps to satisfy the creative impulses within us for personal satisfactions.

Lastly, it provides for *recreation*. This term is not limited to participation in or observation of sports and games. It means all of those spare-time activities that recreate, restore, and retain our enthusiasms, interests, and, in general, our mental, physical, and spiritual health. Recreation may then easily find its setting in any one of the preceding classifications. Under any circumstances and in any form it can be educational and hence merits a place as an integral part of adult education.

These seven types of learning are all found in the new adult education but not in equal proportions. Reports of experience indicate three main groups of adult



*PURSUIT OF LEARNING: The old adage that "it's never too late to learn" is clearly exemplified by these foreign-born students at work in a Brooklyn, N. Y., classroom.*

learners. By far the largest is the group which seeks "useful" study. This means increasing one's usefulness in an occupation or in preparing for one; usefulness in home, community, civic, or church life; and usefulness in the realization of long cherished ambitions. The next largest group is composed of those who seek recreational activities of an educational character. Such activities may be intellectual, artistic, or physical. The third group is made up of those who possess primarily a set of cultural interests. This group runs at present a poor third in adult education.

The cause of this situation is not difficult to detect. America is a relatively young industrial nation. She has been growing rapidly and, like any healthy youngster, is more concerned about her physical well-being than anything else. Plenty of natural resources, industrially and commercially successful, and a major world power overnight—these and other similar facts tell the tale. It is much like choosing a boy of thirty for a university presidency. He isn't quite ready for it. America isn't quite ready for the intangible values of life. She still wants to get ahead—more, larger, better, faster, longer. More cooperative living, larger appropriations for scientific research, better conditions for workers, faster progress in the arts, longer periods of peace in the family of nations—matters of this kind step aside for magnitude, speed, and power.

America is a Christian nation, yet the ethics of the Christian religion are accepted only by ear on a Sunday morning. Applied to the *practical* affairs of week-days, this body of ethics is regarded as subversive, radical, alien, dangerous, unpatriotic doctrine. Any doubts regarding this will be dispelled by applying the Ten Commandments alone to the prevailing practices of government, business, medicine, law, education, and religion itself. It helps not a bit to remember the conditions of America in comparison to those of other leading countries. The point will be conceded without a murmur. It remains for us to compare the America of today with the America that could be. The true measure of immorality is the gap between what we actually do and what we can do. Education of the right kind is capable of reducing our national as well as our individual immorality.

It is necessary to understand the prevailing philosophy of our people to understand



*ART-CONSCIOUS AMERICA: The fine arts (practiced here without benefit of easel) are as enthusiastically studied by adults as many of the more mundane and practical subjects.*

the status of adult education. We are short on cultural interests, the spiritual aspects of life, if you please. There is some evidence of gain in the cultural life of America, but the burden on education for improvement in this direction is a heavy one.

There has been no Grundtvig to sound the clarion call for action in American adult education. The circumstances of the times gave his appeal for a new Danish nationalism a peculiar power. America has no such appeal and wants no such nationalism. Grundtvig founded his adult education program for nationalism on a study of the classics and mythology. America has no interests or legendary background similar to those of Denmark. Grundtvig was appealing to a people economically desperate, politically weak and fearful, and spiritually at low ebb. In comparison, America is at the opposite pole. Denmark was a small country with few industries, and with a small homogeneous population. America is vast, in comparison, with marked sectional differences in climate, natural wealth and customs; vast in industrial life with a variety of occupations baffling even to the census taker, and complex beyond ordinary comprehension in its world-wide commercial ramifications; and vast in population with nationality and racial groups large in numbers and exceedingly diverse in interests.

We need an American Grundtvig. The problem of adult education is far from a satisfactory solution. Many minds, many plans, and many years are needed. Perhaps the modern America requires a composite Grundtvig, a fusion of forces that will give direction to adult education. At any rate we are making progress even under many unfavorable conditions. Adult education is a legitimate part of current history. As a supplement to some of the things we do in American schools and colleges and as a counteragent to some other things we do, adult education stands in clear perspective as a new hope for democracy.

# FASCISM COMES TO QUEBEC

## *But it is as yet at an immature stage and is based on parliamentary action*

By DAVID MARTIN

*Canadian Free-Lance Writer*

THE revival of French-Canadian nationalism—this time conditioned by distinctly fascist tendencies—must today be considered as a major factor influencing the course of Canadian politics. There were those who were wont until recently to minimize the seriousness of the movement and to point to the fate of similar movements in the past—that of Honoré Mercier at the turn of the century and of the subsequent one headed by Bourassa. But today no one scoffs. The movement is too widespread, too deep-rooted. True, it is only a small section of it that is definitely separatist and anti-British. But from the pro-French-Canadian sentiment which today characterizes almost the entire political movement in Quebec to the anti-British sentiment of its most rabid wing is not a very long step. That is why the English-speaking population of Canada is today genuinely alarmed.

### *The Social Background*

The simplicity and charm of French-Canadian life, and the Latin vitality and good nature of the French-Canadian people have long been idyllized by visitors to Quebec. So it is that the native vivaciousness and cheerfulness of the French-Canadian people can hide the extreme backwardness and poverty of their society from the eye of the undiscriminating observer.

The story of social conditions in Quebec is concisely and eloquently told by the following statistical comparison with Ontario.

| AGRICULTURE | | Ontario | Quebec |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population | (1931)* | 3,431,683 | 2,874,255 |
| Rural population | (1931) | 1,335,691 | 1,060,649 |
| Total acreage | (1933) | 9,195,300 | 5,784,700 |
| Average value per acre | (1933) | $38 | $36 |
| Gross value of agricultural produce | (1933) | $326,023,995 | $155,152,737 |
| Amount spent on fertilizer | (1931) | $2,997,000 | $1,302,000 |
| Number of tractors on farms | (1931) | 18,993 | 2,417 |
| Number of automobiles on farms | (1931) | 125,716 | 26,877 |
| Number of radios on farms | (1931) | 41,380 | 8,618 |

*(Last years for which comparative statistics are available.)

Families in Quebec are larger than they are in Ontario and the soil is more densely populated. As a result of the relative poverty of the agricultural population, on the one hand, and of the relative abundance of human labor power, on the other hand, agriculture in the province continues to operate on the basis of an outmoded technique. The disproportion between the figures for the values of gross annual production in Quebec and Ontario is far more marked than is the disproportion between total acreages.

Agricultural conditions have been further aggravated by the large-scale back-to-the-land movement carried on by the government for a period of years now.

It is of interest to note, also, that the feudal system in Quebec was formally liquidated only in 1935. The government effected the liquidation by redeeming the seignorial dues with a lump sum payment to the seigneurs—to be repaid to the gov-

ernment by the seignorial farmers over a period of twenty years.

*INDUSTRY.* The poverty of the countryside has conditioned the level of living standards in the cities. Also to be considered, however, is the conservative restraint exercised by the Catholic Church. The constitution of the Catholic Syndicates, for example, is prefaced by the following quotation from Pope Leo XIII: "Yes, misery and suffering are the heritage of mankind, and should men try everything in their power, they will never succeed in eliminating them."

Comprehensive wage statistics are not easy to obtain. The facts that in 1931 there were 542,245 automobiles in Ontario against 165,526 for Quebec, and 546,254 telephones in Ontario against 259,916 in Quebec are almost sufficient for a general estimate of living standards. Also to be referred to, however, is the following section on public health and mortality

| PUBLIC HEALTH | Ontario (1934) | Quebec (1934) |
|---|---|---|
| Infant mortality (per 1,000 births) | 57 | 97 |
| Death rate, contagious diseases (per 100,000) | 39 | 84 |
| Death rate, tuberculosis (per 100,000) | 37 | 92 |

The poverty of the masses takes its toll of life and limb. Industrial conditions weigh most heavily on provincial statistics—as the high figures Three Rivers, Sorel, and St. John, three important and fairly typical industrial towns, show.

| EDUCATION | Ontario | Quebec |
|---|---|---|
| Total expenditures (1934) | $42,030,834 | $24,701,805 |
| Average teacher's salary (1934) | $1,141 | $512 |
| Number of illiterates over age 10 (1931) | 71,514 | 118,739 |
| Number of public libraries (1933) | 468 | 25 |
| Circulation of books (1933) | 15,137,418 | 639,127 |

. . . That is Quebec. Quebec is the only place in the British Empire where women still do not enjoy the right to vote, the only province in Canada which retains an upper house in its legislature, and the only province where education is still in the hands of the Church.

### *The Nationalist Movement*

The plight of the French-Canadian masses, bad enough in normal times, reached unheard-of extremes during the depression. The French-Canadian began to look about him. Who was responsible? What was responsible? . . . One of the first things that struck him was that the wealth of the province was owned predominantly by outsiders. As the Hon. G. C. Power, Minister of Pensions and National Health, put it in an address in Toronto last year:

> Ten years ago the young French-Canadian, if he wanted to follow banking as a career, noticed that he had to address himself to a Gordon or a Wilson; if he wanted to bend his energies to the development of hydraulic power in the province, he had to be a protege of a Holt or a Norris; if he interested himself in the exploitation of the immense and supremely important forest industry, he had to bow first to a Price or a Graustein.
>
> Naturally, very naturally, he said to himself: "This land which belonged to my forefathers should belong to me. There is something false about a system which places all the natural and potential riches of our province in the hands of a very small number of individuals, and individuals who are not French-Canadians."

Not merely the industrialists and bankers but the engineers, technicians, and managers are preponderantly Anglo-Saxon. With one-third of the country's population, the French-Canadians hold only 16 per cent of the civil service appointments and 11 per cent of the salary list.

There is more than an element of truth to the belief that the Anglo-Saxon has been

consciously endeavouring to keep the French-Canadian down. Certainly the treatment meted out to the French-Canadian minorities in other provinces has not been in the spirit of Confederation. But in order to explain the poor representation of the French-Canadian people in the upper strata of economy, a reference to the educational system is essential. French-Canadian nationalists will be the first to admit certain shortcomings in this regard. It is commonly admitted now, for example, that too much stress has been placed upon theology and philosophy in education and not enough on engineering and economics. The above-quoted statistics would indicate, however, that the chief fault lies with the quantity rather than with the quality of provincial education.

On the basis of the resentment against the Anglo-Saxon there has grown up within the past few years a whole host of movements, whose programs range from simple nationalism to outright separatism and fascism. With the formation of *L'Action Liberale Nationale* in 1934 (at that time an opposition within the Liberal Party) the nationalist movement became a recognized force in provincial politics. When *L'Union Nationale* was formed as a result of the merger of Paul Gouin's ALN with Maurice Duplessis' Conservatives, it, too, based itself on a program of opposition to foreign capital and to the *trustards* (which is French-Canadian for the trust-owners). In the election of August, 1936, *L'Union Nationale* was swept into power with a total of 76 out of 90 seats in the legislature.

Once in power, however, *L'Union Nationale* discovered that it was a much easier thing to fulminate against the domination of English and American capital than to take concrete measures to restore the wealth of the province to the French-Canadian people. From the point of view of the provincial economy, keeping out foreign capital could serve only a negative purpose as long as there was no pure French-Canadian capital to take its place. But, since Duplessis had to make at least a gesture, a statute was passed prohibiting the Crown from granting leases of forests, mines, or water power to companies not wholly incorporated within the province—a serious barrier, indeed, for foreign capital to hurdle! Whereas *L'Union Nationale* had agitated for public ownership of utilities. Duplessis in power found it difficult to go further than arranging for government construction of a few small power houses.



*La Nation*

***HIS EXCELLENCY IS VERY KIND***

***A French-Canadian nationalist cartoon pictures John Bull giving the French a minute piece of the Confederation pie and saying "For you . . . dear Baptiste, always be a faithful and loyal servant of the Empire."***

As a result of his failure to fulfill his pre-election program, Duplessis has lost some of his most important allies and supporters. First there came the break with Paul Gouin—in itself not very important since Gouin was virtually by himself. Far more serious was the defection of the radical wing of his party in June of this year. While the new

*Parti Nationale*, established as a result of the defection, is represented so far by only seven members in both houses, they are men whose names count in provincial politics—Mayor Gregoire of Quebec, Oscar Drouin, former Minister of Mines, Philippe Hamel, *et al.*

The nationalist movement, as represented by the various parties in the parliament, is still for Confederation and professes loyalty to the Crown. Outside parliament, however, there is a fairly extensive and influential movement which carries its nationalism to the point of demanding provincial autonomy or even complete separation from the Empire. This movement has the support of a substantial section of the Catholic Church; its outstanding protagonist is the Abbé Lionel Groulx, Professor of History at the University of Montreal. Among the papers which sponsor separatism are *L'Unité*, which circularizes in 30,000 copies; *La Nation* (most virulent of all, edited in Quebec by Paul Bouchard, a former Rhodes scholar), which circularizes about 15,000 copies; *L'Indépendence*, organ of the *La Jeunesse Patriote*, the strongly nationalistic fascist movement.

The reason why the nationalist movement is today considered so seriously is because it has the backing of the entire Catholic Church. Nominally non-political, the Church is in actuality the determining political force in the province. Its control over the educational system, its trade unions, its guilds for men, for women, for boys, for girls, its tremendous material wealth—all these, combined with the deeply religious character of the French-Canadian people, operate to give the Church the firmest hold over public opinion. The motives of the Church in sponsoring the movement were stated very frankly by Cardinal Villeneuve in his speech on June 28 before the French Language Conference in Quebec. According to him, the homes of French-Canadians are "too open to comers of all classes, opinions, moral values, and audacities"; "a foreign soul, an American conscience" was making its appearance among them. By "all comers" Cardinal Villeneuve meant "travelers, books, newspapers, reviews, radio, motion pictures, etc."

### *Fascism*

To be a nationalist in Quebec is almost synonymous with being a corporatist. The Catholic Church and its various controlled organizations—the Catholic Syndicates, the A. C. J. C. (federation of Catholic youth organizations), *L'Ecole Sociale Populaire*, an institution for education and propaganda sponsored by the Jesuits, the *Parti Nationale*, and the various newspapers controlled by these organizations or supporting them are all definitely for the corporate state. Duplessis and Gouin, too, have at various times paid tribute to the idea. The scope of the corporatist movement, combined with the anti-democratic character of recent legislation, have convinced certain observers that Quebec is rapidly being transformed into a fascist state. While there is need for apprehension, in the opinion of the author, this view is exaggerated.

The corporatist movement in Quebec bases itself upon the labor program of the Catholic Church as enunciated by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*. In 1934, at the behest of the Church and the Catholic Syndicates, the Taschereau Government enacted the Arcand Law. This law provided for the extension of labor contracts to cover the entire industry concerned, upon the application to the Government of one of the parties to the contract; and provided further for the establishment of joint committees of employees and employers to supervise the extension of the contract in each industry. The Church viewed this measure as an important step towards the corporate state, in which labor

and capital will be compelled to settle their differences within the framework of joint committees, or corporations, rather than through the class struggle. The further development of their program called for the expansion of the powers of the committees established in virtue of the law and, in addition, for their gradual subordination to government control.

But while the set-up under the Arcand Law bore some resemblance to fascist corporatism, there existed the fundamental distinction that the unions still retained their independence and still retained the right to strike. And while the Nationalist movement in Quebec may have many points in common with fascist movements elsewhere —its extreme nationalism, its anti-trust demagogy, its virulent anti-communist and even anti-democratic stand, its primitive anti-semitism, its corporatism, its open sympathy for European fascism—nevertheless it is still necessary to characterize it as an incipient rather than as a definitely fascist movement. On the question of corporatism itself—how it shall be attained, whether it shall be "democratic" corporatism or corporatism *à la Mussolini*—there are disagreements between and even within the various organizations. The majority of them distinguish themselves from outright fascist movements in that they base themselves entirely on parliamentary action.

The few organizations that can be definitely characterized as fascist are as yet very weak. There is the *Jeunesse Patriote*, a small, intensely nationalistic organization which models itself consciously after its namesake in France. Then there is the *Parti Nationale Social Chrétien*, headed by Adrien Arcand, which flaunts the swastika, is reputed to be financed by Hitler, and which disposes of small bands of *Casques d'Acier* (steel helmets). The influence of these organizations cannot be measured by their membership alone. Arcand is the editor of *L'Illustration*, a Montreal daily which represents the Duplessis Government. The *Jeunesse Patriote* for a period of time received space in Paul Gouin's organ, *La Province*.

### *The Government*

The Duplessis Government is perhaps more famous for its Padlock Law than anything else it has done. According to this law the Attorney-General can, without recourse to the courts, order any premises padlocked against all use for a period of not more than one year, if he believes that they have been used for the purpose of spreading communist propaganda. The communist movement in the province is far too weak to have attracted so much attention from the Government; the law is aimed at more than it. The term "communism" is purposely left undefined in the law because, as Mr. Coonan, Minister without Portfolio, put it, "A lot of people are communists and don't know it." While no attempt has yet been made to enforce the law—probably because of its extremely doubtful constitutionality—it has nevertheless served to handicap severely the various left labor organizations in the province.

The labor program of the Duplessis Government originally favored the Catholic Syndicates as against the International Unions. (An account of the Montreal dressmakers' strike is to be found in *Current History* for July.) Recently, however, the Government seems to have backed away from even such partial tolerance towards the trade union movement and is instead attempting to concentrate control over industrial conditions into its own hands. The reason for this is probably to be found in the large-scale organizational drive undertaken by the Syndicates in their efforts to forestall international unionism in the province.

The Fair Wage Act, passed by the Legislature on May 27, provides for the establishment of a Fair Wage Board consisting

of five members appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor. This board will have the right to make investigations, appoint conciliation committees, and to determine wages and hours for industries and districts. The Act states that, "When an ordinance respecting fair working conditions has been rendered . . . its provisions shall constitute a matter of public order." "Whereas under the Arcand Law a union which succeeded in having its contract extended to cover the entire industry was in an advantageous position to organize the balance of the industry, and whereas it enjoyed equal representation in the committee encharged with the enforcement of the agreement, under the Fair Wage Act there exists no provision for collective bargaining or union recognition, and the unions are given no representation in the supervisory board. This was the entire issue in the steel and textile strikes called by the Catholic Syndicates. The Syndicates demanded an agreement under the revised version of the Arcand Law, while the employers and the Government insisted on an agreement under the Fair Wage Act. Duplessis further clarified the meaning of the Fair Wage Act with this statement, issued on July 18: "The closed shop is a cause of disorder and an attempt against the freedom of the worker. It constitutes a state within a state. The Quebec Government will never tolerate such a condition of things here." As a result of the open hostility of the Government, the Syndicates have found themselves compelled to resort to, or at least tolerate, the same militant strike methods for which they formerly condemned the C. I. O. as communist.

In the sphere of parliamentary conduct, Duplessis has displayed the same autocratic tendencies as did Huey Long in his time. Bills are rushed through the legislature without previous notice and with next to no discussion. The opposition is treated with the scantest courtesy. His regime has been characterized by mass replacements of civil employees and by violations of municipal and Federal rights. The forcible eviction of General Panet, head of the Montreal Relief Commission, from his office is but one example of Duplessis' invasion into spheres of authority not his own.

Duplessis has unquestioned ability. This, combined with his rumored alliance with Premier Hepburn on an anti-labor basis, make it necessary to consider him seriously. But it is necessary, also, to call a spade a spade. While Duplessis may run the Government in an extremely autocratic manner, and while he may have seriously curtailed democratic rights within the province, nevertheless his regime is limited by the structure of the governmental apparatus and by its subordination to Federal authority. The theory that Duplessis is gradually "fascisizing" the Quebec Government does not jibe with the European experiences with fascism. There it has been a matter of fascism seizing the power, opposed or unopposed by the working class, and replacing the democratic state apparatus with an apparatus modelled after its own image.

In opposition to the fascist tendencies within the province there has grown up recently a Quebec edition of the *Front Populaire*. In it are represented mainly the Communist Party, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation clubs, and Liberal clubs. Numerically it is still very weak. But even if it should overcome its numerical weakness, it is doubtful whether its naively peaceful parliamentary program will be any more effective against aggressive fascism than this self-same program has been in Europe to date. In any case future developments in Quebec will warrant the closest scrutiny of all those interested in Canadian politics.

# LABOR IN AMERICA, III

## *The United Mine Workers Union had its birth in the consolidation of two groups*

**By HERBERT HARRIS**

*This is the third of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early in 1938. The fourth installment will appear in the December issue of* Current History.



THE United Mine Workers of America, with its 600,000 members, is the largest union in the world. Its strength, however, is rooted in many things other than great size. In the sphere of practical unionism, it pioneered the eight-hour day, the sliding wage-scale, the "check-off." It was the keystone in the American Federation of Labor arch from the beginning. Currently it serves much the same function for the Committee for Industrial Organization. It has furnished a disproportionate share of present-day labor leadership. Its former secretary-treasurer, William Green, is head of the A.F. of L. The chairman of the C.I.O., John L. Lewis, remains president of the United Mine Workers and at least 25 other key-figures in both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are graduates of this same union.

It was, furthermore, the first A.F. of L. affiliate to conduct and win an important strike. In 1898, at Virden, Illinois, a group of United Mine Workers, armed with shotguns, revolvers, and rifles, vanquished a trainload of similarly accoutered strike-breakers and company guards, with great loss of life on both sides. By means of superior markmanship, the union was granted all of its demands. And ironically, this victory was achieved with violence that pulverized all ten tablets of the union's decalogue. For since its inception in 1890, it has preached and practiced "arbitration," "compromise," "mediation" to such an extent that a substantial section of American left-wing literature is devoted to virulent attacks upon its "bargains with the bosses." In any case, with its system of "collective agreements," it has inaugurated some unique customs in capital-labor relations.

At the beginning of the New Deal Administration, for example, the union's economics advisor, W. Jett Lauck, and its chief counsel, Henry Warrum, collaborated with Mr. Lewis to draft what was to become the Davis-Kelly bill. It was a piece of legislation that not only gave birth to a whole brood of fair competition codes, but in essentials foreshadowed the entire N.I.R.A. program. The Davis-Kelly Act, significantly for future management-labor relations, stipulated that prices could be fixed under government supervision when (a) collective bargaining was recognized, and (b) coal operators and miners, after conference, had agreed upon a set of minimum standards governing production and sale. The successors to this bill, the Guffey-Snyder Act, and the Guffey-Vinson Act, likewise developed by the United Mine Workers, are similarly premised upon the assumption that a "creative" and "constructive" *entente cordiale*, based on an

"identity of interests" outlook, must prevail against the dogmas of class struggle as the only answer for labor in coal.

Implicit in all this legislation is the belief that, in our present and complex "power-age" society, the functions of capital and labor can be performed effectively only by a new and tripartite cooperation between industry and unions and government. The evolution of this view, "stabilization by code, commission or statute," marks an American saga of horror and heroism, of conflict and cooperation among operators and miners seeking to get the most of profits and wages from the ailing unruly giant, coal. And in this process the United Mine Workers has passed from peaks of power to valleys of weakness and all gradations in between. In 1932, for example, it was virtually moribund, its membership dwindling from 432,000 to a twenty-year low of 150,000. But within a year, revived by the NRA, the union's enrollment had reached 400,000 and was growing at the rate of 75 a day. And this cyclic character of the United Mine Workers Union merely reflects the spectacular ups and downs of the industry itself.

In America, of course, the words chaos and crisis—along with funeral odes by the hundred—have been conterminous with coal for the past half century. It has been, and remains, perhaps, our most "over-developed" industry. For years it has been always on the point of dying, while oil and hydro-electric power were to dance on its grave. In 1899, for example, bituminous coal accounted for 68 per cent, and anthracite for 22 per cent of the non-human energy produced in the United States. The remaining 10 per cent was more or less equally divided between petroleum, water-power and natural gas. In 1935, however, bituminous coal had but 42 per cent of this total, anthracite but 8 per cent, petroleum 31 per cent, natural gas 9 per cent, and waterpower 10 per cent. Despite such trends, however, current estimates show that about 500,000,000 tons of soft coal alone will be needed in 1938, an amount only a little below that of the boom year 1929 when 535,000,000 net tons were mined.

Soft coal deposits are scattered over 26 States, with six of them—Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois producing 70 per cent of the total, and the other 30 per cent being largely found in Indiana, Arkansas, Colorado, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, Iowa, Utah, Oklahoma, Wyoming, and Montana. On the other hand, hard coal is localized in five counties of Northeastern Pennsylvania (the only state where anthracite is found in America) and where the Wyoming, Lehigh, Schuylkill and Susquehanna river valleys have yielded, during the past decade, anywheres from 49 to 73 million tons, averaging about one-seventh of its rival's output. Such concentration on the part of nature paved the way for similar concentration in ownership. Giant firms like the Glen Alden Coal Company, the Philadelphia and Reading, the Lehigh Valley Coal Corporation, the Erie Railroad's "The Pittston Company," and a few others, dominate the hard coal scene. Hence in recent years it has been easier for management to stabilize conditions, to fix prices, to establish labor policy, and otherwise deal with the 152,000 to 176,000 men employed. In the bituminous fields, however, entirely different conditions prevail. In the first place, there are some 4200 operators in the business, quite a few of them so-called "snowbirds and fly-by-nighters" who open up marginal mines in brisk seasons and close them down when trade slackens. Moreover, the largest concerns in soft coal, like the famous Peabody Company, each account for less than 3.25 per cent of the total production, a state of affairs which, when combined with the 503,000 men employed, tends to make competition less the

life of trade than the law of the jungle. But the cutthroat competition of the bituminous industry derives from causes more fundamental than thousands of small contending units, and the vast labor force and the many wage-differentials for far-separated regions. Soft coal seams vary in thickness from a few inches to 20 feet and the expense of extraction varies also with veins nearer the surface, as a rule, cheaper to exploit. Since labor comprises from 65 per cent to 78 per cent of production costs in soft coal, price cuttings among rivals all over the country have invariably brought wage reductions and layoffs that time and again have driven the living standards of American miners to sub-subsistence levels.

### *Occupational Risks*

But the hazards of mining as an occupation are not confined to low pay or irregular employment. Going down to the sea in ships is safety itself when compared with going down to the mines in shafts. In the first five months of 1937, from January to May, coal mine accidents took the lives of 521 men, 425 in bituminous, and 96 in anthracite. And despite recent installations of safety-devices, the death toll hasn't varied much in the past 20 years. The miner runs the risk of falling rock and coal, of fire, explosions, suffocation, and many other modes of injury and sudden death. In many cases, the casualties could be prevented if the companies were willing to spend money to improve ventilation, to "fool-proof" signaling systems in haulage. Out of every 10,000 American coal miners, about 45 are killed on the job during the course of the year, a fatality rate around twice that of Germany and thrice that of Britain. From 1919 to 1929, moreover, there were 22,500 miners killed during work in this country, and 1,500,000 injured seriously enough to cause a loss of working time from a day or two to many weeks.

Among the less dramatic hazards to health and well-being are the noxious fumes of "stink damp" and "rotten gas" along with the treacherous so-called "white-damp," which is carbon monoxide. Daily inhalations of such gases along with coal dust induce chronic bronchial catarrh and generally tend to weaken the respiratory tract to such a degree that influenza epidemics in mining communities decimate the male population. The strained, stooping positions of much digging and loading, the heavy lifting in cramped spaces, the dampness and fetidness of the atmosphere, all predispose miners to rheumatism and make them proverbially "old before their time." The lack of sanitary sewage disposal underground often fosters typhoid, dysentery, and kindred intestinal diseases.

In the first year of the Civil War some English miners of the Belleville tract in Illinois called a convention of colleagues from their own State and from Missouri. And under the leadership of the energetic Thomas Lloyd and the "silver-tongued" Daniel Weaver, the meeting—held in a St. Louis hotel—set up the "American Miners Association," on a national scale, more or less on paper. Lloyd was elected president of the new society and Weaver was named secretary.

It was during this period that the conflict among various ethnic groups first became manifest, an early indication of the many tongues and races that were to make "labor in coal" a new Tower of Babel. Even today at a single colliery, say, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, it is easy enough to find Poles, Italians, Negroes, Germans, Russians, Croats, Irish, Dutch, Lithuanians, Greeks and, in the West, Mexicans and Japanese besides.

As recently as 1910 some 48.5 per cent of coal miners were foreign-born and one in seven was the American-born son of an immigrant father. In the early days of the coal industry, Welsh, English and Scots came to this country to escape the grinding

tasks of British pits. They formed the majority of the first workers in American mines. They were skilled. They readily found jobs in an industry which began to come into its own during the Civil War.

### *Going "Coal Crazy"*

Prior to that time the prodigious supply of wood had hindered recognition of coal's value as fuel. But the momentum that Mars brings to all business turned attention upon this source of extra-human energy. Very soon coal, at first anthracite, and later bituminous, served for getting steam up under boilers of "Mr. Fulton's strange ships," and under boilers of locomotives and textile mills and was used to heat domestic stoves and furnaces and, when "coked," employed in smelting iron ores. In a follow-the-leader stampede, during the late 60's and early 70's, the business community went coal crazy in the same way that various elements of the population had gone land crazy and gold crazy, after the fashion that has characterized too much of our economic development.

Companies were formed. Shafts were sunk. Prospecti were issued to assure the "wise, careful, propertied" investor that the "black stones," the "black nuggets," the "black diamonds" would swing wide the gates to a new and glittering El Dorado.

And within a few years, because everybody who was more or less solvent was sure to make a fortune, and because it cost a relatively small sum ($2500 and up) to start up a mine, the groundwork had been laid for the evil that even today rides King Coal like an Old Man of the Sea: excess capacity in terms of the market.

When the war boom collapsed, the operators in a business even then over-expanded began to cut wages to meet the challenge of falling prices, of too many rivals. When the miners objected, they were quickly discharged. Thousands of others were found to take their places. For by the middle of the 19th century, immigration to the United States was running towards high tide, with 427,000 aliens arriving in 1854 alone.

The immigrants had been encouraged by the propaganda of land speculators who wanted settlers to enhance the worth of their holdings; by the agents of mine and mill and factory owners who wanted ample reserves of cheap and docile labor; by that "high and incomparable spirit of American idealism" which caused the day's orators to describe this country as an "asylum for the oppressed"; and by steamship companies who had cut steerage rates to the bone on the principle that mass methods of transportation would yield higher profits. The spirit of acquisition was combined with that of altruism to make Castle Garden in New York the stepping stone to sanctuary for Irish fleeing famine, for Germans fleeing the black reaction and economic stringency that followed the revolution of '48, for peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and even the Orient fleeing the poverty and the caste-rigidity of Old Worlds for the splendid shining promise of the New.

Meanwhile, in the four States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Maryland, the American Miners Association had built its small dykes of unionism to help forefend the billowings of this new invasion. It was a futile effort. The best union couldn't combat what was early called the "menace" of anywhere from one to five foreigners waiting to take over the jobs of natives at half-pay.

For the American born and for those who had been here long enough to find their way around, the frontier still offered the chance to acquire land for a farm. Opportunity was still opening up for ambition in business, in the professions, in politics. In city and town a craft such as carpentry exerted the double allure of being relatively "respectable" and of being

pursued above the earth's surface instead of in it.

### *Immigrants and Exploitation*

The pick and shovel occupations of digging sewers, canals, and coal were taken over by the immigrants, and the coal industry more than any other was built up by their labor. They were cheated at every turn and tricked at every tempo. They therefore looked upon any unionist's talk of betterment as a result of organization and its *dues*, as merely another scheme for taking advantage of their nescience. There was still another factor which impeded unionism's growth in coal, and elsewhere. The first desire of the newcomer was to be assimilated, to be "Americanized." Employers implanted the idea that unions, despite their American origin, were really foreign importations, and that to deal with them at all was a sure sign of that alien quality which the immigrant, as a rule, was anxious to discard.

Meanwhile, various local unions kept "spotting" mine areas, buoyed up more by the zeal of some leader than by any actual accomplishment. Time and again efforts to gain recognition, to improve conditions, were thwarted by the operators. Whenever the demands of the miners as to wage-scales and collective bargaining were refused, they had but two alternatives. They could back down. They could go on strike. In the first case, they would be placed on the payroll again, but in a more or less probationary sense, and ring-leaders were the first to be fired with or without excuse. If they adopted the second policy and walked out, they were equally out of luck. In Connellsville, Pa., in 1875 a group of miners went on strike and the owner, Mr. C. M. Armstrong, "imported Italian strike-breakers, arming them with breech-loading rifles and warning them to shoot every English-speaking white man who came near them, informing them that unless they did so they would receive injury. The result was that a riot ensued, in which the Italians used their rifles, killing two men and wounding others." The Pennsylvania courts sent the Italians to the penitentiary for murder in the second degree and fined Mr. Armstrong the sum of $5.00, cash.

The story of this episode gained wide, and exaggerated currency, and cooled strike ardor all over the country. Yet many strikes occurred. Their result as a rule was summed up succinctly by the Coal Statistical Register of Pottsville, Pa., which in 1868 as usual recorded: "after a suspension of about 4 months . . . the men were starved out . . . and the organization broken up."

When the miners discovered that their use of the economic means, the strike, did them more harm than good, they turned to politics for relief. In Pennsylvania, they succeeded in getting an eight-hour law passed by the State Legislature in 1868. The potency of this measure was nullified, however, by a clause inserted at the operators' behest and which read that the law would apply except in instances "where there was no agreement to the contrary." Unless miners by their own strength could arrange matters otherwise, there would obviously be "agreements to the contrary" and the statute was observed more in the breach than in either spirit or letter.

### *A Sliding Scale*

It was during this period also that miners hit upon the notion of "suspending" operations to relieve a glutted market, to raise prices, and advance wages. They wanted a sliding scale to govern wages. It was a policy first advocated by John Siney, a moderate man who by soft suasions had organized the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County (Pa.). Siney and others argued the Anthracite Board of Trade, comprising the chief operators, into adopting the sliding scale

arrangement in 1869. Under its provisions, wage rates per ton varied in direct ratio with the prices which the operators obtained for their coal. That is, when they received $5.00 a ton, the miner's share was $.57½. When prices dropped, however, the basic scale of, say, the $.57½ was to remain stationary. When prices rose, wages were to follow in proportion.

The operators soon tired of this innovation. They altered it, made it meaningless. They refused to "peg" a minimum wage; and without the protection of that kind of a floor, wages could decline till they reached China. And as owner after owner reneged on his agreement, the miners were roused to a frenzy. They had hoped that the sliding scale scheme was going to bring some measure of regularity and stability into their lives. They decided that it was useless to try and do anything on a local basis. Their own grievance committees, from a single community, were too weak to enforce any pacts that the employer might choose to disregard. The only solution seemed to be a national union which could negotiate in all coal regions and combat the chiselers and price-cutters who were seeking unfair competitive advantages.

In 1873 the Miners Association of the United States of America was formed by union chieftains from Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania, with Siney, prime mover of this new sodality, becoming its president. At their convention they drafted a constitution which announced the new society's six-fold purpose: (1) to eliminate the causes of strikes and accept the "principle of arbitration" whenever practicable; (2) to urge all miners to become United States citizens and use their ballots to advance labor's progress; (3) to secure "true weight" of coal mined, instead of fraudulent "screenings"; (4) to shorten hours; (5) to sue for compensation when accidents resulted from employers' negligence; (6) to create a treasury of strike funds. The panic of 1873, with its vicious wage-cuts, propelled miners into the union as a last resort for their economic salvation. And by 1875 the Miners National Association had 347 lodges in 13 States and a membership of some 35,000. It was a show of strength that moved press and pulpit to new vehemence. They denounced the M. N. A.'s officers as "fomenters of domestic discord" and the harbingers of "foreign strife" as "agitators" and "demagogues," charges to which Siney replied with the eloquence that would seem to be at once synonymous and traditional among miners' helmsmen.

But his voice was drowned out in the tumult of a strike called at the Clearfield mines and approved by the Miners National Association. And here 36 union members, Siney among them, were arrested on charges of "conspiracy and riot." They had picketed the mine. They had persuaded a trainload of strike-breakers to leave the region by paying their fares to wherever they desired to go. The success of this stratagem angered the Clearfield management and the courts construed it to be a "violation of law and order"; and 35 of the 36 were convicted and sentenced to prison terms. Siney himself was acquitted. During the trial he had displayed a "meek as Moses" demeanor that contrasted sharply with the fervor of his vocabulary. He made a favorable impression on the jury composed of leading citizens. They were perhaps also afraid that if Siney were sent to the penitentiary, it would only martyrize him, since he was widely known to be an apostle of gentleness and sweet reasonableness and he might, by merely languishing in prison, unloose some unpleasant repercussions.

### *En Route to Limbo*

However much the jury was influenced by Siney's mien of moderation, the miners themselves were in no mood for any coun-

sels of the golden mean. They were hungry. Their children were cranky and crying for bread. Their wives were getting gaunt and reproachful. The men had undergone wage-cuts from 25 to 60 percent. Many of them had been kicked around by foremen till they had reached the breaking point of their endurance. They were mad. They were full of hate. They felt tricked, cheated, thwarted. Local after local withdrew from the Miners National Association in a rank-and-file revolt that flared across 10 States, and spurned the "methods of moderation" in favor of vigorous strike action that was mainly abortive. Meantime, the high costs of hiring lawyers to defend the Clearfield strikers had drained the last penny from the M. N. A.'s treasury; and with its funds depleted, with its affiliates defecting daily, it had crumbled into a memory by the end of 1876.

But the seeds of unionism had been widely sown and kept sprouting frail and sporadic shoots when in 1877–81 the Knights of Labor began to extend its influence to the coal fields. The Order's secrecy exercised a special blandishment upon men who had been beaten, blacklisted, demoted, discharged, and otherwise injured in efforts to gain collective bargaining. In coal, as elsewhere, the Order's "district assemblies" were "mixed." They included doctors, lawyers, ministers, retailers, and bookkeepers. Meetings often generated more heat than light as professional and business views clashed with the attitude of the wage-earners. The lack of a positive, clear-cut program from the top added to the confusion of district assembly debate. Every once in a while, of course, Terence V. Powderly, head of the Order, would utter some resounding ambiguity about "abolishing the wages-system" by means of "workingmen's cooperatives" and more "education and enlightenment." The sheer vagueness of his panaceas simply addled the thinking of many unionists who, long before the advent of Samuel Gompers, had been clamoring for "more, more, *now*."

They were asking for even less than that in Hocking Valley, Ohio, in 1884 when 4000 miners went on strike against a reduction of from $.70 to $.50 a ton, and against the introduction of the so-called "iron clad" contracts which forbade the miner from joining a union. Although the Knights of Labor and other union groups contributed the largest strike relief fund recorded up to that time, namely $70,-333.48 in cash, and more than $25,000 in food and clothing, the strikers were licked before they started. For the early 1880's was the time when immigration was at its topmost crest. In 1881, 669,431; in 1882, 788,992; in 1833, 603,322 aliens were admitted to our shores, furnishing an inexhaustible reservoir of labor willing to work anywhere for anybody for anything, hammering the stake of domestic wages smack into the earth, at ground-level. In addition to militia and mine guards, the Hocking Valley operators siphoned off a tiny trickle of this flood, sending 3500 "greenhorns" into the mines, breaking the back of the strike.

There were other employers in the very same region, however, who were seeking other methods for resolving capital-labor conflict in coal and who believed, further, that the kind of cutthroat competition then rampant could result only in a mutual knockout. Prominent in this group was Mr. W. P. Rend, astute, prosperous Ohio operator who in 1885 pointed out the "folly" of perpetual price-cutting, with its corollary of wage-slashes.

That same year, the drive towards unionism went forward at a quickening pace as if it were some badly battered Anteus who nevertheless gained fresh vitality by each new contact with the earth.

In that year, too, the Knights of Labor's General Executive Board, with its delicately nurtured ability to do the wrong thing,

refused to permit coal miners to form a National Trade Assembly (equivalent to today's national union) out of their local and district organizations, covering the "Central Competitive Field," which includes Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Southeastern Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. Yet union sachems in this territory were convinced that "neither district nor State unions can regulate the markets to which their coal is shipped." They therefore established the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States (1885) to guard their "competitive area." And, late as usual, the Knights of Labor the next year chartered a National Trade Assembly for coal miners, known as No. 135.

### *Birth of the U. M. W. U. A.*

Promptly both groups, anticipating the jurisdiction rows of the present day, claimed authority over the same regions. They were, however, smart enough to cooperate in formulating an "interstate trade agreement" (the first of its kind in American history) with the mine operators led by the redoubtable Mr. Rend, at a conference held in Columbus, Ohio in January, 1886. And to forestall friction over wage scales and hours, a board of conciliation, comprising 17 operators and 17 miners, was created and appointed the mild, scholarly, diligent Chris Evans, who was to become the official historian of "labor in coal," as the secretary for both factions.

It was this pact, which for some years brought order into a part of coal's anarchy, that foreshadowed in principle the collective agreements which were to find their culmination in the "price, production, and wage control" of the current Guffey-Vinson Act.

And as the natural sequence of this labor unity, the National Federation, which changed its name to Progressive Miners' Union, merged with the K. of L's District Assembly No. 135 to become the United Mine Workers' Union of America, in 1890.

It belonged simultaneously to the Knights of Labor and the new American Federation of Labor until 1894, when the former was extinguished by its failure to combine the skilled and the unskilled, men and women, wage-earners and white-collarites into a body with any common discipline and direction.

The new organization, the United Mine Workers, was from its inception set up along industrial, as against craft, lines. For to the hangover of the K. of L's philosophy of "take in everybody," was added the special feelings of unity among the miners. The mining village, camp, or town was usually an isolated community, cut off from any very direct communication with the larger outside world. And in the complex of its socio-economic relations, the "company" with its managers, its mine guards, its all pervasive authority, was on the one side and the workers, whether miners or engineers or firemen or machinists or blacksmiths or platemen or motormen or "ordinary laborers," were distinctly on the other side.

The shacks of the workers adjoined each other, standing row upon row in some desolate valley or clinging to the slopes of lonely ravines. Wives exchanged gossip, hung the wash on the same clotheslines. All were drawn together by the strong, subtle magnetism of having the same kind of worries, the same kind of food, the same kind of problems. Racial and religious antagonism alone were discords in the harmonies of this proximity.

Often "the company" owned not only the mine itself but all property in its immediate environs, including the homes of its employees. In the main, the miners' houses were cheap clapboard, frequently without cellars, almost always without plumbing, and roofed sometimes with tin and sometimes with heavy tarred paper. Since the

company owned what the law describes as "places of residence," especially in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, it could evict obstreperous tenants and other troublemakers. Since it owned the streets, it could forbid freedom of speech and assembly. Since it often owned even the public highways leading in and out of the mining center, it could prevent union organizers from entering its domain. For all practical purposes, the company owned the mayor, the village or town council, the judge, the jury, the court-crier, and whatever press existed. It also owned the company store which charged anywhere from 10 to 100 percent above the worth of groceries, drugs, working equipment, and other supplies that the miner might need for his family and himself. In Colorado, and elsewhere, the company leased buildings even to the saloons and brothels until it has become a grim jest among three generations of American miners that they could do nothing in life without paying the company for the privilege.

### *From Cradle to Grave*

Boys were brought into the world by the company doctor, attended the company school, listened to the sermons of the company preacher, grew into manhood and worked in the company breaker or washery and finally were buried by the company undertaker. From the end of the Civil War, onwards thru the heyday of the Robber Barons and rugged individualism, sweeping north from Alabama through West Virginia and Pennsylvania to Ohio and southwest to Colorado, the same conditions of this new feudalism of absentee ownership challenged the new union as railroads and steel yearly acquired more and more captive mines.

And despite improvements of the past 40 years, there remain in all coal sections of the country dread pockets of this kind of degradation. During the first half of April, 1937, for example, Kine Hatfield, a miner employed by the Harlan-Willins Coal Company, in Harlan, Kentucky, loaded 91 tons of coal at $.55 per ton. His earnings totalled $50.05 as shown by his pay-slip submitted to the Senate's LaFollette sub-committee investigating labor espionage and violations of civil liberties. But company "charges" deducted during this 15-day span amounted to $18.82, leaving Hatfield with $1.23. They were:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scrip | $20.00 | Burial Fd. | $0.50 |
| Cash | 16.50 | Bath | 0.50 |
| Power | 4.40 | Ball Club | 0.50 |
| Smithing | 0.20 | Chance | 1.00 |
| School fund | 0.20 | Soc. Security | 0.50 |
| Doctor | 1.00 | State tax | 0.45 |
| Hospital | 0.50 | | |
| Insurance | 1.50 | Total charges | $48.82 |
| Lamps | 0.77 | Balance | 1.23 |

The first two items were for credit previously granted by the company store. The "chance" has a special significance. It seems that the company's manager, Mr. Pearl Basham, compelled all the miners to buy a one, dollar ticket in raffles for second-hand automobiles or lose their jobs. Old broken down cars would thus fetch Mr. Basham from $750 to $800 apiece. It was further alleged at the LaFollette hearings that whenever Mr. Basham felt the need of more money he held a raffle—often as many as three times a month. Moreover, under his supervision of company affairs, it was said, two company doctors still receive $700 for services for which miners are charged from $1800 to $2400 a month.

# ARMS OVER EUROPE

## *The fourth of a series of articles, describing the power of the Soviet*

By CURT L. HEYMANN
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RUSSIA under the Stalin dictatorship is undergoing a severe crisis. The killings in the Soviet Union have shocked the civilized world, and while this is the year of the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet régime, the inauguration of a new Constitution, and the adoption of a third Five-Year Plan, facts which in themselves are accomplishments of a rapidly changing Russia—these facts have been overshadowed by the bloody "purges" which by now may have reached 500 or more executions.

But, while the foreign observer lacks a definite clue as to the true significance of this terror, it is obvious that these wilful persecutions cannot be ascribed to a sudden impulse or the morbid mind of a dictator alone. As in the days of Czarist Russia, Stalin must be backed and protected by a "court camarilla," trying to fight a conspiracy against the state at any price. Then, the existence of a conspiracy taken for granted, the problem of the Kremlin remains as to how far the menace of plotting can be met successfully by mass executions and *en bloc* trials. For the movement has spread and has affected the masses.

Here is the danger point! Russian communism, as a mass movement, was rooted in the Russian people, but the sole mass unit that executed its will was the Red Army. The masses had to swing in the direction in which the Army swung—not vice versa—a huge, highly disciplined force, obedient and devoted to its commanders, who, although superiors, were "comrades." It was created out of the people by the will of the people for the people. It needed only the persuasion of individual plotters to convert persons in high Army commands to their views and, thus, what was regarded as the backbone of the régime and the guardianship of the masses, broke down.

To recall the events: Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky and seven other generals who had been high in the councils of the Red Army were sentenced to death on June 12, at a closed trial on charges of treason, and were shot the following day. Tukhachevsky had been slated to command the western front in the event of war, and among the rest were a former commandant of the Frunze Military Academy, of the Leningrad military district, and of White Russia, the head of an organization for training military reserves in various defense measures, a former chief of the personnel section of the general staff, and a former military attaché in London, Berlin, and Tokyo. In brief, there was hardly a branch of the formidable Soviet defense system that was not affected by the executions of these generals, doomed as spies in the service of alien foes.

Has the Red Army already overcome the shock of these grim events? There was no breakdown of morale and discipline, it has been reported, but the fact remains that the greatest fighting force of any power in the world was deprived of its best generals and greatest strategist, Marshal Tukhachevsky, who, at the same time, was the idol of the

masses, the liaison officer between the Kremlin and the people. Yet, lest we not overrate his value, let us also remember that his star had already fallen four weeks before he was executed. He was the youngest of the Soviet's five field marshals and was radically demoted in a startling Red Army shakeup on May 11.

By that time, Soviet Russia had already started her drive against espionage and sabotage and used her vast army to fight it. Supreme military councils were formed to dominate the Army and to curb its commanders. So far they had been dominant, but from then on, as council members, they had to act in accordance with the Communist Party. No longer is a single officer in supreme command of troops. It is the War Council that is the highest representative of military power, and all troops and military establishments are subordinate to the Council. It is a system similar to that used during the early years of the Russian revolution when a Red army was being welded under old Czarist officers.

### *The Aftermath*

The aftermath has had far-reaching consequences as momentous events both in the Army and in the vital key industries indicated. In the Red Army, the commands of five military districts (corresponding to the United States corps areas) were changed. In industry, fear and confusion reflected upon the 1937 production. *Pravda* admitted: "A state of confusion is evident among many executives and engineers, and has resulted in evasion of responsibility." The paper reported last summer that industries had worked most unsatisfactorily during the first five months of this year, and the Red Army's organ *Krasnaya Zvezda* declared: "Events show that the enemy has succeeded in penetrating into the midst of our army."

In the absence of explanations, "theories" have been offered for the proceedings in the Soviet Union. One of them was the alleged drift of the executed generals toward Germany, and as a result a Russo-German accord was much talked about in Paris and London. Developments in Spain, in the Far East, and in the Mediterranean have since established the absurdity of such rumors. First, Russian interference in the Spanish civil war widened the rift in the European line-up. Second, the Sino-Russian pact, disregarding a Russo-Japanese clash, deepened the gulf between Moscow and the "anti-Red front," created by Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo. Third, Russia's flat charge that Italian warships sank Soviet Russian merchantmen in the Mediterranean did the rest by serving as a pretext for the fascist states to stay away from the piracy conference at Nyon. Never were the two hostile camps more sharply divided!

Hence it has been the aim of the Berlin-Rome axis to exclude the Soviets from a Western accord, contrary to the desire of London and Paris to treat Russia as an equal, i.e. to regard her as a Central European and not as an Oriental power. Yet Moscow, even outside the Fascist camp, has only too often been the *enfant terrible* in the European concert. The Soviets so far succeeded in sabotaging an Italo-British rapprochement, and while France was always anxious to reaffirm her fidelity to the Franco-Soviet pact, England's cooperation with the Soviet Union never went a step farther than was necessary to maintain the status quo in Europe. The relations between Downing Street and the Kremlin have therefore been the barometer for the general European situation, and realizing this, Mr. Litvinoff, considered a moderate, never (not even in his government's latest dispute with Italy) went beyond a diplomatic fist shaking.

### *The Anti-Red Front*

Yet, if it comes to the question of war or peace, there would hardly be any Russo-

Italian warfare since both powers lack common frontiers. As Bismarck put it: an elephant and a whale can't very well fight. As far as the Far Eastern situation is concerned: Japan's hands are tied, and despite her outcry against the "bolshevist peril" she has no design on Russia. The Soviets, on the other hand, their desire for nonaggression taken for granted, are well satisfied with the strength of their fortification system in the East, and, to avoid being played against the Manchurian wall, signed a pact with China for their own protection. There remains, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, only the third partner of the anti-Red front—the Third Reich. It therefore goes without saying that a Russo-Japanese or Russo-Italian war is barely probable without the complement of a Russo-German conflict.

It is that menace, continuously promoted by Nazi Germany's *Drang nach Osten*, that constitutes the war peril and—if actually culminating in a conflict—will quickly develop into unprecedented warfare. It will bring to the fore the present line-up of powers and will eventually be a repetition of the one of 1914 with the exception that Italy will replace the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and that Japan, much against her own will, will join the fascist powers with the chance of gaining little and losing much.

The Russian Army of old reflected much of Czarist Russia's internal divergence. The Red Army of today, still enlisting the plodding Russian moujik and the coarse Don Cossack, still resembles somewhat that colossus on clay feet that swept westward in 1914 but finally got nowhere. In psychology, it has that Oriental character so inexplicable to the Western mind. Embracing all that is Russia today, it is a mass army like the Czarist, yet created out of the masses for their own defense. That changes the picture somewhat but cannot change the fact that it remains a doubtful fighting machine, an enigma in the armed world camp that only actual warfare can solve. Let us, however, for the sake of comparison rather than strength, give the actual figures of that vast war machine, and let us take these figures at their face value only.

***ARMY:*** A survey by American military authorities disclosed that at least 55,000,000 trained men can "spring to arms overnight" in 48 nations. Of these, the survey brought to light, Soviet Russia has the world's largest army with 1,545,000 regulars and a total of 19,490,000 trained men. It can be readily assumed that the bulk of these forces are massed on the country's extended fortification systems along its borders. Should war operations however require the shifting of mobilized manpower on a vast scale, then inadequate transportation facilities such as offered by the Transsiberian Railroad would prove a severe handicap. Aware of this problem, the Russian military authorities have permanently garrisoned in Eastern Siberia an army of some 250,000 to 300,000 men, whose fighting force is strengthened by 1,000 airplanes and 1,000 tanks.

Stress is laid on the training of infantry of which the regular army supposedly has between 85 and 90 divisions. According to latest army regulations these divisions will closely operate with artillery and, supported by tanks, shall determine the outcome of battle. Hence also the tremendous development of armored cars and light tanks, presenting a highly mobile force of some 1,800 Vickers and amphibian tanks of the two-man type, and at least 700 or more armored cars. There are in addition several hundred tanks of the heaviest type, equipped with a 3-inch gun, two 47-millimeter tank guns, and six machine guns, able to travel at twelve to fifteen miles and operated by seven men. No other nation has a similarly equipped tank type, and the tank forces of the Red Army are believed excellent in tactics and experimentation.

The cavalry forces of the Soviet Army are also unsurpassed by any other country. They have been estimated at around twenty divisions, or some 100,000 men on horseback, who would support a tank charge on a big scale, employing the old style tactic of the Cossacks of the Imperial army.

***AIR FORCE:*** In the air, Soviet Russia in case of war could easily mobilize an armada of about 3,000 first-line combat planes, and could probably increase that number by 1,500 to 2,000 other machines which would make a total of about 4,500 to 5,000 planes. There are some 50,000 men in the air force of whom 7,000 to 8,000 are trained pilots. One-third of the first-line planes are bombers able to carry two tons of bombs. There are many duplicates of American twin-engined all-metal models, and one of them, a

bomber known as the S.B. with a speed of about 240 miles an hour, is the type that performed so excellently in the Spanish civil war. Another one is the snub-nosed ship that also spread havoc over Spain.

Since the Soviet Union increased her annual military budget from about $208,000,000 in 1931 to $3,000,000,000 last year, it can undoubtedly be assumed that the Russians have used the bulk of that fortune for building up an air force second to none. Of it, beside the force amassed in Siberia, 800 planes are probably assigned to the western border while some 400 are stationed around Moscow. At the last May Day parade, while giant tanks rumbled past Lenin's tomb, a fleet of more than 800 planes flew over the Red Square and disappeared so quickly that reporters were not able to count them.

*NAVY:* The Soviet navy, compared with the strength of the Red Army and Russia's position as a world power, is hardly more than a coast guard force. But the Soviet Union is embarking on a naval building program intended to match her strength on land and in the air, and it must be kept in mind that she has declined engagements to limit naval building. Furthermore, the Anglo-Soviet naval treaty does not prevent Russia from building as many battleships as she chooses, and that treaty does not even touch on her Far Eastern Fleet. Of course, it can not and probably will not be the aim of the Soviets to equal Japan's naval strength in the Far East, but what is undoubtedly aimed at is theoretic equality with Germany in the Baltic. To this end, Soviet Russia has developed a formidable submarine fleet which has been estimated to number 125 to 175 U-boats. Various naval almanacs, in the absence of official figures, have estimated the tonnage of these ships as 78,000. If this is true, Russia would outdo any other power in submarines, and since these boats are supposed to be small, would equal Japan's undersea fleet.

As Russia is lacking facilities to build large warships, efforts have been made to have them built by foreign nations. In this respect it is noteworthy that, although there is no naval attaché at present attached to the Soviet Embassy at Washington, the Russians have been eager to receive advice from the United States. A Russian commission, however, that sought last Spring to negotiate for the construction of a 35,000-ton battleship here, has not been encouraged. Now, the Soviets are even anxious to have three ships of the same type built here and are represented in the negotiations by an American corporation, the Carp Export and Import Company, headed by Samuel Carp, an American citizen and brother-in-law of the Russian Premier, Vyacheslaff M. Motoloff. Another fact, under recent developments a rather strange one, is that a new Soviet cruiser is being built by Italy.

Strained relations between France and Germany are usually considered a danger to the European status quo. But modern history shows that Russo-German relationship is and always has been by far the dominant factor in European diplomacy, as Bismarck realized. There was no war danger after the World War as long as republican Germany worked in harmony with the Soviet Union. The advent of the Nazis renewed the quarrel. A dispute, waged twenty-three years ago by two monarchs, is being continued by two dictators. A sixty-year alienation still continues and in all probability will once more be settled when an accidental spark sets the powder keg afire.

# ANSWERS

1. Article 2, Section 4 of the Constitution provides for the removal of all civil officers upon their impeachment and conviction.
2. Samuel Chase was impeached in 1804, tried and acquitted.
3. James Buchanan.
4. Italy deserted Germany to join the allies.
5. The oldest, William Henry Harrison, 68. The youngest, Theodore Roosevelt, 42.
6. Ulysses S. Grant, after having served from 1868 to 1876, ran for nomination on the Republican ticket in 1880 against Garfield and was defeated only after 36 ballots.
7. There are approximately 100,000,000 more people in China than in Russia and Japan combined.
8. Russia is nearly twice as large as China.
9. Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway of Arkansas and Mrs. Dixie Graves of Alabama.
10. Thomas Jefferson.
11. John Adams
12. Rafael Franco is an important political figure in Paraguay. Francisco Franco is Generalissimo of the Spanish Rebels.
13. Manuel Azana.
14. Harry H. Woodring is Secretary of War.
15. William B. Bankhead is from Alabama and is Speaker of the House.
16. Asia.
17. Canada.
18. Frank Murphy is Governor of Michigan, and Frank P. Murphy is Governor of New Hampshire.

# THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

## *Current history in the world of the arts*

### By V. F. CALVERTON

IN a recent edition of the London *News Chronicle*, the leading liberal newspaper in England, there was the following, entirely accidental, juxtaposition of articles with the adjacent captions which were so close together that they almost collided:

| BACKWARD SOCIAL SCIENCES | NINE MILLION GAS MASKS READY |
|---|---|

In the first article, Sir William Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics, stated that the time had come when the social sciences must win the secure and stable place which the natural sciences have achieved. "The keys that could unlock for them (the social sciences) the gateway to their promised land," the Director continued, "were observation and detachment." In a later paragraph, he said:

> The business of the social scientist is to study and compare different types of economic, political, and social organization, as the biologist studies forms of life, or the chemist compares the reactions of different materials under various conditions.
>
> The biologist does not hate rabbits and love frogs.

In the second article, the statement is made that:

> Nine million gas masks have now been produced in Britain—a bigger number (Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, Under-Secretary for the Home Office declared in the House of Commons) than any other country possesses for its civilian population.
>
> Four regional supply depots, with a total capacity for 11,000,000 gas masks, have been set up.
>
> Cost of storage so far has been £23,000.

Each article answers the other, with tragic finality.

Sir William Beveridge's description of what the social sciences should aim to do is excellent, ideal. But like most excellent and ideal things, it is, in our present world at least, dismally and dismayingly unattainable. How can social scientists view society as detachedly as they do rabbits or frogs, when they are a part of that society, bound up with it as inalienably as light to the sun, forced to wear its spiritual clothes, adopt its political language, think in terms of its economic concepts, and walk with the ghosts of what it was as well as is and hopes to be? It is easy to deal objectively with sticks and stones, rabbits and frogs, and all that vast ollapodrida of inorganic and organic stuff which are not subject to human mutations of observation, judgment, and conclusion. But when it comes to human stuff, which is so much more complex and unpredictable just because it is human, such objectivity is impossible, especially in the social sciences. Imagine a Spanish sociologist today who strove to be objective in the Spanish Civil war. The social sciences are *value* sciences and not *fact* sciences, which means that the premises adopted and the conclusions arrived at are contingent upon the values at stake, the social values believed in, the economic values espoused. A Spanish sociologist would have to be inhuman rather than human not to take sides in the conflict. A rabbit or a frog would not have to take sides, but a human being could not avoid it. Naturally, the exhortation to remain objective, however ideal, is futile. Objectivity in the social sciences will be possible only when we have a society which is undivided into groups, classes, and nations, when group conflicts, class struggles, and national wars are impossible, and human beings can

view themselves as objectively as they now view rabbits and frogs.

The best proof that we have no such society and that it consequently cannot achieve such objectivity is to be found not only in the manufacture of gas masks and all other varieties of war materials, but also in the state of mind bred by national cultures today throughout the world, most notably in those countries which declare themselves fascist. The chauvinisms, the race-manias, the religious bigotries and persecutions, the political hostilities and oppressions, which have sprung up among and within those nations, are ample proof of the impossibility of attaining any semblance of objectivity in the social sciences today. As a matter of fact, we are further away from achieving such objectivity today than we were a generation ago.

Imagine the possibility of attaining objectivity in any science in Germany where science has been dichotomized into Aryan and Jewish, and where a leading professor, Dr. Bruno Thuring, in an address delivered at the University of Munich, could unblushingly declare:

> The forcible invasion of Jews upon Aryan physical science began with Einstein and Max Born. The object of the invasion was nothing more or less than an attempt to undermine Nordic discoveries and Nordic ideas through Talmudic, formalistic dogmatism in the field of space, time, and causality. They tried to raise a formalistic, superficial space-time conception which destroyed every relationship between the human being and physical science. This method of Jewish physics is by no means the result of scientific research, but is an intellectual conception the very antithesis of Nature

## *New Programs of Knowledge*

More thorough-going than Sir William Beveridge's declaration of aim is H. G. Wells' new plan of education which aspires to an objectivity of outlook that includes the social sciences as well as the physical. Mr. Wells, a veteran educator in an unacademic, delightfully amateurish way, is bent upon working out an educational scheme whereby people can be made more aware of the world they live in and more



***PRECAUTIONS:** Gas masks for nine million civilians and soldiers have been manufactured in England. As part of Britain's defense program in time of war, civilians are taught the proper use of the masks in regular drills.*

cognizant of the forces that dominate it. Mr. Wells makes a forthright, wholesale condemnation of present-day education, which he holds responsible for "much if not all the misery and tragedy of the world today." He believes the time has come when we must "discard the present methods of educating the young as useless, obsolete, and wholly inadequate to prepare a future citizen for his responsibilities in the modern world."

Mr. Wells' program, which is both new and revolutionary, aims to provide every citizen with "an irreducible minimum of knowledge" that will equip him to cope with the contemporary world and "see

things through" to their logical conclusions. Mr. Wells objects in particular to the type of "herd intelligence" which he maintains our present education tends to encourage. His own words in that connection bristle with challenge:

> The general ignorance—even in respectable quarters—of some of the most elementary realities of political and social life of the world is, I believe, mainly accountable for much of the discomfort and menace of our times.
>
> The uninstructed public intelligence of our community is feeble and convulsive. It is still the herd intelligence. It tyrannizes here and yields to tyranny there. What is called elementary education throughout the world does not in fact educate because it does not properly inform.

### *Attacks on Teachers*

Mr. Wells' address, delivered before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, has already had its repercussions here as well as in England and on the Continent. What made it create such an immediate reaction was his attack upon teachers of all varieties, from those in the elementary schools to those in the universities, and in that attack, it should be noted, he did not mince his words:

> I admit we cannot have a modern education without a modernized type of teacher. Everything I am saying now implies a demand for more and better teachers—with better equipment. And these teachers will have to be kept fresh. It is stipulated in most leases that we should paint our houses outside every three years and inside every seven years, but nobody ever thinks of doing up a schoolteacher. There are teachers at work in this country who haven't been painted inside for fifty years. They must be damp and rotten. Two-thirds of the teaching profession now is in urgent need of being either reconditioned or superannuated.

What Mr. Wells' program amounts to, in brief, is best described by himself:

> We begin by telling true stories of the past and of other lands. We open out the child's mind to a realization that the sort of life it is living is not the only life that has been lived and that human life in the past has been different from what it is today and on the whole that it has been progressive. We shall have to teach a little about law and robbers, kings, and conquests, but I see no need at this stage to afflict the growing mind with dates and dynastic particulars.
>
> Concurrently we ought to make the weather and the mud pie our introduction to what Huxley christened long ago as elementary physiography. We ought to build up simple and clear ideas from natural experience.
>
> We start a study of the states of matter with the boiling, evaporation, freezing and so on, of water and go on to elementary physics and chemistry. Local topography can form the basis of geography. We shall have to let our learner into the secret that the world is a globe—and for the time being I think that has to be a bit of dogmatic teaching.

When it comes to history, Mr. Wells insists that the less children have of "what has hitherto figured as history the better." Continuing on that theme, he adds:

> I do not see either the charm or the educational benefit of making an important subject of the criminal history of royalty, the murder of the Prince in the Tower, the Wives of Henry VIII, the families of Edward and James I, the mistresses of Charles II, Sweet Nell of Old Drury and all the rest of it. I suggest that the sooner we get all that unpleasant stuff out of schools, and the sooner that we forget the border bickerings of England, France, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, Bannockburn, Flodden, Crecy and Agincourt, the nearer our world will be to a sane outlook upon life. In this survey of what a common citizen should know I am doing my best to elbow the scandals and revenges which once passed as English history into an obscure corner or out of the picture altogether.
>
> But I am not proposing to eliminate history from education—far from it.
>
> I believe that the crazy combative patriotism that plainly threatens to destroy civilization today is very largely begotten by the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress in their history lessons. Equally mischievous is the furtive antipatriotism of the leftist teacher. I suggest that we take our history from the simple descriptive anthropology of the elementary stage to the story of the early civilizations.
>
> Archaeologists have been piecing together a record of the growth of the primary civilizations and the developing roles of priest, king, farmer, warrior, the succession of stone and copper and iron, the appearance of horse and road and shipping in the expansions of those primordial communities. It is a far finer story to tell a boy or girl and there is no reason why it should not be told.

### *The St. John's Program*

Less melodramatic and less original than Mr. Wells' program, but, in terms of American education, as novel and original as any plan advanced since the days of Meiklejohn's experiment at Wisconsin, is the St. John's program, born of the intellectual ingenuities of Stringfellow Barr, now President of the College, and quondam editor of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, and Dr. Scott Buchanan, now Dean of the College, and former assistant Director of the People's Institute of New York. This program aims to orient the student in the world in which he lives, but by means of a technique extremely different from that urged by Mr. Wells.

The St. John's program, which is based upon the theory that the student can learn more by reading for himself than by submitting himself to the artificial and jaded instruction of class-room teachers who are bored with the repetition of courses over an impossible period of years, seeks to introduce the student to the finest literature in European culture. "It is the purpose of the new program at St. John's College," Dr. Buchanan declares, "to recover the great liberal tradition of Europe and America, which for a period of two thousand years has kept watch over and guided all the other occidental traditions. . . . For a long period of European history the ancient languages and mathematics provided the educational mediums of this tradition. They were called classics. In the last generation it has been known that they were no longer effective carriers. Our educational system has responded by dropping them. But we have not been successful in finding the proper substitutes, tangible, available, movable objects whose obvious properties will enable teachers to move, lead, and discipline students in the liberal arts."

Dr. Buchanan then goes on to state that, after ten years of research in the field, they believe that they "have found the steps in the great books of the European intellectual tradition. They not only throw light on what has happened to the liberal heritage, but they are themselves the mediums in which it can be revived and carried on in the liberal college."

Culturally speaking, this experiment at St. John's College, whatever the difficulties involved in carrying it out, and there are many, is a most progressive development which deserves the attention of every American educator and every person interested in progressive education. It represents an attempt to inspire the student to get to the roots of the problem at stake: namely, the question of what it is that he is to be educated to and for, and how that purpose is to be achieved. The answer as formulated by the St. John's group is as follows:

> The arts of apprehending, understanding, and knowing the truth are the liberal arts, and they set their own ends. They are also the arts of the freeman who sets his own immediate ends in the light of the more general good. It is only by the practice of the liberal arts that the human animal becomes a free man. It is only by discipline in these arts that spiritual, moral, and civil liberties can be achieved and preserved. It is in such obvious propositions as these that the founding fathers of 1781 and 1789 gave reasons for the institutions that they set up. It is embarrassing to admit that they are not always familiar and obvious to us.
>
> It will be an important part of the instruction at St. John's College to keep this part of our past alive in the minds of the students, but it is even more important that we implement ends which the propositions celebrate and seek the virtues which they dedicate. Ultimately the ends of liberal education are the intellectual virtues, the development of the capacities from which they come, and the integration of the characters to which they contribute.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the books selected by the St. John's faculty as representative of the best thought of the Occident over such a vast period of years:

| | *Language and Literature* | *Liberal Arts* | *Mathematics and Science* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *First Year* | Homer<br>Herodotus<br>Thucydides<br>Aeschylus<br>Sophocles<br>Euripides<br>Aristophanes<br>Lucian<br>Old Testament | Plato<br>Aristotle<br>Hippocrates<br>Galen | Euclid<br>Nicomachus<br>Aristarchus<br>Apollonius<br>Ptolemy<br>Archimedes<br>Aristoxenus |

| | *Language and Literature* | *Liberal Arts* | *Mathematics and Science* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Second Year* | Horace<br>Ovid<br>Livy<br>Virgil<br>New Testament<br>Quintilian<br>Dante<br>Voleunga Saga<br>Song of Roland<br>Chaucer | Lucretius<br>Aurelius<br>Cicero<br>Plotinus<br>Augustine<br>Bonaventura<br>Thomas<br>Roger Bacon | Strabo<br>Leonardo<br>Copernicus<br>Galileo<br>Descartes |
| *Third Year* | Cervantes<br>Shakespeare<br>Milton<br>Rabelais<br>Corneille<br>Racine<br>Moliere<br>Erasmus<br>Montaigne<br>Montequieu<br>Grotius | Calvin<br>Spinoza<br>Francis Bacon<br>Hobbes<br>Locke<br>Hume | Kepler<br>Harvey<br>Gilbert<br>Newton<br>Leibnitz<br>Boyle |
| *Fourth Year* | Gibbon<br>Voltaire<br>Swift<br>Rousseau<br>Adam Smith<br>American Constitution<br>Federalist Papers<br>Malthus<br>Marx<br>Fielding<br>Balzac<br>Flaubert<br>Thackeray<br>Dickens<br>Ibsen<br>Dostoevski<br>Tolstoi | Kant<br>Schopenhauer<br>Hegel<br>Goethe<br>Bentham<br>James<br>Freud | Peacock<br>Fourier<br>Lavoisier<br>Dalton<br>Faraday<br>Maxwell<br>Joule<br>Darwin<br>Virchow<br>Bernard<br>Galton<br>Mendel<br>Clifford<br>Cantor<br>Riemann<br>Lobachevski<br>Hilbert<br>Poincare<br>Gauss<br>Galois<br>Russell & Whitehead<br>Veblen & Young |

What is most interesting about the St. John's program is that the old routine of classes is being abandoned; all the students have to do is to study the books enumerated in the above list, and discuss them with their respective instructors--nothing more and nothing less. The "hitch" in the program from the point of view of the student is that this schedule, in the last analysis, may prove far more arduous and difficult than the old class-room one—but, undoubtedly, it will prove more valuable to him in the end.

### *Democracy and Education*

All these educational programs, however much they differ in detail, have one common denominator: a belief in the democratic principle and its importance in educational as well as political matters. They seek to develop the questioning, critical type of mind, and encourage the spirit of scepticism instead of that of acquiescence. In that sense they are individualistic in their emphasis—most healthfully so. They want the individual to think for himself and not allow a dictator or a state to think for him. They believe in the individual's right to independent thinking and are opposed to the theory that that right should be sacrificed for the sake of the state or society. They are convinced that, in the end, the best state and the best society are attainable only when that freedom and independence are preserved.

The antithesis of that attitude is to be found rife in various parts of Europe today, where such virtues are scorned as romantic and denounced as decadent. All the various lists *expurgatorius* are a striking illustration of how determined leaders of modern states are to regulate and regiment the reading and education of their populaces. Hitler's whole fight with the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, is basically about who is to educate Catholic youth: the clergy or the Nazis. Both would be equally dictatorial in their methods, recommending only those books which favored their ideas and outlawing and banning those that conflicted with them. Few cultural activities escape Nazi scrutiny which is pathologically meticulous in its criticisms and condemnations of everything opposed to its principles.

An interesting illustration of how far-sweeping Nazi surveillance is can be seen in the closing of Schiller's play: *Don Carlos*. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* recently carried an account of why the play was closed. Its words have an ironic sting to them which must have eluded the censor. It records the fact that in the Deutsche Theater in Berlin there were continuous storms of applause when the character Marquis Posa cried out: "Sir, give us freedom!"

The play was withdrawn as soon as this fact became known to the Nazi authorities, and a classical farce was substituted for it. It is generally understood that henceforth no German theater will be permitted to play *Don Carlos*.

Relative to the same tendency, it is painful to observe that in all recent editions of Goethe's works, especially collections of his conversations, every remark, insinuation, or reflection which is liberal or inimical to Nazi ideas is deleted. Ernest Haeckel is also being abused in a similar manner, and several Nazi pundits are now trying to prove that Haeckel, a true materialist if there ever was one, was an advocate of the mystical race theories advanced by the Nazis. A recent book published in Munich: *Blood and Intellectual Inheritance of Ernest Haeckel* by H. Brucher goes so far as to convert Haeckel into a fore-runner of Nazi thought. The race-theorist, Gunther, even declares, in support of this general thesis, that Haeckel is "the perfect Nordic type."

### Nobel Prize Substitutes

Last year, when the Nobel Prize Committee bestowed its Peace award upon Von Ossietzky, an avowed enemy of the Nazi regime, the Nazi party congress at a cultural session outlawed the Nobel Prize awards and forbade any German from accepting them. In their place the Nazis substituted the German National Prizes, and the first award was to Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, the official philosopher of National Socialism, and a bitter enemy of religious groups and communists. Dr. Rosenberg, a Ph.D. in the hypnotism of hate, was awarded the prize because of his work in re-creating and developing Teutonic neo-paganism which worships not Christian or Judaic symbols but those of the old German Aryan gods. Incidentally, Dr. Rosenberg's writings were formally banned by Pope Pius XI in 1934.

Other German National Prizes went to Professor August Bier, a pioneer in new surgery methods, to Professor Ferdinand Sauerbruch for his remarkable contributions in the field of lung surgery (Professor Sauerbruch was summoned to Soviet Russia in 1923 to administer to Leon Trotsky and was also active in the treatment of President Paul von Hindenburg in his last illness), and to Dr. Wilhelm Filchner, who has been conspicuous in various explorations in Mongolia and Tibet.

### Censorship Bandwagon

But not only Germany is active in suppressing plays, expurgating classics, and banning books. In the Irish Free State similar practices are in vogue. Lynn Doyle, the well-known Irish author, who was head of the *Bureau Expurgatorius*, which was created by President de Valera of the Irish Free State, has just resigned from his position, and the news of his activities have been ventilated in the Irish and English press. Since 1929, three million books have been passed on by the *Bureau* and nearly one thousand of them have been placed upon its "Index." Among the books banned are: H. G. Wells' *Bulpington of Blup* and *Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind;* A. J. Cronin's *Stars Look Down;* Robert Graves' *Claudius, the God* and *I, Claudius;* Aldous Huxley's *Eyeless in Gaza* and *Point Counterpoint;* and Liam O'Flaherty's *Hollywood Cemetery.*

### Art and Spain

Pablo Picasso, one of the leading Spanish artists, and, as the founder of cubism, one of the best known artists in the world today, has just painted a huge mural on Guernica, to be used in the Spanish building in the Paris Exposition. Picasso has been an advocate of the loyalists since the beginning of the Civil War, and in addition to the Guernica mural, which depicts the hideousness and horror of the bombardment, he has also just completed a book of eighteen engravings entitled *Dream and Life of General Franco.* The engravings are full of all that furious savage hate which dominated Goya's *Caprices* on the Napoleonic invasion of Spain generations ago. Goya attacked, satirized, and brutalized the French who were then the invaders of his native land. Picasso does the same to Franco and his followers whom he considers the enemies and would-be destroyers of everything fine and precious in the Spanish tradition.

# THE REALM OF SCIENCE

EPIDEMICS of infantile paralysis, which swept across the United States and Canada in the late summer and early fall, have served to arouse the nation to the need of launching an intensive campaign against the disease. The announcement that an organization was being formed to undertake the necessary action on a nationwide scale was made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. No one understands better than he the importance of fighting this disease.

"My own personal experience in the work that we have been doing at the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation for over ten years, leads me to the very definite conclusion that the best results in attempting to eradicate this disease cannot be secured by approaching the problem through any single one of its aspects, whether that be preventive studies in the laboratory, emergency work during epidemics, or after treatment," the President said.

"For over ten years at the Foundation at Warm Springs, Georgia, we have devoted our effort almost entirely to the study of improved treatment of the after effects of the illness. During these years other agencies, which we have from time to time assisted, have devoted their energies to other phases of the fight. I firmly believe that the time has now come when the whole attack on this plague should be led and directed, though not controlled, by one national body. And it is for this purpose that a new national foundation for infantile paralysis is being created.

"As I have said, the general purpose of the new foundation will be to lead, direct, and unify the fight on every phase of this sickness. It will make every effort to ensure that every responsible research agency in this country is adequately financed to carry on investigations into the cause of infantile paralysis and the methods by which it may be prevented. It will endeavor to eliminate much of the needless aftereffect of this disease-wreakage caused by the failure to make early and accurate diagnosis of its presence.

"We all know that improper care during the acute stage of the disease, and the use of antiquated treatment, or downright neglect of any treatment, are the cause of thousands of crippled, twisted, powerless bodies now. Much can be done along these lines right now. The new foundation will carry on a broad-gauged educational campaign, prepared under expert medical supervision, and this will be placed within the reach of the doctors and the hospitals of the country. The practicing physician is in reality the front line fighter of the sickness, and there is much existing valuable knowledge that should be disseminated to him."

As the President so forcefully states, early diagnosis is today the chief hope in the fight against infantile paralysis. If the disease is recognized early enough and treated with convalescent serum, paralysis can be prevented. This serum is obtained from the blood of a person who has recovered from the disease. Because the serum is so difficult to obtain, it cannot be used as a general preventive measure. It can only be administered in cases of actual need.

During the last few years there has been much talk about two vaccines which were held forth as adequate preventives of infantile paralysis. The medical profession has given up these vaccines as too dangerous to use. This, of course, ends only one chapter in the attempt to develop a suitable preventive of the disease. As the President said, the search must go on in those medical laboratories equipped for the work.

### *Nasal Spray Tried*

The nasal spray for the prevention of in-

fantile paralysis which I discussed briefly in this department last month, was given its first large-scale test in the province of Ontario, Canada, during August and September. This method, the most promising yet developed for the prevention of the disease, was tried on 5000 Ontario children under fourteen years of age. The zinc sulphate spray, as developed by Dr. Max Minor Peet of the University of Michigan, was used. Dr. Peet's method had been tested previously on animals but had not been tried out on a large number of children in an infected area.

The purpose of the spray is to block the entrance of the virus of the disease into the nervous system. The work of Dr. Simon Flexner and his associates at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, has indicated that the virus enters by way of the nose.

Infantile paralysis, it must be remembered, is a disease of the nervous system. The virus does its damage by destroying nerve cells. Once a nerve cell is destroyed, it cannot be regenerated.

The great majority of nerve cells in the body are within the brain and spinal cord. Other masses of nerve cells, called ganglions, are buried deep within the body. Only in the nose do nerve cells come close to the surface of the body. Dr. Flexner believes that the disease attacks the exposed endings of these nerve cells, making their way from them along the fibers that connect these cells to the brain.

The first report on the use of the spray in Ontario came from Preston Springs, Ontario, and was made by Dr. J. Edwin Hagmeier, director of the Hagmeier Clinic. Of a population of about 1200 children, 993 were treated with the spray. Of the 993 treated, one developed infantile paralysis. This was one-tenth of one per cent. Of the 200 not treated, two developed the disease. This was one per cent of those not treated. Additional statistics will be awaited with interest by the medical profession.

When paralysis has set in, much can be done to aid the victim to recover some use of his muscles, it is now known. It has been found that nearly nine-tenths of the affected muscles can be restored to normal within a period of about two years. This requires proper care and exercise. It is extremely important that treatments be started early before the weakened muscles have had a chance to stretch.

As is well known from the work at Warm Springs, much of this work is best accomplished with the aid of a swimming pool. The support which the water supplies to weakened muscles is an important factor.

### *System of Star Clusters*

A new type of organization within the galaxy has been discovered by James Cuffey, astronomer at the Harvard College Observatory. It consists of a system of star clusters in which one giant cluster, containing hundreds of stars, revolves around a large cluster in much the same fashion that the moon revolves around the earth.

Astronomers have for many years been aware of systems of double stars in which one star revolves around the other, but this is the first time that they have had any inkling of such a system of star clusters.

The two clusters which Mr. Cuffey found to be united in a system are known to astronomers as Messier 38 and NGC 1907. These designations are merely catalogue numbers. Messier 38, the larger of the two clusters, is the central one. According to his calculations, it takes 60,000,000 years for NGC 1907 to make one revolution about the larger cluster.

### *Sun Below Par*

Another Harvard astronomer has discovered that the sun is below par. He is Dr. William A. Calder who has been making new measurements of the sun's brightness with a photo-electric cell and comparing these measurements with the brightness of the stars.

Our sun belongs to the class of stars known to astronomers as "yellow dwarfs." While we think of our sun as intensely white, the fact is that many stars have a

whiter light than our sun, justifying astronomers in considering it as a yellow star.

Now Dr. Calder has found that our sun is only seven-tenths as bright as the general class of "yellow dwarfs."

### *Some Strange Animals*

Dr. William M. Mann, director of the Washington Zoo, is on his way back to America with some strange animals collected during the last five months in Sumatra, the Netherlands Indies, Straits Settlements, and Siam. Blue sheep and white squirrels are among them. Others include black panthers and tropical birds of every hue in the rainbow.

### *Good and Bad Hawks*

The popular notion that all hawks are bad is wrong, according to Arthur Cleveland Bent who has just completed a monograph on North American birds of prey for the Smithsonian Institution. Among the bad hawks, he lists the sharp-skinned hawk and Cooper's hawk. The antipathy directed toward all hawks, he says, is largely due to the activities of Cooper's hawk.

Most hawks, he has found, are moderate in their appetites and are beneficial to the farmer. Among the good hawks, he lists the common red-shouldered hawk of the eastern United States and southern Canada. These birds are great home lovers and pairs appear to mate for life. A couple will appropriate a certain territory, such as a small woodland, and defend it against all trespassers. They devour large numbers of field mice and grasshoppers and seldom make a raid on chicken yards.

### *Fat Molecules Best*

Researches carried on at the General Motors Laboratories by W. G. Lovell and J. M. Campbell indicate that a gasoline made up of round fat molecules would pave the way for smaller automobile engines which would develop more power and use less fuel.

Years ago, engineers realized that they could increase the efficiency of a gasoline engine by raising the compression ratio. But when this is done, the fuel begins to knock. The two investigators, working with fuels of pure hydrocarbons prepared in the laboratory, discovered that long thin molecules knocked, but round fat ones didn't. It is their hope that some day it will be possible to prepare an ideal fuel on a commercial scale.

### *Mile-Long Rails*

If you are the type of traveler kept awake at night by the "clickety-click" of the Pullman wheels as they go over the rail joints, you will rejoice in a new development of welding. It makes possible the elimination of most joints by welding the rails into mile-long segments.

The process has been developed by the General Electric Co. and the Sperry Products, Inc. The pioneer work was done on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad.

### *School Children's Eyes*

A plea that the nation pay particular attention to guarding the eyes of school children was sounded by Lewis H. Carris, managing director of the Society for the Prevention of Blindness. A test made some years ago indicated that more than 30 per cent of the nation's school children suffered from eye defects.

Adequate lighting and the teaching of good reading habits were stressed by Mr. Carris.

### *The Cholera Outbreak*

The outbreak of Asiatic cholera among the Japanese troops in the Shanghai area serves to recall the role which various epidemics have played in changing military history.

Black plague led to the defeat of Athens at the hands of Sparta and ended the Golden Age of Greece. In 1528, typhus destroyed 20,000 of the 25,000 soldiers with whom Marshal Lautrec besieged the city of Naples. In 1552 it destroyed the army which Charles V sent against the city of Metz. During the Spanish American war, yellow fever killed more American soldiers than did Spanish bullets.

David Dietz

# HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

A MISTY melancholy Monday ushered in the Ocotober Term, 1937, of the Supreme Court, yet the multitude of people seeking standing room to witness the latest living drama enacted there appeared to breathe color and movement into the cold austerity of the new marble palace of justice.

The session was brief. The usual press of applicants for admission to the bar, some with actual or immediately anticipated business with the Court, were individually introduced by sponsors and were severally instructed by the Chief Justice (whose intrinsic gravity and effortless dignity always casts a spell over this simple proceeding) that they might pass to the clerk's desk to take the oath. The usual preliminary motions were presented by counsel in writing. One, accepted by the Court in its due order, asked that the new Associate Justice be denied his seat on the grounds, first, that there did not exist a vacancy for the reason that the Associate Justice who retired did not resign and was therefore still a member of the Court, and, second, that the new appointee, while a Senator, voted for the bill providing the retirement system for Justices and thus "increased the emoluments" of the position to which he was afterwards appointed. Another attorney sought to make a verbal motion much to the same effect, plus the additional point that the retirement law was unconstitutional. He was told that a verbal motion could not be offered, and he subsequently provided the only flutter of excitement by rushing back to the bar with a hastily prepared memorandum, which was calmly accepted by the imperturbable Chief Justice.

In the corridors the talk centered principally upon the question as to whether the new Justice would participate in decisions relating to laws which, as Senator, he had a hand in making. There is, of course, a principle which has the force of a canon that a judge should disqualify himself to pass on litigation in which he has participated prior to taking his seat on the bench, and quite recently a practicing attorney who was also a minor judge was disbarred (though lately reinstated subject to a reprimand) for accepting claims over which his own court had original jurisdiction.

Other than this analogy, however, there does not seem to be any recent precedent, at least in the Supreme Court, squarely covering this situation. It is said that there is no rule of action adopted by the Justices on the question, and as a consequence we may soon see the birth of a new tradition.

There are many such statutes involved among the more than four hundred cases on the new docket. These include a reconsideration of parts of the AAA decision, the gold clause, the Grain Futures Act, the SEC, the Wagner Act, the TVA, and other recent legislation. Numerous matters of national interest and import are on the calendar, including the legality of the sit-down strike and certain conditions justifying picketing, as well as important taxation questions. Seemingly headed for the Supreme Court is the question of the constitutionality of the growing number of State Unfair Practice Laws which, differing from the Fair Practice Laws upheld last Term, prohibit the retailing of merchandise at prices below cost, or below cost plus ten per cent. Widespread interest attaches to the appeal which seeks to bar the prosecution of a suit under the anti-trust laws for the dissolution of the Aluminum Company of America.

Business men will be watching for judicial interpretation of the Robinson-Patman and Miller-Tydings Acts.

Appeal from a decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York which ap-

parently deprives the "clean bill of lading" of the characteristic that for centuries has made it an instrument of basic importance in commerce, is also expected. The decision is described as shifting back to the shipper the burden of proving the condition of cargo delivered to the carrier, despite the clean bill issued by the latter acknowledging its receipt in good order. Such a holding would cast a heavy burden both on the shipper, who would have to preserve evidence other than the bill itself that the goods were put on board in good condition, and on the consignee, who could no longer hold the carrier responsible but would have to look to the shipper, who might be on the other side of the world. Moreover, it would undermine the banking structure built on the principle of the responsibility of the clean bill, and impair the facility with which such bills are now negotiated. It would conflict directly with universal banking practice relating to documentary credits; the International Chamber of Commerce rules, adopted by bankers throughout most of the world, including this country, provide:

> Art. 18. Shipping documents bearing reservations as to the apparent good order and condition of the goods may be refused.

### *Lawyers and Enforcement Officers*

The approach of fall was heralded with a renewal of activities in legal fields everywhere. The American Bar Association, holding its sixtieth meeting at Kansas City, proceeded cautiously with its high-timely experiment in democratization. Only about one-sixth of the nation's lawyers are members of the Association, and undoubtedly many of these are but slightly interested in its activities. Every lawyer, one would think, should be a member of his national guild. The lack of greater national support is due to a combination of conditions, including the apathy of many lawyers toward any legal labors not directly connected with immediate practice and business, the low professional standards still prevailing in some districts, the economic condition of many lawyers which prohibits the payment of dues, the natural individualism of lawyers in general, and last, but not least, the dissatisfaction of many thousands of prominent, successful, and progressive members of the bar with the consistently reactionary leadership of the Association. "Not all the proceedings were political," reports a lay convention observer, characteristically, adding that many sections "discussed matters ranging from the protection of fish in the high seas to the intricacies of insurance."

The ever-growing importance of scientific methods in law enforcement was emphasized by the 23rd Annual Convention of the International Association for Identification concluded at Washington the first week in October. This is an organization composed of persons actively engaged in identification and investigation, primarily but not exclusively police authorities. The meeting opened on the jolly note of the announcement that even Siamese twins have been found to have differing fingerprints. It is indeed a matter of pure marvel to think that "one finger impression would be sufficient to positively identify each and every individual since the creation of man, be he civilized or savage." The place of the identification officer in the life of our times was succinctly stated by one speaker:

> Today, organized crime has at its disposal the modern inventions, such as airplanes, radios, telephone, telegraph, improved firearms and plastic surgery which help them to evade justice. These criminals plot and plan a crime for weeks, sometime months, before the actual perpetration. Their every move is carefully checked so as to leave no clues as to their identity; therefore, to combat these criminals successfully, it is necessary for a police chief to have under him men who are equally adept in the use of these modern inventions. Practically every new invention, system or method of solving crimes has been thrown on the identification officer to study and put in practice.

In addition to finger prints, of course, ballistics, toxicology, chemistry, microscopy, and other sciences contribute to the work of segregating the criminal. It should be noted, too, that the by-products of these labors are themselves of no mean value.

Interchanged hospital-born babies are now so rare that they always make headlines in the news. Amnesia sufferers, lost children, and the families of victims of great catastrophies are among its beneficiaries. New industries arise in its wake; the convention hotel resembled a little world's fair with numerous booths displaying latest commercial developments in technical photography, finger print transfer sets, storage cabinets, optical and metrical instruments, service weapons.

Since the passage of the Lindbergh Law (interstate transportation of kidnaped persons) the Federal Bureau of Investigation has exercised an increasing influence and leadership in the coordination on a national scale of the enforcement of the criminal laws. Besides great strides in the operation of the world's greatest collection of fingerprints, the Bureau operates a National Police Academy, the sixth graduation of which was attended by the Identification Convention delegates. Three twelve-week sessions a year provide intensive courses for 35 local, county, or state enforcement officers. There is no cost for tuition or equipment.

The list of laws, the violation of which is investigated by the Bureau, includes many which directly or indirectly affect the community in general. Some of them are:

- National Motor Vehicle Theft Act
- Interstate transportation of stolen property valued at $5,000 or more
- National Bankruptcy Act
- Interstate flight to avoid prosecution or testifying in certain cases
- White Slave Traffic Act
- Impersonation of Government Officials
- Larceny of Goods in Interstate Commerce
- Killing or Assaulting Federal Officer
- Cases involving transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of any persons who have been kidnaped
- Extortion cases in which interstate commerce or interstate communication is an element
- Theft, Embezzlement of Illegal Possession of Government Property
- Antitrust Laws
- Robbery of National Banks, insured banks of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and Member Banks of Federal Reserve System
- National Bank and Federal Reserve Act Violations, such as embezzlement, abstraction or misapplication of funds
- Crimes on any kind of Government reservation, including Indian Reservations or in any Government building or other Government property
- Neutrality violations, including the shipment of arms to friendly nations
- Frauds against the Government
- Crimes in connection with the Federal Penal and Correctional Institutions
- Perjury, embezzlement, or bribery in connection with Federal Statutes or officials
- Crimes on the high seas
- Federal Anti-Racketeering Statute
- The location of persons who are fugitives from justice by reason of violations of the Federal Laws over which the Bureau has jurisdiction, of escaped Federal prisoners, and parole and probation violators.

The Bureau does not have investigative jurisdiction over the violations of Counterfeiting, Narcotic, Customs, Immigration, or Postal Laws.

### *Law in the Headlines*

Some recent incidents which drew public attention should be noted. President Butler of Columbia opened the new college year with an address advocating the adoption in this country of the British Trade Disputes Act, which limits the right to strike. In this connection, it should be recorded that the new British Factories Act, which will go into effect July 1 of next year, deserves study. This Act consolidates a number of old factory and workshop acts, and in doing so extends, simplifies, and modernizes this branch of legislation.

Another incident which made page one was a statement issued by the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands denouncing the decision of a mesne court relieving an employer from the obligation of compensating the heirs of a workman killed in the course of his employment. This statement was followed by a letter to the judges of the Supreme Court acknowledging that it was not understood that the case had been appealed and asking that the judges disregard the statement in formulating their decision.

GUERRA EVERETT.

# ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

WHAT is going to happen to the Christian Missions in China and Japan? How many missionaries are there in Japan? In China? What kind of work are they doing? How many native Christians are there in the two countries? These and many similar questions are being asked repeatedly, as each day brings news of continued fighting in China.

First of all, let it be said that the Far-East mission of the Christian Church is not going to be abandoned. Almost to a man the Chinese missionaries are sticking to their posts, despite the danger, and even without the guarantee of protection by the American government. Only the sick, the aged and infirm, and as many of the women and children as are not essential for the work, are being evacuated. Many are even canceling their furloughs and are staying to lend every moral and material (chiefly medical) assistance to their Chinese brothers in these days of need.

The 1936 *Handbook of the Christian Movement in China* lists a total of 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China. (This is in addition to 14,502 Chinese evangelistic workers.) In addition, there are 2,272 Roman Catholic priests (foreign) and 1,555 native clergymen. There are also 336 lay brothers and 1,771 Sisters of Charity of foreign birth. The total, then, of "Foreign Missionaries" in China appears to be about 10,500.

Protestant missionaries, while presumably entering the missionary field for life, actually "sign up" for a period of seven years. Subsequent renewals are for five years. Furloughs are granted between terms of service. Roman Catholic missionaries, accept their posts for life. The majority of them remain until their death, some few being recalled for work in other fields.

There are three types of missionary activity in China: evangelistic, educational, and medical-charitable. Since Roman Catholic missions to China are the oldest and the largest (in number of converts), we will consider them first.

In 1933 there were 2,630,415 communicants in China. They were ministered to by 2,272 foreign-born and 1,555 native priests. Assisting them in this work (evangelistic), and conducting the numerous schools, hospitals, orphanages, and other charitable institutions were 336 foreign and 408 native "lay brothers," and 1,774 foreign and 3,142 native Sisters—a total staff of 4,382 foreign and 5,105 native workers.

China is now divided into 118 units. There are 79 Vicariates Apostolic, 28 Prefectures, and 11 Independent Missions. The work is coordinated through the Papacy, of course, but also through a General Synod. The French *Societé des Missions Etrangères* is no longer in complete control of the field, but all parts of the Church have a part in the Mission to the Chinese.

The Roman Catholic Church maintains 107 hospitals in China, having a total of 8,231 beds. There are, in addition, 804 dispensaries and seven leprosaria. There are 389 orphanages. Elementary schools number 3,905 with over 141,000 pupils; 319 high schools, with over 18,000 students. There are 25 normal schools, with 1173 students; 111 minor seminaries with total enrollment of 4,302; and 23 major seminaries with 1,185 students.

Protestant churches and missionary societies engaged in the Chinese Mission number more than one hundred. The first Protestant missionary to go to China was Robert Morrison, in 1807, representing the London Missionary Society (Congrega-

tional). The total communicant or "full" membership of the Protestant churches in China is reported by the *Handbook of the Christian Movement in China* as "approximately 500,000. Baptized non-communicants and other immediate 'constituency' bring the total 'Christian Community' up to fully one million."

### *Greater Unity*

The Protestant Mission to China is even more divided than the Roman Mission was when there were Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and others of different nationalities competing with one another. Consolidation of missionary forces and equipment as well as unification of method is beginning to be increasingly seen in China. Already 12 groups include over 86 per cent of the total communicant list and 73 per cent of the missionary staff. The actual degree of unity is greater than would at first glance seem to be the case. The 16 Church groups cooperating in the National Christian Council include 306,000 communicants, or 61 per cent of the total.

The 5,816 foreign missionaries and 14,502 Chinese evangelistic workers are divided among 1,207 resident mission stations, 7,281 organized Churches, and 4,445 Sunday Schools. 43,685 baptisms were reported during the last year for which complete figures have been tabulated.

Two hundred and fifty-two hospitals and branches are staffed by 297 foreign and 515 Chinese doctors, 262 foreign and 1,161 Chinese nurses. There are 115 registered and 22 unregistered schools of nursing, with 3,707 student nurses in training. Sixteen thousand beds are provided in the hospitals and an additional 1,231 beds in 31 hostels. There are 15 leprosaria, two of which are hospitals, and 13 have hospital facilities.

Protestant educational work supports nine universities, with a total enrollment of 4,679 students; four colleges of Arts and Sciences with 940 students; two colleges of Medicine with 78 students; six colleges of theology with 159 students. In addition, there are 2,197 Senior Middle Schools, 1,527 Junior Middle Schools, 982 primary schools, and 48 kindergartens. In connection with their educational program, the Protestant Missions publish 237 Chinese Christian current periodicals. More than half of these are published monthly or more frequently. There are 114 Christian libraries in China, with a total of 1,998,323 volumes on the shelves.

Protestant Missions support 36 schools and institutions, homes and associations for the blind, 13 for the deaf, and 8 for the blind and deaf.

This tremendous work is in a perilous condition at present. The Chinese communists, emulating their Russian compatriots, have ravaged the Church's work in many sections of China. If the Christians in China today can continue to minister to the needs of the Chinese as they have been doing, there is little doubt that the Reds in China will adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards Christianity. When the Chinese as a nation are able to see that Christian missionaries are interested in them and in making life here and hereafter more enjoyable for them, when they realize that the missionaries are not merely there to obtain economic and political concessions for the countries of their respective origin—as they will when men and women risk their lives in order that they may continue to have the blessings (physical, mental and spiritual) which the Church has brought to China—then the Christian Church will face the greatest opportunity which any Christian century has yet seen.

### *History of the Mission*

The first missionary to Japan was a Jesuit, Francis Xavier (1549). For three hundred years the missionaries experienced great difficulties in their efforts to spread the Gospel in Japan. Then for a hundred years there was no admission of foreign missionaries. The Meji restoration in 1868 again made it possible for foreign missionaries to enter Japan. Since then the Roman Catholic Mission has grown rapidly.

The work of the Roman Catholics in Japan is divided into two parts—that in

Japan proper and that in Korea. In Japan proper there are four suffragan dioceses under the Archdiocese of Tokyo, two Vicariates Apostolic, four Prefectures and one Independent Mission.

Korea has three Vicariates Apostolic and three Prefectures (1 native).

Roman Catholic statistics for Japan proper, October, 1936, are as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholics | 108,934 | University 1, Students | 506 |
| Ordinaries | 12 | Middle Schools 34, Students | 41,900 |
| Japanese priests | 95 | Primary Schools 8, Students | 7,879 |
| Foreign priests | 283 | Orphanages | 24 |
| Japanese monks | 112 | Hospitals & sanitoria 16, beds | 481 |
| Foreign monks | 110 | Leprosaria 3, patients | 232 |
| Japanese Sisters | 441 | Printing offices | 5 |
| Foreign Sisters | 471 | | |
| Students of Theology | 120 | | |
| Small seminarians | 274 | | |

For Korea the statistics are:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholics | 166,035 | Higher girls' schools 1, students | 730 |
| Priests Korean 102, Foreign | 139 | Primary Schools 163, students | 22,109 |
| Monks, Korean 6, Foreign | 42 | Kindergartens 11, children | 672 |
| Sisters Korean 227, Foreign | 68 | Hospitals and sanitoria 3, beds | 53 |
| Theological students | 69 | Printing plants | 3 |
| Small seminarians | 211 | | |

The first Protestant Church in Japan was organized in 1859. At present there are 986 foreign missionaries, administering the three-fold mission (evangelistic, educational, and medical). There are 1,865 churches, and 1,123 chapels. There are 500 young people in training in the 11 theological schools of the nine major denominations. 51 Christian Boys' Middle Schools and Girls' High Schools have an enrollment of 28,941. 29 Christian Special Schools, Colleges and Universities have student bodies totalling 10,026. There are 174,201 pupils enrolled in 2,599 Sunday Schools. 572 kindergartens care for 25,000 children.

There are four Protestant Leprosaria in Japan, 12 hospitals with 1,048 beds, and 24 dispensaries. There are 127 native physicians (107 men and 20 women), and 165 trained assistants (64 men and 101 women).

There are 1,689 ordained ministers (1,468 men, 221 women) and 946 evangelists (536 men and 410 women) or a total of 2,635 Japanese workers in addition to the above-mentioned 986 foreign missionaries. Taken all in all, with somewhat over 200,000 enrolled members, plus the enrollment in the educational enterprises, the Protestant Churches in Japan have a constituency of over 500,000. Together with those contacted through social service agencies, evangelistic meetings, etc., the Protestant Churches contact (roughly) a million of Japan's 70 million population.

The fate of the Church in Japan is more doubtful than that of Christianity in China. The forces of totalitarianism are so strong in Japan that there is already a falling off in the effectiveness of Christian Missions there. Sunday School attendance from 1930 to 1935 showed a falling off of 1,108 pupils. Baptisms dropped from 17,791 in 1930 to 8,452 in 1935. This is perhaps due in part, at least, to smaller support of the missionary enterprise in a financial way due to the depression.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHAYS

# ☆ THEY SAY ☆

*Translations and quotations*
*from the press of the world*

## CHINA'S WAR STRENGTH

In considering the real strength of China's army we must not fall into the error of placing much emphasis on numbers. A more important criterion is loyalty. Large numbers are of little avail under the divided leadership which has been the rule in China since the revolution of 1911, though the situation has undoubtedly been improving under Chiang Kai-shek.

The Chinese army is composed of divisions and corps, with the division organized on the pre-war German basis. Its effectiveness, in China as elsewhere, depends largely on the training and ability of the officers. There are about 180 division commanders, of whom only a score are considered by foreign observers to be of better than average competency. The training of officers, however, has been a major preoccupation of Chiang during recent years. There are some 80 German military advisers in China for training purposes. The Army School has been moved from Canton to Nanking, its curriculum revised, and the whole course stiffened. But it cannot think of being able to train the officers needed for an army of such size. China is undoubtedly deficient, then, in proper leadership of her troops. Not only is this true for the junior grades, but also as regards staff officers and a general staff.

The efficiency of the Chinese army as a combat unit is low. Between the artillery and infantry there is no cooperation whatever. The cavalry are few in number. Such Mongol cavalry as serve the Chinese are under their own banners and are of questionable allegiance. The equipment of all branches is scanty. The field artillery has but 1,900 guns of which no more than 1,000 are usable. Antiaircraft defense is insufficient. Chemical warfare has only just begun to enter Chinese strategy.

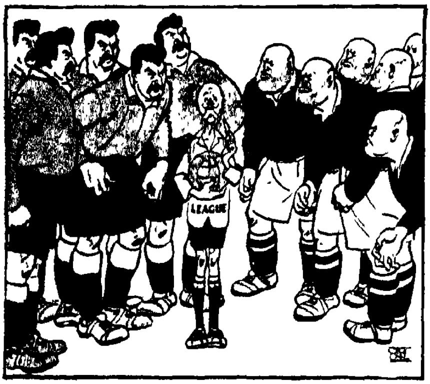
The infantry is armed with rifles of all makes and ages. Each soldier carries his own ammunition and there are no appreciable reserves. Literally almost the entire supply of small-arms ammunition at a given moment is contained in the ammunition belts of China's million-odd troops. While she could quickly mobilize 2,500,000 men, she has serviceable weapons for less than a million.

The primary problem of the Chinese air force has been to train a sufficient number of pilots. Until 1927 most of the training was done by Chinese; since then the Government has enlisted the services of foreigners. The Chinese are reputed to have ability as aviators, but their instruction thus far has been mainly in the art of flying, not in military aviation or the use of war formations. For equipment, when hostilities broke out at Shanghai, the Chinese had about 500 airplanes, of which 100 were obsolete; 150 were old types that nevertheless could be used; of the remaining 250, 80 were pursuit planes, 80 were light bombardment, and 90 were for moderately heavy bombardment. In comparison, the Japanese Army was reputed to have 1,000 planes and the Japanese Navy 400. There is a large air base in Japan proper, one in Manchukuo, and one in Korea.

Competent observers believe that despite the size of China's army she could not concentrate and sustain more than 400,000 men in North China, about 350,000 men in the coastal portion of Central China, and only 250,000 in the south. Thus only a fraction of her total strength could be thrown into a given area. This is due mainly to the problem of transportation. It is customary for Chinese troops to live off the countryside; but although China

is essentially an agricultural country, there are few districts which raise a surplus of foodstuffs, and the necessary railways to bring in supplies from other areas or abroad are inadequate. This same problem would face an invading army, but Japan, having the necessary shipping, might make better use of the waterways, and she of course is also more amply supplied with motor transport.

*Foreign Affairs*




*Glasgow Record*

***The referee's lot is not a happy one.***

## CHINESE GASOLINE

When the owner of a motor car or truck in Nanking or Shanghai stops at a filling station and purchases a supply of gasoline he pays approximately $1 a gallon. It therefore costs about $10 to fill an ordinary motor car or truck tank. The retail selling price of gasoline is determined by two factors: production and transportation cost of the fuel itself and taxation levied by the government.

The two items are about equal so that the $10 which the motor car owner pays for his 10 gallons of gasoline represents $5 covering the actual cost of the gasoline and $5 for the tax which is levied by the government.

Since the price of gasoline as delivered on the China coast by at least three companies, does not differ greatly from the standard world price it may be seen that the exorbitant cost of motor car fuel in China is largely due to the heavy taxes. In Japan the cost of gasoline is only about 45-sen a gallon, the equivalent of 13-cents in American currency or 44-cents in Chinese currency.

Quite often one reads reports from official sources telling of efforts to develop other sources of fuel supply to replace gasoline such as the use of Diesel engines which burn crude oil, or engines which have been "converted" to the use of charcoal-gas. While the fuel item in both cases is cheaper than gasoline there are other elements which make both Diesel and charcoal-gas propelled engines unsatisfactory. The initial outlay for either Diesel or charcoal-gas equipment for a motor truck is much higher than the cost of the ordinary gasoline propelled vehicle. In the case of charcoal-gas propelled cars or trucks the equipment is so heavy that it takes up much of the load which the vehicle is capable of carrying.

Therefore the solution of the problem of motor transportation in China depends upon the solution of the problem of high cost of fuel, approximately half of which is due to taxes levied by the government itself. The ordinary gasoline-propelled vehicle remains the most efficient and most economical, providing the problem of taxation could be adjusted so as to permit a reduction in the cost of gasoline.

It is obvious that the Government needs the money otherwise it would not levy such a high tax on gasoline, but experts who have gone into the question are convinced that a lowering of the tax, say to about 10 per cent of the basic cost would so stimulate motor transportation, particularly the use of trucks and busses in the interior of the country, that the Government would soon obtain more revenue than it does today under the high tax system.

*—The China Weekly Review.*

## DEBT OF HONOR

The prohibition against marriages between Italian citizens and native subjects, recently promulgated, is to be rigidly enforced; for it aims to prevent dangerous cross-breeding and the consequent damage to morality and public order. The interdiction is due partly to a desire to protect the race. And even weightier consideration, however, was the necessity of preserving the personal dignity and prestige of the Italians who take up permanent residence in the Empire. It can thus be said that the politico-administrative organization of Italian Ethiopia contemplates the harmonious coexistence of two societies—Italian and native—cooperating to develop the economic re-

sources and insure the well-being of the Empire. Experience with the new laws and the example of industry set by the Italian immigrants will stimulate the natives to improve their methods of work and thought, and will bring them more and more into conformity with the standards of European civilization. This evolutionary process will be expedited by the various branches of the colonial administration. That represents for Italy a debt of honor, both towards herself and towards the civilized world.

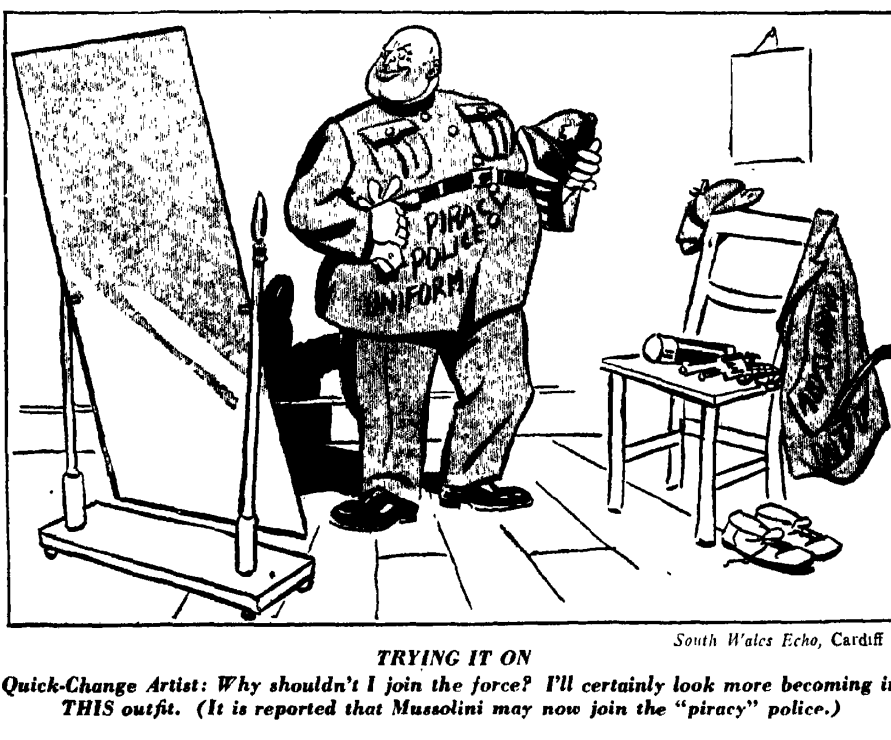
*Foreign Affairs*

## CHINESE GENIUS

In the still night watches before the dawn they can be seen—grey shadowy lines of men flowing swiftly through the streets of sleeping cities with only the rhythmic sound of footbeats breaking the silence. These runners of the night are like athletes preparing for conflict, and in their hard training they display a grim doggedness and seem imbued with a fierce determination to attain a distant goal. They are not athletes, however, in the true sense. They are soldiers, and they may be seen, at times loaded heavily with their fighting gear, at times stripped to simple garments, in all weathers, at Nanking, and in every other center in China where large bodies of Chinese troops are stationed.

This small detail of military training is perhaps the least part of the extensive military preparations being made, in the schools and the homes, and in the minds and the hearts of many people of all walks of life in China. It is not intended by any means to imply that intensive military training is a thing peculiar to China alone in the Far East. It is doubtless desirable and admirable in ordinary aspects, but with the new emphasis and acceleration given it in recent times in China, it is a symptom of a malady spreading dangerously in the country. With regard to causes it is a waste of time to consider the so-called moralities, the rights or the wrongs, of things in China. Just at this time these measure into futilities and analysis or arguments on such lines lead nowhere. The plain practicalities of the outlook tend to indicate that the Chinese genius for turning small successes into great disasters once again is striving to find expression.

—*The Far Eastern Review.*




*South Wales Echo,* Cardiff

***TRYING IT ON***

***Quick-Change Artist: Why shouldn't I join the force? I'll certainly look more becoming in THIS outfit. (It is reported that Mussolini may now join the "piracy" police.)***




*United Feature Syndicate, Inc*

*CUTTING THE LIFE LINE*

## CULTURAL FERTILISERS

It would be wrong to see in the present European situation no more than antagonism between various States, or to believe that animosity against Germany rests only in our having freed ourselves from certain bonds imposed upon us by the Treaty of Versailles. It is not a question of Versailles, it is a question of much more decisive matters. It is a question of decisions reaching far into the metaphysical! We are facing a conspiracy of the entire sub-human world of a degenerate continent against the last desperate attempt of Germanism to fulfil itself. That has nothing to do with Pan-Germanism. But Germanism, through a thousand tragic years, has had no chance of rising above the circumstances that made of it "the cultural fertiliser of Europe." This "cultural fertiliser" it must remain, says sub-humanity, a sub-humanity that clothes itself with "civilisation," "culture," "religion," and "international law" to cover its own hypocrisy and inferiority. Ruling Christianity was an effective means for subduing self-willed Germanism. By this religion its soul was kept in chains, in order that it might seek and see its sole mission in its existence as "cultural fertiliser." . . . We are facing a conspiracy of sub-humanity that directs the destinies of ignorant peoples and will never admit that the Germans are fulfilling their true mission. We must look upon the decision of March 7 in this light. It is not a question of keeping or breaking treaties, but of overthrowing those who wish to evade their "duty" to be "cultural fertilisers." To this end, every means is right.

—*Deutsche Freiheit,* Stuttgart.

## ITALY DENIES

Once again *The Times* has made a mistake, when, in common with the other organs of the yellow sanctionist press, it gives currency to the legend that Italy is scattering handfuls of gold in Palestine in order to endanger British imperial interests.

It has frequently been stated that sanctions were imposed to exhaust the financial resources of Italy and therefore her power to make war. It is not clear why the British after 190 days of sanctions now credit the Bank of Italy with possessing such large funds as to be able to finance a rising which has lasted for several weeks, and has spread over a vast region. We can assure *The Times* and its less honourable brethren that Italy has not spent a halfpenny in subsidising foreign elements to create disorders. Italy's money is used to support Italian interests, and today the greatest of these is the development of Ethiopia, where Italian labour will be used. Italy does not seek other financial outlets.

Nor does she seek other political outlets. The Ethiopian war is over. That enterprise which she was forced to undertake to defend herself, her national honour and her rights, is at an end. How many more times must we repeat the words of Mussolini, speaking for the whole nation, that Italy was determined to confine the conflict to Africa and has succeeded in doing so in spite of great difficulties. She does not intend that it should spread to Europe or elsewhere, or to civilised countries, among which she wishes to be, as long as possible, a factor for peace and stability.

A British paper like *The Times* ought to know the truth about Palestine, and not confuse the issue by mixing it up with suspicions about Italy. The present troubles are simply the outcome of British policy. We do not wish to sit in judgment on that policy, but merely to recall the sequence of events and to consider objectively the real facts of the case. The violent Arab agitation in Palestine is the product not of the Ethiopian conflict nor of the resultant political complications

in Europe; but of the situation which was created during the world war by the action of Great Britain. Let us recall what happened. In order to induce the Arabs to rebel against the Turks, England promised them many things, she promised them Palestine and started the idea of a great independent Arab empire which was to include Palestine, Syria, Transjordania, Irak and the Yemen. At the same time England promised Palestine to the Jews, who were to create their national home there as a makeweight against the Arabic and Islamic world. Nobody, not even the sanctionist English, can forget the solemn declaration of Balfour (which was adhered to by the other League States) which favoured Jewish immigration at the expense of the rights of the Arabs.

This is the historic origin of the troubles in Palestine which increase as Zionism grows in strength. Two diverse races stand face to face, hating each other and unable to cooperate. Inevitably more and more land is acquired by the Jews, the economic and cultural positions of the two races become progressively more unequal, and the Arabs lose their traditional rights.

—*Il Giornale d'Italia*, Rome




*Arizona Republic*

***HE'S CRAZY!***

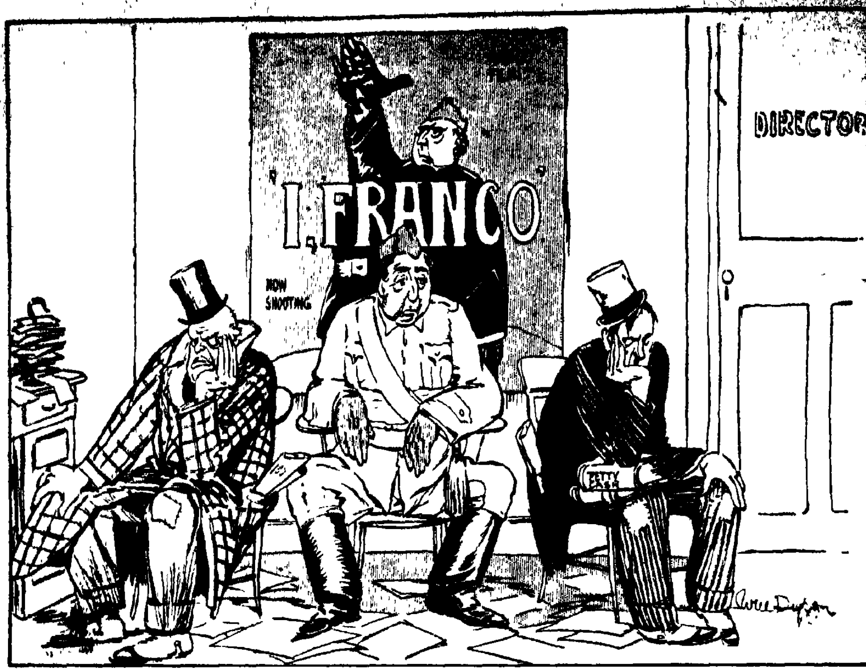
## POOR LITTLE DONKEY

Sir,—There is something wrong with the Spanish War Propaganda. We are shown pictures of stricken women and children, mangled corpses and wrecked homes. But the one thing is missing which would rouse the heart of the Great British Public to white-hot anger—there is a marked absence of animal propaganda. This is a very great mistake from their point of view. That Franco's bombers have spared the animals I am not prepared to believe, but this ignorance on the part of the Spanish Government concerning what would surely turn the scales of public opinion in their favour is lamentable.

I was present at a meeting in the Hampstead Town Hall where a film was shown on Madrid. Seated beside me was a pleasant, good-natured woman. She rather objected, but then who wouldn't, to my smoking. She looked at the film with great interest, but made no comment. She showed in no way that her heart had been touched when she saw the pictures of little children lying dead in their coffins. Then when a donkey appeared on the screen, picking its way through a shell-holed street, she exclaimed: "The poor little donkey!" and tears rolled down her cheeks. The donkey in question was being quite kindly treated, but the thought that he was being subjected to the same privations and dangers as the women and children of Madrid stirred her soul to its depths. "Why," I exclaimed to my neighbour on the other side, "Why doesn't this doggoned Spanish Government send us pictures of dogs and donkeys and cats stretched out in rows, the innocent victims of Fascism? We'd get marvellous collections and the whole weight of the British press behind us."

A friend of mine who works in a newspaper office was rung up a short time ago by the secretary of one of these benevolent societies for the welfare of animals. The secretary wanted the newspaper's help to publicise an idea—namely the painless extermination of animals such as dogs and cats in Madrid. She put forward a scheme for sending out a body of men, under the auspices of the League of Nations, to carry out this plan. The Spaniards, of course, could not be relied on to deal gently with the poor creatures. My friend, who, like myself, comes from a people not given over to psychological bestiality, replied to the effect that the said animals might be required as food by a starving population. The secretary rang off in disgust.

I think that the good men and women who




*Daily Herald*, London

***VICTIMS OF ANOTHER FILM HOLD-UP***

are striving to evacuate the women and children of Bilbao, should also evacuate the dogs and cats. In that way enough money would be raised for the unfortunate people as well, enough indeed to keep them in comfort until this horror is over.

I am by no means an animal hater. I am country-bred and have lived with animals all my life. I can conscientiously say that every animal in my care has been well-treated. I become extremely angry, even violent, when I see wanton cruelty to animals. But I am revolted by these Dr. Doolittle people who get hysterical about animals when human beings are living under conditions which are a disgrace to humanity. Ever since I've come to live in England, about four years ago, this has annoyed and puzzled me—I can see on all sides of me good publicity for ill-treated cats and dogs and none for neglected children. I can only conclude that the money given to animal welfare societies is conscience money. If 265 pit-ponies had been sent to their death in a colliery, a nominal fine would not have been regarded as adequate punishment for the mine-owners. No, the Great British Public would have had their blood. It would have been, as we say in Ireland, a pig with another snout.

MARGARET O'FLAHERTY.

51 Belsize Lane, N.W.3.

—*The New Statesman And Nation*, London.

## SMART FELLOWS

A few days ago, there appeared in a local foreign daily the following report: "A European lady was walking on the pavement on the north side of Bubbling Well Road at about 6.45 p.m. last night, when a Chinese attempted to snatch her bag. She held it tightly, and the culprit made a second attempt with greater force. In the struggle, both the victim and the snatcher fell to the ground. The latter escaped without the bag, but the lady was painfully injured. The incident was witnessed by a group of pedestrians and shop assistants, but none responded to her cry for help, despite the fact that the Settlement authorities have been awarding $5.00 to $15.00 to any one who helps the police in the rescue of a bag-snatching victim."

Such an incident is almost of daily occurrence in Shanghai. I am not at all surprised at the prevalence and activities of the

bag-snatchers, who should be so daring as to prey upon a foreign lady in the eyes of the public; but what arouses my feeling is the apathy on the part of the pedestrians and shop assistants, who could amuse themselves in watching the distress of a foreign lady without rendering any assistance. It is purely unthinkable that such an incident could occur in big cities in America and Europe, where the bag-snatchers may be as many as in Shanghai, but the pedestrians and shop assistants would not be so apathetic as to permit women and girls walking in the streets to be molested in any way by the public enemies.

I am not ashamed to say that apathy is one of our many weaknesses, a weakness which has often been interpreted as a symptom of acute self-interestedness or that of extreme cowardice by our foreign friends. To be sure, the nationality of the victim in question had nothing to do with the apathetic attitude on the part of these disinterested spectators. Had she been a woman of their own nationality and color, they would have watched the struggle with the same disinterestedness. They simply can not work up their feelings and give a faint show of their gallantry, unless the lives of their own dear ones are endangered.

Likewise, when we see a pickpocket try his art on a fellow passenger in a street car, we just hold our own pockets tight and turn our eyes to the other directions. And when a burglar breaks into the house of our neighbor, we hasten to close our doors and keep our mouths shut as if nothing had happened. As a rule, we hate to be called on to serve as witnesses, for why should we bother ourselves about others' affairs? I have always wondered whether we can find any public-spirited men or women to serve on juries, should the jury system be introduced into our country.

Therefore it is no wonder that the pedestrians and shop assistants should be so apathetic as to leave a foreign lady to be molested by a bag-snatcher under their very nose. They simply act upon the principle of "Mind your own business." They must be all smart fellows, and as such, they are too wise to risk their fair skin to meddle with others' affairs. They, of course, would not be so apathetic, if the rewards offered by the Settlement authorities are ten times as much. For who can think of risking his fair skin and possibly his dear life for merely winning a paltry sum of $5.00 to $15.00?

*—China Weekly Review.*

## HITLER AND RUSSIA

The plans expounded in "Mein Kampf"—expansion towards the East and the widening of the living-space ("lebensraum") of the German people at the expense of Russia—have never been disowned by Hitler either officially or unofficially and cannot be disowned since these plans are the alpha and omega of his foreign and domestic policy. They are the




*Glasgow Record*

***Antonio Alf: "How long are we here for?"***
***Old Bonifacio Bill: "For the duration, if we live that long."***

essence of the program of the National-Socialist Party. Remove them, and nothing remains.

Take the basic problem of German life: the struggle with unemployment. Before Hitler's rise to power unemployment, as is known, exceeded six millions. In the spring of 1936, their number decreased to one million. In some districts, such as the district in which I lived, unemployment was liquidated completely. Formerly most of the population was on relief. Since the advent of Hitler employment rapidly increased, to be changed in the Spring of 1936 to an actual shortage of labor. Now not only are all the workers occupied, but even their wives who had never been employed before, are now almost all working in plants and factories. The answer to this is the erection in the vicinity of new munition, artillery and airplane plants as well as gas and gas-mask factories and others manufacturing equipment for the army. This is not all. Almost all small repair, carpenter, tailor or carriage shops received government orders. In




*Daily Herald*, London

***M.P.'s are worried about the falling birth rate.***

short a complete mobilization of large and small industry has taken place to satisfy army requirements.

A German of my acquaintance who occupied a prominent post in the local party organization talked to me very frankly. "Both the Government and the people know the purpose for which we are rearming and we shall go forward boldly. We do not know when we shall fight, but we know we shall fight. Not that we want war. But, unfortunately, our objects cannot be attained in any other way. There is a high aim in front of us—to provide for the lebensraum (space to live) of our people. That expense, settled by millions of our peasants and conquered by the armaments we are now preparing will be the dividends we shall receive from the labor and capital now invested in our war industries. We do not fear, therefore, a renewal of the crisis. Do you think that the unemployed of yesterday, now working on rearmament, will return to relief when it is completed? No! He shall go with arms in his hand to conquer his lebensraum and, after the victory, he shall settle on the lands he has conquered."

I have known this man for over ten years. In private life he is a well-balanced, straight-thinking average German, and a very honest man, in which he differs from some of the Nazi Party members. In view of the iron discipline reigning in the party and, particularly, in view of Hitler's recent campaign against irresponsible chattering, it is unthinkable that a man of his position would have spoken with such heat on this theme if it did not correspond with the general line of the party.

This conversation is not unique. I have heard the like in recent years from persons in every walk of life, doctors, and train acquaintances. I have heard it often while waiting in employment-offices and among working-men while at work. This idea is assiduously cultivated in the Hitler *jugend* and the compulsory Labor Corps. All Germany looks upon the Ukraine as on a promised land, the conquest of which will solve the difficulties under which she is now laboring.

—*Novoie Russkoie Slovo*, New York.

## GERMANO-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT

The political circles of Warsaw follow with intense attention the evolution of Germano-Soviet relations.

A series of indications, both economic and psychological, suggest that the present acute tension in the relations between the Reich and the U.S.S.R. may be replaced at any time by relations, if not of actual friendship, then of correct cooperation, to the detriment of the interests of Poland.

The Polish press, that of the right opposition in particular, does not hide its anxiety. The paper *Obnowa* does not doubt that rumors of a rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin are not altogether without foundation.

"One must not forget," the paper explains, "that at present the U.S.S.R. is the only ultimate market where Germany can buy raw materials. The method of conquest is now barred to Hitler. There remains the method of agreement. That a shift from hate to amity is not difficult for Germany we have experienced ourselves. On the day following the signing of our accord with the Germans, Poland, from being 'Enemy No. 1,' was proclaimed a friend by order of Hitler. It is quite possible that the same thing may happen to Russia."

—*Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, New York City.

# NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

## MUSSOLINI—HITLER

*Text of Premier Mussolini's speech in Berlin, as broadcast throughout the world.*

September 28, 1937.

Comrades, my visit to this country must not be judged by the standards of an ordinary diplomatic political visit. The fact that I have come to Germany today does not imply that I shall travel to some other city tomorrow. I have not come here in the capacity of chief of the Italian Government. I am standing here as the leader of a national revolution giving proof of the strong ties uniting me with your revolutionary movement. There are no ulterior motives connected with my journey and no secret intentions. There will be no scheme here which would tend to menace divided Europe still further. The confirmation of the unshaken axis Rome-Berlin is not directed against other states.

In answer to the question posed by the whole world, "What will be the outcome of the meeting in Berlin, war or peace?" we—the Fuehrer and myself—reply in a loud voice, "Peace."

If people will take the trouble to study the national revolutions in Germany and in Italy there will be far less prejudice, and many points for argument will soon be eliminated. We share many of the fundamental principles in our respective ideologies. National socialism and fascism do not only have the same enemies in the world who serve the same master, the Third International, but they share an elevated conception of life and history.

Germany and Italy likewise pursue the same policy in the economic sphere, a policy of economic autarchy, for the political freedom of a nation can only be guaranteed by its economic independence. A nation, strong from the military point of view, might easily become the victim of an economic blockade. We Italians were threatened by that great danger last year when fifty-two nations at Geneva decided to impose economic sanctions against us which, although they finally failed, were nevertheless a great threat to our very existence, and in the end only showed the world what Fascist Italy was able to achieve.

We shall never forget that Germany was not among the nations which imposed sanctions against us. That was the time when the first signs of the necessity for coöperation between Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany appeared on the political horizon. What is nowadays known by the term "axis Rome-Berlin" actually came into existence in Autumn, 1935; and ever since then the Italy-Germany solidarity has been constantly strengthened and it has done everything to promote peace in Europe.

Fascism has its own ethics and we intend to adhere thereto in any circumstance, and these ethics of ours oblige us always to be frank and outspoken with everybody, and once we have made real friends with any one, to remain faithful to him to the last. All arguments which our opponents employ against us are of no avail, because there exists no dictatorship, neither in Germany nor in Italy, but there exist organizations which really serve the good of the peoples.

No government in the whole world enjoys the confidence of their peoples as much as do the Italian and German Governments. The greatest and soundest democracies which exist in the world today are Italy and Germany. Elsewhere, politics are dominated by the great powers of capitalism, by secret societies and political groups which work against each other under the pretext of the so-called "inalienable rights of humanity."

In Germany and Italy it is absolutely impossible that politics be interfered with or influenced by private persons. Everything that Germany and Italy have in common is most clearly expressed in their joint struggle against bolshevism, which is the modern counterpart of the darkest Byzantine tyranny—that unparalleled exploitation of the trustfulness of lower races, that regime of starvation, bloodshed and slavery.

Since the war fascism has fought against this scourge of humanity and the depression which it has nourished, and fought against it with all its might by word and deed. Thus did we fight in Spain, where thousands of Italian Fascist volunteers have fallen for the sake of Europe's culture, a culture which may yet see a revival if it will but turn a deaf ear on the false prophets in Geneva and Moscow and turn to the burning realities of our revolutions.

Comrades, beyond the frontiers of our own

country we, like you, make no propaganda in the ordinary sense of the word in order to gain adherents. We believe that truth by itself is powerful enough to penetrate all barriers and that truth will finally conquer. The Europe of tomorrow will be Fascist by the logical sequence of events but not by our propaganda.

It is nearly twenty years ago since your great leader sent forth to the masses his appeal for a revolution—that appeal, which was destined to become the battlecry of the entire German nation, "Deutschland Erwache." Germany has roused herself. The Third Reich is an accomplished fact. I do not know whether and when Europe will awake, for secret forces not unknown to us are at work striving to transform a civil war into a world conflagration.

It is of the utmost importance that our two peoples, which together count no less than one hundred and fifteen million souls, stand firm and united with the same unswerving confidence. Today's tremendous demonstration has given the world proof of this.

*Text of Chancellor Hitler's speech in Berlin, as broadcast throughout the world.*

September 28, 1937.

We have just witnessed a historic event, the significance of which has no parallel. More than a million people have gathered here, participating in a demonstration which is being closely followed by the national communities of two countries, numbering one hundred and fifteen millions, besides hundreds of millions more in other parts of the world who were following the proceedings over the radio as more or less interested listeners.

What moves us the most at this moment is the deep-rooted joy to see in our midst a guest who is one of the lonely men in history who are not put to trial by historic events but determine the history of their country themselves.

Secondly, we realize that this demonstration is not one of those meetings which we can experience anywhere. It is an avowal of common ideals and common interests. It is the avowal pronounced by two men and it is heard by a million people assembled before us, an avowal which is expected by and is the concern of one hundred and fifteen millions with a burning heart.

That is why the present demonstration is more than a public meeting. It is a manifestation of nations. The true meaning of this public gathering consists of the sincere desire to guarantee a peace to our two countries which is not the reward for resigned cowardice but the result of a responsible policy safeguarding the racial intellect and physical fitness of the nation as well as its cultural possessions. In doing this we hope to serve the interests of two nations and, more than that, the interests of the European Continent.

The fact that we are in a position today to hold this meeting reminds us of the changes that have taken place in the period which we have left behind us. There is no nation in the world which longs more for peace than Germany and no country has suffered more from the terrible consequences of misplaced blind confidence than our nation. We recall a period of fifteen years before National Socialism came into power, a time which was marked by oppression, exploitation, the denial of equal rights with other nations and with unutterable mental torture and material distress.

The ideals of liberalism and democracy have not preserved the German nation from the worst depression history has ever seen. National Socialism was thus forced to create a new ideal and a more effective one, according all human rights to our people which had been denied the nation for fifteen long years.

During this time of bitter experience Italy, and Fascist Italy especially, refused to take part in the humiliation Germany was subjected to. I must make it a point to say this tonight before the German people and the whole world. In the course of these years, Italy has shown understanding for the demands of a great nation claiming equal rights with other peoples in the endeavor to provide the means of subsistence and, above all, to save its honor.

We are only too glad that the hour has come in which we are given the opportunity to recall the past and, I believe, we have remembered our debt of gratitude.

The common trend of ideas expressed in the Fascist and National Socialist revolutions has developed today into a similar course of action. This will have a salutary influence on the world, in which destruction and deformation are trying to win the upper hand. Fascist Italy has been transformed into a new imperial Romanum by the ingenious activities of a compelling personality.

You, Benito Mussolini, will have realized that in these days, due to the National Socialist State, Germany has become a great power, thanks to her racial attitude and her military strength. The inherent strength of the two countries is the best guarantee for the preservation of Europe, which is inspired by a sense of responsibility in the discharge of its cultural mission. It is not willing to allow destructive elements to cause its decline and dissolution.

You who are present at this very hour and those who are listening to us in other parts of the world must acknowledge that two sovereign national regimes have come into contact at a time in which the democratic and Marxist International revels in demonstrations of hatred which must result in dissension. Every attempt to interfere with the understanding between the two nations or to play one up against the other by casting suspicion and by obscuring the real aims in order to dissolve the ideal partnership will be of no avail because of the innermost desire of one hundred and fifteen million people, who are united at the manifestation of this very hour, and because of the determination of the two men who are standing here to address you.

## NYON CONFERENCE

*Text of invitation to Mediterranean conference at Nyon, Switzerland.*

September 7, 1937.

The French and British Governments are of the opinion that immediate consultation and action by Mediterranean and certain other interested powers has now become necessary in order to deal with the intolerable situation created by attacks recently illegally carried out against shipping in the Mediterranean by submarines and airplanes without disclosure of their identity.

The two governments accordingly propose that a meeting be convened on Sept. 10 to end the present state of insecurity in the Mediterranean and insure that the rules of international law regarding shipping at sea shall be strictly enforced.

They suggest that Nyon would be a suitable place for the meeting since representatives of many of the governments concerned will soon be at Geneva in the normal course of events.

While this invitation is being addressed to ten governments so that those to be represented from the beginning will number twelve in all it will be open to any of them to propose the inclusion of other powers.

*Text of the Soviet Government's reply to the Anglo-French Nyon invitation.*

September 8, 1937.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers that attacks of certain and primarily Italian warships on merchant ships sailing under various national flags should be recognized as absolutely intolerable and in irreconcilable contradiction to the most elementary standards of international law and the basic principles of humanitarianism.

It is perfectly clear that these aggressive actions, committed on the open seas and directed against the shipping of peaceable States, give rise to a direct menace to European security and universal peace.

In view of the above, the Government of the U.S.S.R. is prepared to participate in the conference called for the tenth of September at the initiative of the French and British Governments to discuss the question of measures able to insure the safety of navigation on the open seas, which safety represents one of the foundations of peace.

Bearing in mind that at the above-mentioned conference there will be represented powers directly connected with the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, the Government of the U.S.S.R. asks the Governments of Great Britain and France, as initiators of the Mediterranean conference, to explain to it the reason for inviting Germany—which, as is well known, is not such a power—to this conference.

At the same time the Government of the U.S.S.R. believes the Government of the Spanish Republic should be immediately asked to participate in the conference on Sept. 10, both because Spain is a Mediterranean power and especially because the interests of the Spanish Republic are in particular seriously violated by the aggressive actions of pirate warships.

*Text of Italian reply to Anglo-French invitation to Mediterranean anti-piracy conference at Nyon.*

September 9, 1937.

(1) In reply to the verbal note of the 6th instant, the Royal Minister of Foreign Affairs

has the honor of assuring the Embassy of His British Majesty (an identical note to France mentions France instead of Britain throughout) that the Fascist Government has followed and now follows events in the Mediterranean with all the attention demanded by reason of its situation as a great Mediterranean power, interested in a direct and vital manner in security and peace in that sea. It had, therefore, considered in a favorable frame of mind the first news that reached it regarding possible initiative for a conference designed to discuss appropriate measures for remedying the present situation.

As is known—and regardless of the fact that similar initiative was not taken when the attack on the Leipzig occurred with the grave consequences already known the Fascist Government was prepared, in fact, to reply in affirmative manner to the formal proposal for the convocation of the conference itself.

(2) As the British Government knows, a new fact has nevertheless come about in the meantime. The Soviet Embassy in Rome presented on the 6th instant to the Royal Minister of Foreign Affairs a note, whereby on the basis of a chronology of facts completely arbitrary, the Soviet Government wanted to throw upon Italy the responsibility for some of the recent torpedoings in the Mediterranean. This accusation, already firmly rejected by Italy, introduced at the last moment a new and grave element into the situation and cannot but modify the Fascist Government's frame of mind with regard to the proposed conference.

It is, in fact, evident that the Fascist Government must postpone every decision in an affirmative sense until the incident created by the Soviet Government note reservations should here be made with regard to the invitation of Soviet Russia to the conference—shall have been satisfactorily settled.

(3) The Fascist Government, animated keenly by a desire to neglect nothing that could serve to remedy the present situation, nevertheless took under advisement the problem of how the initiative for an exchange of conversations among the interested powers could take place just the same. In view of the number of powers invited and in view of the character of the conference in which they would participate, the Fascist Government has come to the conclusion that the arguments to be dealt with could be adequately examined and discussed by the Committee on Non-Intervention in London.

This international organ, wherein all the powers invited by the British and French Governments have been present for some time, has experience also in technical and naval questions which renders it perfectly adapted to facing the problems indicated in the British communication.

Such procedure, which would avoid the convocation of a new and special conference, while the Committee on Non-Intervention already exists, has also the advantage of not excluding any one of the great European powers and the other powers more directly interested, permitting therefore particularly the participation of Poland and Portugal.

The Fascist Government does not doubt but that the British Government will understand the reasons which inspire the Italian attitude and it has the honor of declaring from now on—while disposed to continue its activity in the midst of the Non-Intervention Committee in London—that it is ready, in accord with the Reich Government, to give its representative on the aforementioned committee all instructions necessary for the purpose.

*Official summary of Germany's reply to Anglo-French invitation to attend the anti-piracy conference.*

September 9, 1937.

The Reich Government, in its reply to the invitation to attend a Mediterranean conference, emphasized that it welcomed every attempt to bring to an end the insecurity prevailing in the Mediterranean as a result of the Spanish Civil War and would be glad, if possible, to arrange an understanding between powers concerned as to measures which should be undertaken jointly.

At the same time, however, the German reply recalled that the Reich Government, when it launched a similar initiative a few months ago, encountered in British and French Governments an attitude scarcely encouraging it to place any trust in collective agreements in this sphere.

Although after a grave attack on the Deutschland it entered a binding agreement as to handling such questions, the British and French Governments—after a torpedo attack on the Leipzig almost immediately afterward—could not, it will be recalled, make up their minds to show even the smallest measure of solidarity with the Reich Government.

Furthermore, in stating its position, the Reich Government could not overlook the fact that the Soviet Government very recently deemed it advisable to bring unproven accusations against the Italian Government because of certain incidents in the Mediterranean and make sweeping demands on the face of these accusations.

The Reich Government agrees with the Italian Government that the latter cannot be expected to participate in a conference of the proposed nature so long as the incident created by the Soviet Government note has not found a satisfactory solution.

Despite all these unfavorable circumstances, however, the Reich Government does not desire to delay an attempt to achieve amelioration of the situation through mutual deliberation.

Therefore, in agreement with the Italian Government, it proposed, instead of calling a special conference, that the London Non-Intervention Committee concern itself with the situation.

Its sphere of action is most intimately related to the problems here in question. Its organization offers the possibility of making a quick solution if there is good-will on all sides.

Discussion of the problems in the London committee would offer, at the same time, an advantage in that in addition to the powers invited by England and France, other interested powers, such as Portugal and Poland, would participate.

*Text of communique issued by nine-power conference on piracy in the Mediterranean.*

September 11, 1937.

The conference, sitting as a committee, met this afternoon with Yvon Delbos of France presiding.

Count Bozidar Pouritch of Yugoslavia, speaking in the name of the powers of the Balkan Entente, said representatives of those powers, after consideration of naval forces at their disposal, had come to the following conclusion:

1. Each riparian power should be responsible for policing its own territorial waters.

2. Each riparian power should be able to act in concert with other riparian powers with the view of collaboration.

3. On maritime routes which are most used and in accordance with itineraries which might be agreed upon, policing of the seas would be carried out by Franco-British naval forces, as has been agreed upon by the French and British Governments.

Pouritch added that the powers of the Balkan Entente hoped riparian powers of the Mediterranean invited to the conference would associate themselves with the decision of the conference, which would be communicated to them.

George Kiosseivanoff of Bulgaria stated he supported the declaration of the Balkan Entente.

The president, having taken note of the declarations made by the Yugoslav representative, and supported by the Bulgarian representative, submitted in the name of the British and French delegations the draft text.

After examination, paragraph by paragraph, certain changes in the text of the draft proposals were approved and then the proposals were approved as a whole, subject to approval of the Governments concerned.

During the discussion, representatives of the riparian powers of the Black Sea informed the conference that should freedom of traffic in the Black Sea be threatened by submarine action, those powers would concert among themselves as to the necessary steps to be taken to halt such activities.

It was agreed that the text adopted would come into force as soon as signed by the different Governments.

The president said the conference worked rapidly and successfully. In so doing, it made an important contribution to re-establishment of the law of nations, in pacification in the Mediterranean, to the freedom of navigation and to the general cause of peace, which should follow from respect of the law of nations.

He congratulated the different delegations on the good will that marked their work. He felt certain the agreement, apart from drawing the different States represented at the conference closer to each other, would assist the work of peace.

The next meeting of the conference, for signature of the agreement, will be held at the beginning of next week.

*Agreement of nine-power Mediterranean conference at Nyon, Switzerland.*

September 12, 1937.

1. The naval forces of the Powers parties

to the agreement will protect the ships of all countries that are not parties to the Spanish conflict.

2. Any submarine attacking such a ship contrary to the provisions of the London Naval Treaty of 1930 confirmed by the Protocol of November 6, 1936, will be counter-attacked and, if possible, destroyed. [The reference to the Protocol of 1936 is omitted in the official summary.]

3. The same will be done with any submarine found in the neighbourhood of a place where a ship has been attacked in the circumstances already described if there is ground for believing that it is responsible.

4. The execution of these provisions in the Western Mediterranean, except for the Tyrrhenian Sea, where special arrangements may be made, is confided to the British and French Fleets. In the Eastern Mediterranean, except for the Adriatic, all interested Governments will protect commerce in their own territorial waters while the British and French Fleets will do this on the high seas up to the Dardanelles. The other Governments undertake to help them in every possible way.

5. To facilitate this work the signatories will, as a general rule, refrain from sending their submarines to navigate in the Mediterranean. When they do so the submarines will travel on the surface in the company of a surface vessel. Certain zones may be set aside for purposes of exercise. Foreign submarines will be prohibited from entering the territorial waters of the respective signatories except for purposes of repair.

6. Commerce will be directed along routes to be agreed upon.

7. Surface vessels may travel anywhere.

8. One month's notice is required for withdrawal from the agreement.

***Text of nine-power accord drafted by Mediterranean conference at Nyon, Switzerland to make surface warships and planes subject to attack for molesting shipping.***

**September 18, 1937.**

Whereas under the arrangement signed at Nyon Sept. 14, 1937, whereby certain collective measures were agreed upon relating to piratical acts by submarines in the Mediterranean, participating powers reserve the possibility of taking further collective measures,

And whereas it is considered expedient now that such measures should be taken against similar acts by surface vessels and aircraft,

In view thereof, the undersigned, being authorized to this effect by their representative Governments met in conference at Geneva Sept. 17, 1937, agreed upon the following provisions which shall enter immediately into force:

1. The present agreement is supplementary to the Nyon arrangement and shall be regarded as an integral part thereof.

2. The present agreement applies to any attack by a surface vessel or aircraft upon any merchant vessel in the Mediterranean not belonging to either of the conflicting Spanish parties, when such attack is accompanied by violation of the humanitarian principles embodied in the rules of international law with regard to warfare at sea, which is referred to in Part 4 of the Treaty of London of April 22, 1930, and confirmed in the protocol signed at London Nov. 6, 1936.

3. Any surface war vessel engaged in protection of merchant shipping in conformity with the Nyon arrangement which witnesses an attack of the kind referred to in the preceding paragraph shall:

(a) If attack is committed by aircraft, open fire on aircraft.

(b) If attack is committed by a surface vessel, intervene to resist it within the limits of its powers, summoning assistance if such is available and necessary.

4. In territorial waters, each of the participating powers concerned will give instructions as to action to be taken by its own war vessels in the spirit of the present agreement.

# CHRONOLOGY

## *Highlights of Current History, Sept. 11–Oct. 15*

### DOMESTIC

SEPTEMBER 11—Scottsboro case again goes to Supreme Court; Patterson appeals 75 year sentence.

NLRB supports C.I.O. drive for immediate election among seamen; A. F. of L. pleads for delay.

NLRB to receive data from Bethlehem Steel on production and labor costs to clear up interstate status.

SEPTEMBER 12—U. S. Treasury following Reserve Board recommendation frees sterilized gold to save easy money.

78,000 families appeal to PWA for 21,800 low cost housing units.

Merchant shipbuilding program threatened by ship owners who seek free ships from taxpayers' funds.

A. F. of L. outlaws Newspaper Guild for C. I. O. affiliation.

SEPTEMBER 13—Crew strikes Export liner Exeter in effort to secure bonus for Spanish sailing.

Senators report impossibility of ousting Justice Black for alleged membership in Ku Klux Klan.

Unions, affiliated with C.I.O., ousted from New Jersey Labor Federation.

SEPTEMBER 14—New Jersey ruling upholds strikes to gain closed shop.

Farm Administration outlines new program to limit 1938 acreage to probable demand.

William Green discloses plan to organize newspaper workers along craft lines; editorial and office workers kept separate.

President Roosevelt appointed Hugo Black to the Supreme Court unaware of Klan link.

Klan leader denies that Black held life membership in that organization.

SEPTEMBER 15—Governor Aiken of Vermont denounces President Roosevelt's power program at Governors' conference.

President Roosevelt and John L. Lewis have pleasant chat at the White House; both refuse to comment.

Revealed that Senator Black took justice oath secretly on August 19 at the same time he took constitutional oath.

Senatorial group calls on Justice Black to repudiate the Klan.

SEPTEMBER 16—Senator Borah in address again defends the Supreme Court; warns only people may change Constitution.

Governors, after luncheon at White House, express hope that President Roosevelt will join in tax duplication fight.

United States ship drops planes destined for Chinese war zone, obeying President Roosevelt's arms embargo.

SEPTEMBER 17—President Roosevelt, in address on the Constitution, challenges court bill foes; renews his pledge to fight for whole social program.

President Roosevelt leaves on tour through the Northwest to Seattle.

William Green charges C.I.O. with purchasing favors through campaign gifts.

SEPTEMBER 18—White House reports "excellent" response to President Roosevelt's pledge to continue court reform fight.

G. H. Davis, president of the Chamber of Commerce, claims that half of jobless are unemployable.

Senator Vandenberg proposes all-party coalition to fight Roosevelt-Farley-La Follette party.

La Guardia speaking at Philadelphia celebration, denies the Supreme Court is a "super-legislature."

SEPTEMBER 19—American Legion convenes in New York; pledge Legionaires to war on perils to democracy.

Secretary Morgenthau begins overhaul of Internal Revenue Bureau to speed tax inflow.

Secretary Perkins reports private industry job placement 75% above last year.

Natural Resources Committee urges resettlement of decadent cities with government cooperation.

SEPTEMBER 20—American Legion, convened in New York, asks Administration to avoid another war; Secretary Hull warns that the United States must pursue a middle course.

Acting Secretary of State Moore gives representatives of Japan U. S. stand on China.

Secretary Ickes favors decentralization in the administration of new housing program.

SEPTEMBER 21—Republican leaders in Washington welcome exposé of Black's Klan affiliation as an aid to party next year.

President Roosevelt discounts politics as he leaves for Western tour.

Senator Copeland, speaking in Michigan, denounces President Roosevelt and Associate Justice Black.

SEPTEMBER 22—President Roosevelt announces creation of national foundation to fight infantile paralysis.

A. F. of L. announces speakers for Denver convention; list omits name of Secretary Perkins.

AAA abandons farm parity price goal in favor of fifty year pre-war average price.

SEPTEMBER 23—American Legion, convened in New York, elects Daniel J. Doherty of Boston new National Commander.

Chief Justice Hughes begins annual conference with senior judges of Federal circuit.

President Roosevelt, speaking in Iowa, reasserts aim to stabilize crop prices.

SEPTEMBER 24—Nation's unemployment census ready; results expected by Dec. 1.

James A. Farley announces plan to quit cabinet to head the Pierce-Arrow Motor Company.

President Roosevelt ignores Senator O'Mahoney in Wyoming speech.

SEPTEMBER 25—Dispute over delegate may lead A. F. of L. to urge American withdrawal from Geneva labor office.

Chamber of Commerce reports fifteen specific complaints against the undistributed profits tax.

President Roosevelt visits Yellowstone Park; Senator Wheeler not on hand to greet him.

John Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, opposes anti-Roosevelt coalition; warns New Jersey Republicans against move to join forces with court bill foes.

SEPTEMBER 26—Communists and Socialists withdraw Mayoralty candidates in order to aid Mayor La Guardia.

Federal Reserve Board liberalizes eligible list for commercial paper to ease bank loans.

Foreign Policy survey shows exports to South America gaining despite German rivalry.

American Bar Association, meeting in Kansas City, takes up President Roosevelt's challenge on the Supreme Court.

SEPTEMBER 27—American Bar Association assails New Deal policies and appointment of Black to the Supreme Court.

Mayor La Guardia of New York asks labor groups to lead his campaign for re-election.

Oregon welcomes President Roosevelt; his popularity undiminished throughout the West.

SEPTEMBER 28—Speakers at National Council of Catholic Women attack the C.I.O.

Chief Justice Hughes defends efficiency of lower Federal Courts; annual report answers criticism by Attorney General.

President Roosevelt speaking at Bonneville Dam promises that budget will be balanced in next fiscal year.

Rank and file at American Bar Association's convention defends New Deal.

Head of Johnstown Citizens Committee admits to the NLRB funds were received from a Bethlehem official during strike.

Metal trades convention accuses the Federal Labor Board of favoring the C.I.O

400 A. F. of L. members form flying wedge to break C.I.O. picket line at Port Huron, Michigan.

SEPTEMBER 29—Japan, in curt note to the United States Government, refuses to alter tactics in China.

Associate Justice Black returns from European vacation; hints he will not resign despite Klan charges.

American Bar Association appoints new committee to check changes in Federal judiciary.

Homer Martin reorganizes U.A.W.A.; dismisses ten organizers for economy reasons.

SEPTEMBER 30—President Roosevelt is welcomed by large crowds in Victoria, B. C., on "good neighbor" visit.

James A. Farley speaking in Michigan, derides Senator Vandenberg's bid for coalition of Republicans and Democrats.

Secretary Wallace urges Mayor La Guardia to investigate high meat prices in New York.

OCTOBER 1—Justice Black admits he joined the Ku Klux Klan, but resigned before he became Senator.

Senator Copeland predicts New Deal will win again in 1940 unless a strong third party is formed.

Federal statistics show a 25% drop in meat supplies within year.

5,000 Kosher butcher shops in New York City prepare to close in protest against high prices.

William Green, in address to building trades convention, pledges open war on the C.I.O.

Senators O'Mahoney and Wheeler accept Black's statement on the Klan issue.

OCTOBER 2—Treasury deficit for the first fiscal quarter $273,823,428, against $524,884,087 in 1936 period.

Chamber of Commerce opposes further extension of regional planning along lines of TVA.

OCTOBER 3—150 Protestant clergy, educators and laymen attack Spanish hierarchy's pastoral letter; solicit Catholic attitude in America on Democratic Government.

Treasury reports "hot money" inflow of $944,398,000 of foreign capital in six months.

President Roosevelt speaking in Montana omits mention of Senator Wheeler's name.

Council report to A. F. of L. convention meeting in Denver denounces John L. Lewis and demands ouster of the C.I.O.

C.I.O. plans attack on anti-picketing ordinances in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

OCTOBER 4—Justice Black takes his seat in the Supreme Court; two challenges made as to his eligibility taken under advisement.

President Roosevelt hints at special session of Congress to act on farm and labor legislation.

William Green opens Denver convention with announcement he will lead fight to wipe out the C.I.O.

Lewis W. Douglas, former Director of Budget, chosen to head McGill University at Montreal.

OCTOBER 5—Secretary Wallace and Mayor La Guardia to meet and discuss meat stoppage; Wallace hints at Federal inquiry into meat profiteering.

C.I.O. organizers sign up 600 members of the Treasury Department in membership drive.

President Roosevelt, speaking in Chicago, urges concerted action for peace and suggests "quarantine" for war aggressors.

750,000 people turn out in Chicago to welcome President Roosevelt despite news reports that his popularity wanes.

Chairman Madden assures the A. F. of L. convention that the NLRB does not favor the C.I.O. over other labor organizations.

OCTOBER 6—WPA reports a decrease of a million employees on project in a year; 1,456,915 now employed.

Russia receives permission to buy battleship parts in the United States; closing of deal remote.

Attorney General Cummings urges revision of anti-trust laws.

President Roosevelt hints at special session likely from November 6 to the 15th.

OCTOBER 7—Kosher butcher shops call off New York strike when promised lower meat prices.

United States Navy reports development of world's greatest bomber with 8,000 mile cruising range.

1,200 Pennsylvania miners remain in shaft below surface in "stay-down" strike for higher wages.

OCTOBER 8—Senator Berry informs the A. F. of L. convention that he favors Wages and Hours Bill without Federal supervision.

Dr. Seymour, inducted as Yale president, comes out in favor of liberty, and warns against foreign trends.

OCTOBER 9—Federal Government allocates $9,500,000 to farm tenants for purchase of land.

Farm income in the first eight months of this year rose to $5,350,000, the highest since 1929.

President Roosevelt reported determined in his drive for wages and hours legislation, and crop control.

OCTOBER 10—John L. Lewis declares on eve of convention that the C.I.O. is no longer a part of the A. F. of L.

Treasury reports that forty-one persons had million dollar incomes in 1935.

A. F. of L. sets up group to fight C.I.O. in unionization of the "white collar" ranks.

Ford company sets up $40,000,000 fund to expand River Rouge plant.

## INTERNATIONAL

SEPTEMBER 11—Britain and France to guard main Mediterranean routes against submarine attacks; Italy invited to lend aid.

SEPTEMBER 12—Germany pleased at exclusion of Russia from Mediterranean patrol; Italy undecided whether to participate in patrol.

Hitler tells foreign correspondents at Nuremberg that peace depends upon solution of colonial problem.

SEPTEMBER 13—China appeals to League of Nations, complaining of aggression, under clause guaranteeing territorial integrity of members, but does not mention war.

Great Britain hastens plans for Mediterranean patrol.

Paraguay arrests two neutral officers investigating breach of Chaco agreement.

SEPTEMBER 14—President Roosevelt forbids merchant vessels owned by U. S. Government to carry arms to China or Japan; warns private vessels to trade at their own risk.

Italy demands equality with England and France as condition of participation in naval patrol.

SEPTEMBER 15—British insurers suspend quotations on cargoes for Orient, further restricting Chinese supplies.

Chinese appeal to Geneva to be referred to League Advisory Committee.

SEPTEMBER 16—Council of League of Nations refers Chinese case to Far Eastern Advisory Committee, which includes United States; Secretary of State Cordell Hull promises to consider cooperation.

SEPTEMBER 17—China formally protests U. S. partial embargo on arms shipments as unfair. British ships report Spanish rebel submarines convoyed by German and Italian destroyers; non-intervention patrol of Spanish coast abandoned by Britain and France; Nyon conference authorizes Mediterranean patrol to fire on airplanes or surface vessels attacking neutral shipping.

SEPTEMBER 18—British destroyer attacked by bombing plane off Gijon in Spain.

SEPTEMBER 19—British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden expresses hope for Anglo-U. S. trade pact in peace broadcast.

Italy willing to join Mediterranean patrol; Britain and France believed to have promised her equality.

SEPTEMBER 20—U. S. Ambassador leaves Nanking; Japanese Ambassador to United States summoned to State Department.

Foreign Secretary Eden warns Geneva that end of non-intervention in Spain would bring European war closer; Spain defeated for reelection to seat on League Council.

SEPTEMBER 21—Italy, recognized by Britain and France as "great Mediterranean power," enters conversations concerning Mediterranean patrol routes.

League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Far East discusses situation; much depends upon attitude of U.S.A.

SEPTEMBER 22—United States protests Nanking bombings in strong note to Japan; London closes "Hugessen incident."

SEPTEMBER 23—Italy reported ready to cease sending "volunteers" to Spain.

SEPTEMBER 24—British Government asks for three-power conference with France and Italy to settle Spanish issues and to end intervention.

American warships to remain in Chinese waters.

SEPTEMBER 25—Hitler and Mussolini meet in Munich to begin talks.

SEPTEMBER 26—Russia warns Japan against damage to Nanking Embassy.

Mussolini views German Army in sham war.

SEPTEMBER 27—League of Nations far Eastern Advisory Committee condemns Japanese air-raids; British Government addresses another protest to Tokyo, while parliamentary opposition and peace bodies demand boycott.

Rome and Berlin see British friendship necessary to consummation of four-power pact.

SEPTEMBER 28—Mussolini and Hitler ask for peace; predict a fascist Europe.

Britain and France prepare note demanding that Italians leave Spain.

Deadlock develops in League over Spanish Government's demands.

SEPTEMBER 29—Soviet Ambassador leaves Nanking for Moscow for unknown purpose.

League of Nations Assembly approves September 27th resolution of Advisory Committee, which is also endorsed by Secretary Hull.

Papal encyclical condemns communists, neo-pagans and atheists.

In note to U. S., Japan refuses to change present policy; British Air Ministry reported to have approved sale of fighting planes to China. Mussolini and Hitler reported determined to end Anglo-French domination of continent.

SEPTEMBER 30—Political Commission of League of Nations Assembly threatens end of non-intervention in Spain if Italy does not withdraw troops.

OCTOBER 1—China submits to League of Nations a condemnation of Japanese aggression.

OCTOBER 2—Joint Anglo-French note demands withdrawal of Italians from Spain; Russia asserts her right to aid loyalists; 32 League members vote against non-intervention.

OCTOBER 4—British Government discourages movement to boycott Japan.

OCTOBER 5—President Roosevelt pledges Administration to "concerted action" to "quarantine" aggressor nations.

League of Nations Far Eastern Advisory Committee condemns Japan as invader and treaty-breaker.

OCTOBER 7—United States to accept invitation to proposed nine-power conference.

British and French press Italy for answer to note on intervention in Spain.

OCTOBER 8—Prime Minister Chamberlain pledges cooperation with U. S. to end war.

OCTOBER 9—Mussolini rejects conference on volunteers in Spain.

## SINO-JAPANESE WAR

SEPTEMBER 11—Japanese capture Machang, south of Tientsin, and advance two miles inland at Shanghai.

SEPTEMBER 13—China reported to have 400,000 troops near Shanghai, and 400,000 in north; Japan, to have 100,000 at Shanghai, 180,000 in North.

SEPTEMBER 14—Having driven all Chinese soldiers from Chahar, Japan claims capture of Tatung, important railway junction in Shansi; at Shanghai, Chinese retreat to prepared positions.

SEPTEMBER 15—Japanese drive 10 miles farther south of Peiping.

SEPTEMBER 16—Japanese continue advance into Shansi, and south of Peiping; Chinese claim recapture of Litien, near Shanghai.

SEPTEMBER 18—Japanese on point of completing sweeping victory in North China, and advance again in Shanghai.

SEPTEMBER 20—Large squadrons of Japanese planes bomb Nanking; in north Japanese fail to trap Chinese troops, owing to slow operations.

SEPTEMBER 22—Japanese bomb Nanking devastatingly, despite protests from U.S.A. and Great Britain; in north, Japanese advance towards Paoting; in south, Japanese air raiders beaten off near Canton.

SEPTEMBER 23—More than 200 killed in Nanking air raids; another Japanese mechanized column advances into Suiyuan.

SEPTEMBER 24—Canton reports 2,000 dead or wounded; Japanese checked in advance down Peiping-Hankow railway, but later capture Paoting, breaking Chinese first line of defense.

SEPTEMBER 25—Japanese bomb Nanking for seven hours, prepare to push northern advance down to Yellow River.

SEPTEMBER 26—Japan's "big push" on Shanghai fails to get under way.

SEPTEMBER 27—Japanese submarines sink fishing fleet, concentration of troops on border marks Japanese-Russian tension.

SEPTEMBER 29—Japanese announce commencement of heavy drive on Shanghai after bombing Chapei.

SEPTEMBER 30—Japanese halted in Shanghai, but advance in Shansi, outflanking Yenmen Pass.

OCTOBER 1—Drive on Shanghai, now in its fourth day, fails to make progress; Japan believed ready to limit bombing program.

OCTOBER 2—Chinese defense of Shanghai holds firm, but Japanese capture Yenmen Pass in Shansi; Japanese invade Shantung.

OCTOBER 4—Japanese gain on Shanghai front and also in north.

OCTOBER 5—Japanese continue heavy shelling of Shanghai but advance little.

OCTOBER 6—Chinese break up Japanese advances on Shanghai.

OCTOBER 10—Japanese attack along 90-mile front in Southern Hopeh.

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

SEPTEMBER 12—Rebels trying 50,000 prisoners captured at Santander.

SEPTEMBER 13—Rebels advance another six miles towards Gijon.

SEPTEMBER 15—Rebels advance further toward Gijon in snow and cold.

SEPTEMBER 16—Spanish Communist Party appeals for unity among anti-fascist forces; loyalist resistance stiffens on Asturian front.

SEPTEMBER 17—Rebels break Asturian lines in advance on Gijon.

SEPTEMBER 19—Surprise Asturian attack halts rebel advance on Gijon.

SEPTEMBER 20—Rebel troops expected to relieve Oviedo besieged for 14 months.

SEPTEMBER 21—Government offensive in southern Spain drives rebels back towards Cordoba and Seville.

SEPTEMBER 22—Loyalists claim advances on Cordoba front.

SEPTEMBER 24—Madrid prepares for winter's siege.

SEPTEMBER 25—Loyalists claim to have checked rebel drive on North Aragon front near French border.

SEPTEMBER 26—Rebels gain in Toledo sector, while Government attacks on Saragossa front.

SEPTEMBER 27—Rebels capture Ribadesella, important coast town 30 miles east of Gijon.

SEPTEMBER 28—Both sides claim gains in Aragon.

SEPTEMBER 29—Heavy fighting continues on Aragon front.

SEPTEMBER 30—Rebels threaten Jaca, important railroad center near French frontier.

OCTOBER 1—Premier Negrin asks Cortes for vote of confidence in his government.

OCTOBER 4—Loyalists advance south of Madrid; rebels trying to capture Gijon before winter.

OCTOBER 5—Bruno Mussolini, son of Italian dictator, serving with rebels, accompanied by crack Italian bombing squadron.

OCTOBER 7—Both sides claim gains during rainy weather.

## FOREIGN

### *Australia*

SEPTEMBER 15—Federal general election announced for October 23rd by Prime Minister Joseph A. Lyons.

### *Brazil*

SEPTEMBER 30—At request of army and navy officers, state of war to be decreed in order to suppress "agents of the Communist International."

OCTOBER 2—State of war put into effect.

OCTOBER 7—Control of state vested in an executive committee during "state of war."

### *Czechoslovakia*

SEPTEMBER 14—Thomas Garrigne Masaryk, founder and first President of Czechoslovakia, dies at age of 87.

### *France*

SEPTEMBER 15—Franc, unsupported by exchange equalization fund, allowed to fall to new low.

SEPTEMBER 16—Police seize arms of hooded gang, believed to be monarchists.

SEPTEMBER 23—Generals Miller and Skobline, white Russian leaders, disappear in Paris.

SEPTEMBER 28—Premier Chautemps says that 40-hour week must not curb production.

OCTOBER 1—Premier Chautemps and Finance Minister Bonnet to demand end of stay-in strikes and modification of 40-hour week.

### *Germany*

SEPTEMBER 11—Hitler tells 50,000 boys and girls of need for hardihood at Nuremberg Nazi conference.

SEPTEMBER 13—Hitler closes Nuremberg National Socialist Conference with announcement of Germany's implacable opposition to spread of Bolshevism in Europe.

SEPTEMBER 17—Vatican protests Nazi press attacks on Catholicism.

SEPTEMBER 21—Combined Army, Navy, and Air Force maneuvers carried out on Baltic coast.

SEPTEMBER 22—Lavish preparations made for visit of Benito Mussolini.

SEPTEMBER 29—Dr. Schacht warns 4,000 savings bank directors against inflation, as moves proceed for his replacement.

OCTOBER 1—New process for smelting low-grade iron ores to provide Army with steel needs.

### *Great Britain*

SEPTEMBER 30—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain makes appeal for "fitter" nation.

OCTOBER 5—Labor Party overwhelmingly renounces alliance with Communists in a united front.

### *Palestine*

SEPTEMBER 26—L. Y. Andrews, British District Commissioner of Galilee, killed by Arabs.

SEPTEMBER 27—Police arrest 106 Arabs.

OCTOBER 1—Palestine Government arrests and deports members of Arab High Committee.

### *Russia*

SEPTEMBER 19—Soviet Union prepares for first elections under Stalin Constitution; 15,000 political instruction clubs formed in Moscow province alone.

SEPTEMBER 25—Grain crop expected to surpass all previous harvests.

SEPTEMBER 26—Increased production of food and consumer goods strengthens Stalin regime.

### *Yugoslavia*

SEPTEMBER 15—Serbs and Croats form united opposition to win revision of constitution and restoration of democratic institutions, thus shattering Government's hopes of coming to terms with Croats.

# Where History Is in the Making

DEVELOPING our merchant marine from its present unimpressive condition to a position where it can be placed alongside Great Britain or France and not blush in shame is no easy job, but the newly-appointed Federal Maritime Commission has been making definite headway.

For one thing, the Commission has been indirectly aided by the wars in Spain and the Far East. Of course, there are no compensating factors in war, but the current blood and thunder happenings abroad have served to divert American travelers to available cruises in their own hemisphere. Coastwise, Caribbean, Panama, and South American ports are getting the preference over the Mediterranean and the waters of the Orient. As a result, American lines, which specialize in the coastal and inter-coastal routes, find themselves in a comparatively favorable position.

Another welcome aid to the Commission has been the thorough backing of the Administration. President Roosevelt's trip to South America stressed the possibilities between both Americas for increased trade development and for continued good will. An important phase of such a program, he made clear, would see an extension and improvement of the steamship service to South America. That the Administration is definitely committed to such a policy was evident early last month when it was reported in Washington that a reorganization of our merchant marine was about to take place. The reorganization centered around a plan to provide improved service to South America at once, according to the report. Originally, the Commission had considered plans for constructing three "Ambassadorial" liners to be operated by an established private company. But liners such as these take time to build and the Commission is not disposed to mark time, preferring to work out improvements with the ships available until such time as new liners are ready.

In all, Uncle Sam expects to spend close to 500 million dollars over the next five years in a



***MEXICAN HARBOR:** The port of Acapulco, stopping point on cruises through the Panama Canal, has all the beauty of a Spanish port on the Mediterranean.*

gigantic ship-building program. More than a million and a half tons of new ships will be completed or under construction at the end of that period, of which one-third will be the familiar combination passenger and freight types which were so successfully constructed in the 1928 program. As part of the new building program, an American ship-owner may order ships which have been designed and built in our own shipyards and pay no higher than he could contract for the job with foreign firms. If, for example, an American shipyard gives him an estimate of $1,000,000 and a foreign shipyard is willing to do the same job for $750,000, he can place the order with the American firm at the lower rate and the government will make up the difference of $250,000. In addition to this, the government is ready to finance approximately 60 per cent of the cost.

So that the American ship-owner, long neglected by the government while competitors under flags of other major nations were being fed regularly with subsidies, can at last look forward with greater assurance to the fulfillment of his hope for a merchant marine to compare favorably with any.

There is no inaction in translating all these promises into actualities. The *Leviathan* has at last been formally doomed and the first and largest liner of the proposed new merchant fleet has been approved for construction. In addition, the plans call for four new super-cabin boats, ten passenger and cargo ships of one class, and ten more of a smaller rating.

It is not to be supposed from this extensive program of ship building and rehabilitation of our merchant marine that all of our present ships are obsolete. Far from it. Our queens of the transatlantic fleet are the liners *Manhattan* and *Washington*, which, though lacking the speed of some of the newer boats, concede nothing in service or comfort. And there are in service at present between New York and California, via the Panama Canal, three boats of almost 18,000 gross tons each. These boats, the *Pennsylvania*, the *California*, and the *Virginia* serve a route whose importance has been consistently increasing.

The intercoastal run has enjoyed an exceptionally heavy traffic in recent months, attributable in part to the rush of business following the strike, in part to the general upswing of business, and in part to the tourists, as has already been pointed out, who have turned away from European and Far Eastern cruises because of the prevalent war scares.

From the standpoint of pure travel enjoyment, the water route to the Coast rates very high among seasoned travelers. The course has been

charted in such a way that land is almost always in sight. An itinerary of a cruise to the Coast includes Hàvana, the Panama Cànal, Mexico, and several stops in California. One of the cruise's most popular stops has been Havana, where organized tours explore the city and suburbs, while the trip through the Canal has been described by many as the most impressive portion of the voyage.

Many of the cruises, which provide for land tours to Yellowstone, Yosemite, the Rockies, Hollywood, and other American places in favor among travelers, should experience an even greater tourist traffic than they do at present as the result of President Roosevelt's recent statement urging Americans to see their own country first. In a message to a current problems forum in New York City, the President, who had just penetrated the West (*Roosevelt Rides Again,* see page 42) declared that all who could should travel, altering Horace Greeley's old adage somewhat to have it read, "Go West, everybody."

It seems extremely likely that the next few years will find an unprecedented number of Americans following the President's advice. All signs have been pointing to a domestic travel boom, both on land and sea. The popularity of the trailer is too great and too substantial to be mistaken for a fad and is likely to become part of the fabric of our national habits. With the expansion of our educational facilities has also come a curiosity to see things at first hand and this will be certain to manifest itself in travel. Economically, we are more robust than at any time during the past half dozen years and this, too, will be increasingly apparent as more and more citizens turn to travel in self-reward for their privations during the depression. Finally, and of great importance, is the evolution of our national travel psychology. For some strange reason, Europe has always seemed to hold a greater allure for Americans than their own country. Whether it was because it was on the other side of a great ocean; whether it seemed to offer more of the romantic quality of travel; whether it appeared to offer greater variety; or whether it simply was "the thing to do," the fact is that up to very recently the first preference of travelers was Europe.

But all that is changing. Europe has lost much of its allure. Dictators stride across the Continent, pushing the people here and there, and there is not as much of the unhurried, warm, congenial atmosphere as there was, say, ten or fifteen years ago. Moreover, people do not like to visit any place where the constant threat of armed conflict lingers low over the land and native citizens are worried, tense. Add to this the conquest of our prejudice against anything that smacks of our own back-yard and we have a situation which is very favorable toward a large increase in domestic travel.

Once, Americans turned away from America and looked to Europe because they felt there was little here to see. But when they read today of thousands of European travelers who have come to look at our new power projects, our national parks, our natural wonders, and our great constructions, they realize that they have looked for rainbows everywhere except over their own heads.

# Here and There

The "Wagon and Horses" Inn at Salter's Gate, near Whitby, in England, claims a record for keeping a kitchen fire constantly lighted. The fire is said to have been burning continuously for 136 years. The old inn was once a smuggler's retreat, and in the days when the tax on salt was high, fishermen secretly brought their catches there to be salted.

An oak tree large enough to contain two chapels stands in the village of Alloville-Bellefrosse, France, and a family of the town has for generations been "custodians of the key of the oak." The tree, whose age is estimated at 1200 years, is so large that nine men with extended arms can scarcely encircle it. As far as age goes, however, it is a mere youngster. The famous Soma cypress in Lombardy is said to be 2000 years old, and in the Garden of Gethsemane, eight of the original olive trees are still standing.

One of Japan's favorite indoor sports seems destined to pass into the limbo of forgotten things. Even without the current war to take their minds away from pastimes, the Japanese seem to have lost interest in the traditional entertainment of insect music. For years regarded as a soothing comfort, the songs of night-singing insects, captive in delicate bamboo-cages, are no longer appreciated. Films, the radio, jazz, cafes, and sports seem to have replaced insects in popular favor.

## *The World Today in Books*

*(Continued from page 15)*

### *An Artist Sees Art*

The one fault with Hendrik Willem van Loon's new monumental tome, *The Arts*, is that without reading it, some people who are not familiar with Van Loon will fall into the error of thinking that it is a short-cut-to-culture book, after the manner of short-cut books which have been deluging the country for the past two years. They are tired of being told how to wake up and live, make money, win friends, become speakers, artists, writers, etc.—all for the price of a book. But no one need entertain a second's doubt of Van Loon. He discusses this very point in his latest work:

> Keep this fact firmly in mind—in the arts (just as in nature) there are no short-cuts. Success is not a matter of inspiration but a matter of patience and more patience and then still more patience. Without inspiration, you may never be able to scale the greatest heights, but all inspiration in this entire inspired universe will not do you any good without a vast amount of very hard work and slow, painstaking and conscientious work, at that.

This department has reviewed few books in recent years which it can recommend with as much enthusiasm as *The Arts*. Here is not merely a compendium of facts on the history of the world's great painters, musicians, composers, architects, sculptors, but a live, moving translation of the life story of the arts with one of the day's outstanding minds as your guide. There is no

such thing as a dead and buried past with Van Loon. "The Taj Mahal," he says, "is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings ever devised by the genius of man, but when you approach Brooklyn Bridge without any prejudice it is quite as beautiful and even more imposing." Or, "The 'Harlem Blues' are nothing new. They are the wails of self-pity of the old Hebrew Psalmists put to music." Still another, "We admire the first steam engine of James Watt for its logical simplicity, but No. 1 of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavichord* is beautiful for exactly the same reason."

*The Arts* is not to be judged on the basis of its reference value, for it was not the author's intention to write a reference work. Like a painting, its value lies in its interpretative qualities. He views the history of the arts as he would a beautiful panorama he might paint, seeing things that to others might remain obscure; passing over detail that to others might seem important; using blues and yellows where others might use pinks and greens. When you read *The Arts*, read it not for a list of names of history's great artists, nor for a list of their accomplishments, but for the depth and richness of Van Loon's observations, for the power of his perception that enables you to capture the dimensions—artistic, emotional, spiritual—of the people who stroll through his book. *The Arts* will vie with Van Loon's *Rembrandt van Rijn* as his greatest work.

### *Farewell to Panaceas*

Disillusionment is a bitter pill and in the case of Eugene Lyons it must have been doubly difficult to swallow. Lyons, we read in his *Assignment in Utopia*, was heart and soul absorbed in the cause of Soviet Russia when he was sent there as a correspondent for the United Press. Here, he felt, could be fulfillment. It would be possible to live among people who were making a "finer world"; it was an opportunity to see at first hand the miracles of the Russian Revolution.

But Lyons' "assignment in utopia" convinced him that Russia was a long way from reaching the promised land; in fact, she even seemed to be heading in the wrong direction. As year after year passed, he was forced to discard ideal after ideal, illusion after illusion, hope after hope. His eyes were open and he saw that all around him things were happening that belied the promise of a "more abundant life." There were hunger and starvation and famine. There were corruption and rotten politics. There were secret police, labor camps, terrorism. He saw that the dictatorship of the proletariat was in fact no better than any other dictatorship. When you defended it,

you were defending tyranny. "A socialism that offers to fill the bellies of its people but retains the privilege of slitting those bellies at will is reactionary; it cancels out ages of struggle and costly victory in the domain of the human spirit."

These were the hard realities facing Lyons. His problem was whether to tell what he had seen —to tell the truth—or to keep quiet and hide from everyone his disillusionment and his great mistake. But he had to speak out. He had to tell all who would listen that they were playing into the wrong hands when they believe that the only alternative to fascism is communism. For he contends that there are parallels between fascism and communism which are dangerous to ignore. There is the mutual disdain for human life, the contempt for truth, the glorification of brute force, intolerance, and suppression. And to think that under communism, at least, the dictatorship works for the advantage of the masses while under fascism it works against them, is to deny the history of Soviet rule in Russia. The very masses who were to be saved by the "cause" are being damaged by it, he claims.

And so Eugene Lyons has joined William Henry Chamberlin, André Gide and other noted writers as those who have seen the Soviet at first hand and found it wanting. His *Assignment in Utopia* bears eloquent testimony to the need for extreme caution in adopting social panaceas which in operation may prove to produce the very conditions we are striving to avoid.

### *Jackson and Clay*

WHAT are probably the two best biographies of the year have been published within the same month and deal with figures whose careers interlock each other. This reference is to *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President*, by Marquis James, and *The Life of Henry Clay* by Glyndon G. Van Deusen. Between the two books, the reader is provided ample material for a thorough understanding of the historic feud between Jackson and Clay. Both competed for the Presidency. Both found the other's political philosophy untenable. At one point, Jackson started after Clay with a gun, intending to kill him.

The most dramatic episode in which both Jackson and Clay were involved was the Presidential election of 1824. Jackson did little campaigning. He was in the race against his will. Clay had campaigned with all the resources at his command. In all, there were 15 candidates in the race, one of the most hectic in American history. The vote in the national election stood, finally: Jackson, 99; John Quincy Adams, 84; Crawford,

41; and Clay, 37. But though Jackson had a plurality, he needed a majority and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives where Clay, as Speaker, was able to swing the support away from Jackson and elect Adams.

Mr. James does not deal lightly with Clay for his support of Adams, indicating that he is convinced of the truth of the charge that a "bargain" had been struck between both men. In return for the Presidency, Clay was to have the appointment as Secretary of State. Mr. James quotes Senator Thomas Benton, who said at the time that the appointment was another form of bribery, adding that "no man, in his right senses, at the public scene of action as I was, could believe otherwise."

But Mr. Van Deusen does not find Clay guilty as charged. He says that Clay's part in the election had been largely motivated by a combination of personal ambition and patriotic zeal, but there is every reason to believe that "he sincerely felt that such a combination, sponsoring his American system, was for the best interests of the country." The one great defect in his acceptance of the appointment was that it "could be twisted falsely into an accusation of bargain and sale."

Clay was never able to live down the stigma of the appointment, and Jackson, hammering away on that point during the next few years, was able to win both the Presidential nomination and election.

It is with Andrew Jackson's presidential years and his period of retirement that Mr. James is primarily concerned. In a previous volume, *Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain*, Mr. James portrayed Old Hickory as a personality and a soldier. Now we see how those same qualities which carried Jackson to the top as a soldier were to establish him as one of the greatest popular presidents in the history of the nation. To Jackson has gone the honor of having more towns, cities, and counties named after him in the United States than after any other president —or anyone else, for that matter. So deeply, in fact, has his impress been upon American history that we have come to refer to his period in office as the Jacksonian Epoch.

A Pulitzer Prize winner in history, Mr. James again demonstrates that he is one of America's greatest biographers. His new work is a distinctive contribution to historical literature.

Where Mr. James is concerned in his present volume only with his subject's later years, Mr. Van Deusen has chronicled the entire life of Clay, from his early days in Virginia to his apprenticeship as a lawyer and his early career in Kentucky. He showed an early bent for politics and soon found himself in Congress as Senator, filling out the unexpired term of Buckner Thruston. Almost without interruption, Clay was in Congress from 1810 to his death in 1852. Although he was a candidate for the presidency no fewer than three times, he never reached his lifelong goal.

Mr. Van Deusen is more than a first-class historian; he is a first-class writer. The combination makes *The Life of Henry Clay* a notable book and one which will establish itself high on the list of the many biographies that have been written about Clay.

### *Twenty-Year Adventure*

THESE are the ingredients out of which *Free Lance*, by E. Alexander Powell, is made: biography, travel, adventure, and politics. Mr. Powell, it will be remembered, is the man who has been to Everyplace and Back; who has had a regiment's share of experiences; who has interviewed rulers and ragamuffins; and who, by and large, seems to have found life fairly interesting.

One reads his book and comes away with the conviction that most of the experiences would warrant separate books. This has been the case *Free Lance* has a little from each of the thirty-odd books of travel and adventure that Powell has written. He has selected the highlights of his life during the last twenty years, brought them into a single focus and the result has been a pleasant, enjoyable congeries. There is so much here that it is difficult to know just where to begin and where to end, for it seems as though there is a different experience for each page and there are approximately half a thousand pages.

The most likable aspect about *Free Lance*, perhaps, is Powell's utter simplicity; in an unassuming and matter-of-fact way he will discuss his interview with a Mussolini or a Hitler and give it as much emphasis and space as he would to an account of a talk with one of the citizens. Powell found Mussolini even shorter than he had thought, swarthy and as "sleek as an actor in a society drama—just a shade too sleek to be well-dressed. In the vigilant eyes, the aggressively out-thrust jaw, the squat, powerfully muscled frame, there was the suggestion of a prize-fighter." He saw Hitler when Der Führer was in fine fettle and had dropped his stern mask. He observed that Hitler's most arresting feature was his eyes, "bright blue and, like those of all fanatics and fighting men, widely opened and unblinking."

*This Business of Christmas*

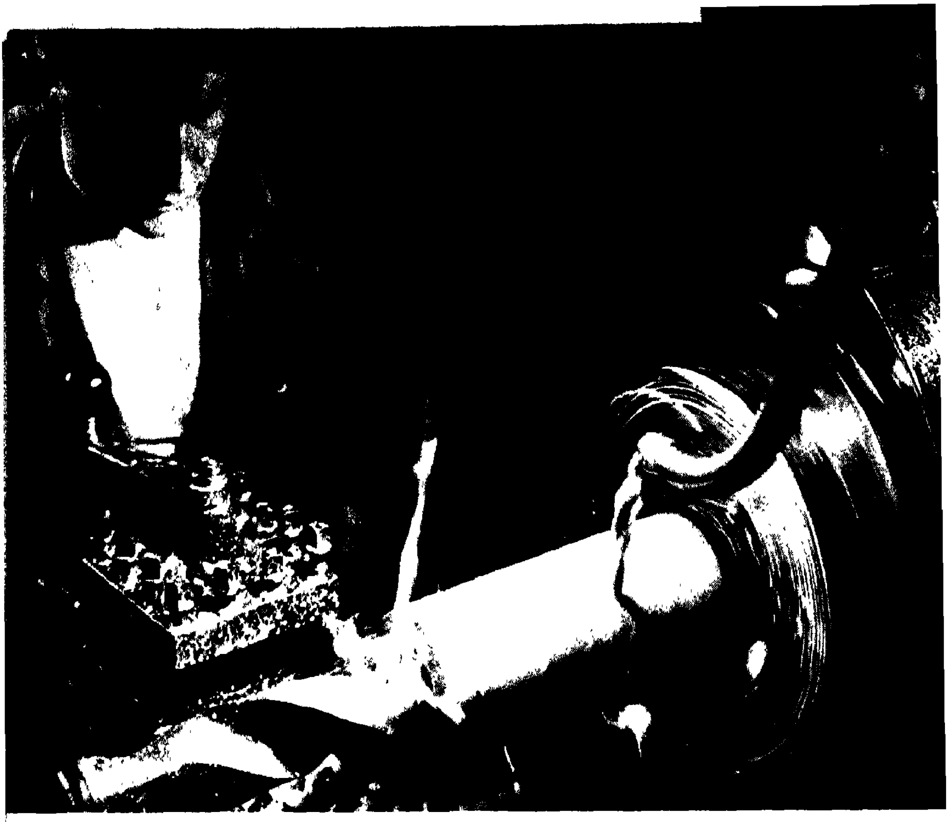
# Current HISTORY



DECEMBER, 1937 PRICE 25 CENTS

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**By Genaro Arbaiza**



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# CURRENT HISTORY

## DECEMBER 1937



### ARTICLES





### FEATURES



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N. B. Cousins
*Literary Editor*

# The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

***Books Reviewed in This Issue***

| BOOK | AUTHOR | PUBLISHER | PRICE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Japan Over Asia* | William Henry Chamberlin | Little, Brown | $3.50 |
| *I Knew Hitler* | Kurt G. W. Ludecke | Scribners | 3.75 |
| *The Kaiser on Trial* | George S. Viereck | Greystone | 3.50 |
| *You Have Seen Their Faces* | Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White | Viking | 5.00 |
| *The Making of Society* | V. F. Calverton | Modern Library | .95 |
| *A World History of Art* | Sheldon Cheney | Viking | 5.00 |

*A List of Fifty Christmas Gift Books Begins on Page 11*

POOR misunderstood Japan. She has done no wrong. The wrong is only in the eyes of the accusers. Americans are unjust when they condemn her, for Japan is fulfilling a noble mission. Americans could see this if they could "understand" her.

Or so the Tokyo diplomats would have us believe. They have explained away and minimized every wave of anti-Nipponese sentiment in America during the past six years on exactly such grounds. Each time the emphasis has been on the word "understand." But by now that line of reasoning has become both thin and annoying. Just what there is so difficult and mysterious about Japan and the Japanese that Americans cannot understand has never been satisfactorily explained. Japan and China are at war but there have been no reports of Chinese invading Japan while there is no doubt that the Japanese have invaded China. Can there be any misunderstanding about that? The Japanese war machine has rolled through North China, has bombed and set fire to cities and towns, and has stamped out the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians. Can there be any misunderstanding about that? Japan has set up and is setting up puppet states throughout China. Can there be any misunderstanding about that?

All this is made abundantly clear in William Henry Chamberlin's *Japan Over Asia*, an explicit analysis of Japan's ambitions and Japan's abilities. Mr. Chamberlin, distinguished Far Eastern correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* and *Current History* author, leaves no room for misunderstanding about Japan. From his book, one understands just what Japan proposes to do and how she expects to do it. No petty concessions, he says, will satisfy the ambitious Japanese militarists. They want the creation of a regime in North China that will be entirely subservient to Japanese wishes, the establishment of a government in Nanking which will "fall in line," and a change in the status of Shanghai to a free city under a single administration which would be pro-Japanese.

Hundreds of thousands of men have been mobilized, the nation has strapped itself to war, and the treasury has been scraped clean, filled and scraped clean again in financing Japan's military undertakings. But how long that can continue is a question. It is a question not so much of manpower—Japan's masses have remained patriotic—but of money and resources. The militarists may make too many visits to the treasury and one day not far off may find that the cupboard is bare.

Japan's limitations are such, Mr. Chamberlin points out, that she must win the war by Spring of 1938. Victory later than that would have a distinctly Pyrrhic flavor. She may eventually hammer China into submission only to discover that she herself is completely spent, physically and economically, and may hardly be able to stagger from the arena, let alone carry off the spoils. So that a victory along the lines hoped for by the Japanese imperialists must be pushed through without delay.

But there are strong indications that China will not let itself be crushed in short order, if at all. With a display of strength and determination never expected by the Japanese, nor by the rest of the world, for that matter, the Chinese have proved that the days of easy success for her invaders are over. Years ago western nations walked into China, stuffed their pockets, planted their flags, and came and went as they pleased. At the time, China, a huge, helpless, paralyzed giant, could do little save attempt feeble motions of protest. Japan stared in horror across the sea and realized that she, too, could become an easy mark for thirsting powers. But the invasion of China by western nations aroused more than fear for her own safety in Japan. It aroused envy. Other nations—none of them of the Yellow race—were fleecing the giant, did not Japan have just as much, if not more, right? So Japan planned and prepared for The Day. Now that The Day has come, China is no longer the paralyzed giant. She has stirred herself into some semblance of coordination and has located her bearings. She has thrown into the field about 2,000,000 men, and though her troops are no match for the smaller but more efficient Japanese forces, China has used them to best advantage and has given ground slowly. Should China sustain her present calibre of resistance, it seems unlikely that Japan will be able to drive through a convincing victory by Spring—the date set by Mr. Chamberlin beyond which a Japanese victory would be a victory in name only.

There are other factors which may have a definite bearing on the outcome of the current blood-and-thunder happenings in the Far East. One is the military strength and objectives of the communist army which has announced its support of the Nanking Government. Another is the financial and military aid which may be given to China by Soviet Russia. That Japan recognizes these threats is seen in the recent report that thousands of her best troops are stationed at strategic points which will enable them to challenge effectively outright Russian intervention.

*Japan Over Asia* is not a book which will be sought out by those who seek sensational "inside" information. One is certain that it was never Mr. Chamberlin's intention to write such a book. It is clear that he intended a work on the Far East which would present in one volume an unemotional and authoritative account of what is happening there today, together with sufficient background material on both Japan and China to round out a picture which can be easily seen and understood by the casual student of world affairs.

### *The Retreat from Berlin*

THE report that Herr Hitler has been accepted by both sides as a mediator to bring about an end to the war in the Far East gives added timeliness to *I Knew Hitler*, by Kurt G. W. Ludecke. Der Fuhrer has seldom been considered in the role of peacemaker and there is very little in Mr. Ludecke's book to indicate established talents in this direction. The author, a personal acquaintance of Hitler over a long period of years, points out that Hitler has often blundered and blundered badly in the face of history-making opportunities.

Mr. Ludecke's book is an appraisal of Hitler and nazism on their own tenets. Just as Eugene Lyons fought for communism and became bitterly disillusioned when he saw communism in action (*Assignment in Utopia*, Harcourt Brace), so has Kurt Ludecke been in the front ranks of the nazis only to oppose them after they came into power. There is more in common between the authors of these books: both Lyons and Ludecke, once strong advocates of the authoritarian states, are no longer welcome in Russia and Germany, respectively, and have come to live in the United States. They recognize and value highly the wide latitude allowed them here in the expression of their opinions, a latitude that is conspicuously forbidden under their former favorite systems of government. If there is one lesson to be learned from the experiences of both authors it is that the defense of dictatorship is the defense of tyranny. No distinction can be drawn between a "good" dictatorship and a "bad" dictatorship. Regardless of its particular social theory or label, regardless of the division of the population it purportedly represents, a dictatorship cannot long remain in power without resorting to extreme suppressive measures against opposition movements. The effect of this is to cancel out whatever good it might do for the people by reason of its greater authority. Maintaining itself in power—indefinitely if possible—is the first worry of every dictatorship;

the needs of the people are secondary. This much is a matter of historic record.

Mr. Ludecke was one of the founders of the nazi movement in Germany, attaching himself to Adolf Hitler, who "seemed another Luther" and to whom Ludecke "had given my soul." Ludecke became one of Hitler's chief foreign representatives and contacted important international figures, sounding out Mussolini as early as 1922. Hitler sent Ludecke to the United States in 1924 on a propagandist and fund-raising mission. Ludecke felt that Henry Ford, because of views expressed in Ford's paper, *The Dearborn Independent,* would be the logical man to finance Hitler into power. The Flivver King's views synthesized so closely with the nazi philosophy, that the author did not anticipate much difficulty in obtaining his support. Ludecke reasoned that Ford, who had started a crusade against the Jews, might be willing to finance a government which put his ideas into practice. But Ford, although revealing a strong interest in the Hitler movement, could not be talked into backing up that interest with hard cash.

This is only one of a large number of interesting and frequently amazing experiences related by Mr. Ludecke. When his Ford mission failed, he returned to Germany, helped build the party, was sent again to the United States to head the nazi propagandist agency here, returned again to his native land after Hitler came into power, ran into difficulties with associates of Der Fuhrer, was thrown into a concentration camp, escaped and managed to get back to the United States just in time to avoid the blood purge—a ceremony which he is convinced was intended to include him.

There is no word other than startling to describe *I Knew Hitler*. The author does not deny that he was once part and parcel of the nazi movement and his story is all the more effective because of this frank admission. Revealed here is not merely Hitler in the roles of theorist, politician and personalist, but the mechanism of government in Germany as well. Those of us who have often hoped that some one high up in the councils of the nazi organization would tell us the cold, sober truth about what that party actually stands for, how it works, and the motives and personalities of the men behind it can now realize that hope. This is a sensational book not for the sake of sensationalism, but for what it has to say.

### *Doorn's Forgotten Man*

THE position occupied by Hitler in the field of international politics is similar in many re-

[illegible] to that held by the Kaiser in the years immediately preceding the World War. In 1914 William II was looked upon by democratic nations, just as is Der Fuhrer today, as a ruler who would stop at nothing until Germany dominated the world. William still lives but time and the world have passed him by. He is the "forgotten man at Doorn," overlooked almost entirely while the spotlight has been thrown on another "man of destiny" in Germany. Meanwhile, William ponders his destiny, a destiny which was negatively sealed even as the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

HISTORY has not judged the Kaiser kindly. George Sylvester Viereck has attempted to assemble in *The Kaiser on Trial* all the evidence which would establish the truth or falsity of the charges, frequently raised against William II, that he was not only responsible for the World War, but that he committed crimes against international morality, failed to keep faith with the German people, and was an incompetent monarch.

The end of the World War was the signal for a mighty clamor to "hang the Kaiser." The Treaty of Versailles, in fact, contained a clause requiring the Kaiser to be placed on trial. The trial never materialized because William II had flown to his nest in the Netherlands where the government was not disposed to give up the famous exile. Mr. Viereck has chosen to construct that trial as if it had actually occurred. All those who were in a position to condemn or uphold the Kaiser give testimony. Many of those who take part in the imaginary trial are now dead. The case is heard by international judges before an international jury. The reader has the "twelfth and deciding vote" in the decision of the jury.

Much evidence is introduced in the "trial" which has never before been brought to light, almost all of it favoring the Kaiser. The author's sympathies are never in doubt although he has been careful not to exclude any charges and evidence which might have sought to condemn William. But it is clear that Mr. Viereck, if left to cast the "twelfth and deciding vote," would acquit the Kaiser, or at least relieve him of much of the stigma of war guilt. Mr. Viereck has enjoyed the good faith of William, who has referred to the author as the "sole exponent of my ideas, with my full confidence in the way he thinks best fit for their dissemination." No newspaper or other publication has been permitted to publish anything about the Kaiser except through Mr. Viereck, who is the only

# Announcement

With this issue of *Current History*, Vol. XLVII comes to an end. This volume will contain only three issues instead of the usual six, and the index covering October, November, and December. We regret such slight inconvenience as this may cause those who bind the magazine. In order to make it as easy as possible, we have arranged to furnish the right-sized binders.

We are bringing Vol. XLVII to an end at this time because, beginning with the January issue, *Current History* will appear in a new format with the size of the page increased to 8½ by 11½ inches, and with three columns of type on a page instead of the two columns as at present. The increased page size of the magazine makes nine per cent more space available for type and display.

Readers will find the same services to which they are accustomed, the same departments, the same authoritative articles, and the same sequence. In addition, a new feature, called "Letters-to-the-President" will be introduced. This feature, the purpose of which is to present a cross-section of public sentiment, will contain actual letters received at the White House. The magazine will also include a photographic section which will not be an assortment of miscellaneous pictures, but a medium through which a number of world events will be pictorially explained each month. Maps, charts, and graphs will be used to illustrate articles wherever feasible. The editor will contribute in each issue a one-page interpretation of some phases of the month's happenings.

M. E. Tracy, *Editor*

newspaperman who ever entered Doorn as the Kaiser's guest. "In his valiant and strenuous fight for my person," the Kaiser once wrote of the author, "he slowly converted many Americans from their mistaken attitude toward me as the Devil who let loose the war."

*The Kaiser on Trial*, then, is an effort to introduce to Americans additional evidence which may temper their judgment of William II. There is nothing in the book to indicate that Mr. Viereck has betrayed the confidence of the exile in any way and it may reasonably be assumed that much of what he says here represents the Kaiser's own version of the origin of the World War. If what the evidence of Mr. Viereck's imaginary trial points to is the truth, then the Kaiser has been the most unjustly condemned man since Calvary. It is unfortunate, however, that the evidence in Mr. Viereck's book is by no means conclusive. It is up to the reader to cast the "twelfth and deciding vote."

### Book of the Future

An indication as to what the book of the future will be like may be observed in *You Have Seen Their Faces*, with Erskine Caldwell doing the writing and Margaret Bourke-White the photography. Their book is about twelve inches high by nine inches—the approximate magazine size—is not too thick, and is printed in large, clear type. Its most distinguishing feature, however, is the 75 full-page photographs which play an equally important part with the text in conveying the story.

The story, as anyone familiar with the favorite topic of Mr. Caldwell might guess, deals with the Southern share-cropper. The idea of working as a team probably appealed strongly to both Mr. Caldwell and Miss Bourke-White, for *You Have Seen Their Faces* contains some of the best work of both writer and photographer. If all the talk of the share-cropper's plight is ever translated into action it will be largely because of this book. One may be indifferent to the sufferings of others when running across stray items or articles in the newspapers, but it is impossible not to be deeply moved by what is shown here. What Miss Bourke-White's camera says in this book is beyond argument.

### Mr. Calverton's Anthology

The issuance of a new Modern Library volume is always an event. In *The Making of Society*, V. F. Calverton has edited an anthology which permits the student of social thought to compare and contrast present-day thinking with that of the past. There is a continuous stream here

which reflects the philosophy of leading thinkers as far back as Biblical days. It is continuous in that it is one stream and in that it stems from the same source. But it is not evolutionary. It starts as a stream but does not end as a river nor does it run dry. For thought is evolutionary only in the sense that we may borrow from what others have thought and said before and reconcile it with or add it to our own. But there has been no steady progression of original thought. What we think and say now has frequently been thought and said before, often with greater insight and clarity. Mechanically and industrially, we have come a long way from the days of Plato, but intellectually, we are still struggling to surpass or even reach his level.

This is apparent as we examine some of the selections in Mr. Calverton's excellently edited anthology. We read the writings, for example, of a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Trotsky, a John Dewey, a Harry Elmer Barnes, a Melville S. Herskovits and we observe various shades of the same colors in the works of others who have had an influence on social thought down through history.

Mr. Calverton has not merely assembled a congeries of extracts from works here and there. He has gone about his selections with extreme care and with a purpose. That purpose, in which he has admirably succeeded, is to enable those of us who have been confused by the constant pounding of a large number of isms to recognize each ism for what it really is. If through this work one is able to dig a firm foothold of his own, then he is still further indebted to the author.

### *Art for the Millions*

A *World History of Art*, by Sheldon Cheney, coming almost upon the heels of Van Loon's *The Arts*, brings to an end with unmistakable finality any need which may have existed for a popular work covering the history of art in all its phases. The difference between Mr. Cheney's work and that of Mr. van Loon's is the difference between a photograph and a painting. Mr. Cheney is the historian; Mr. Van Loon the interpreter. Appropriately, Mr. Cheney uses photographs to illustrate his book; Mr. Van Loon his own drawings.

To say that *A World History of Art* is one of the most beautiful books of the current publishing season is to overlook its chief claim for recognition. It has all the qualities of a standard work on the subject and is the result of long and careful research. Mr. Cheney realizes that people are becoming increasingly "distrustful" of

the intellectual approach to a consideration of art and want a history of art according to a "different plan." This plan Mr. Cheney has attempted to provide. He has de-emphasized history as such and has attempted rather to stress the qualities of greatness in the outstanding works of art throughout history. It is more important, for example, that Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* represents a masterpiece of extraordinary vigor and originality—"surpassingly moving, plastically alive as a whole and in every part"—than the historic fact that it was completed in the early years of the sixteenth century at the request of Pope Paul III.

# Books for Christmas

IN SELECTING fifty non-fiction Christmas gift books, *Current History*'s editors have not limited their list to works on current happenings or world affairs. They have attempted to provide a list which would include books embracing a wide and varied appeal. There are books, for example, on art and architecture, on travel and adventure, on biography and autobiography—in addition to works on history, sociology, and current events.

The books have been selected, too, with due consideration given to every possible gift budget. The prices range from $.95 for V. F. Calverton's anthology, *The Making of Society* to $12.50 for *Audubon's Birds of America*, or $15.00 for Pitirim A. Sorokin's three-volume *Social and Cultural Dynamics*.

The editors do not contend that the following list may not have excluded a number of worthy works, realizing that out of the many thousands of non-fiction books published during the past year it is impossible to draw up any list of fifty which could arbitrarily be called "best" for Christmas gift purposes.

The order in which the books are listed bears no relation to their comparative worth as gifts. The books:

*Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, by Eliot Paul, Random House $2.50. Beautifully-written story of Santa Eulalia, a small town on an island off the coast of Spain. Mr. Paul describes the people, their beliefs, their philosophies—as he observed them before and during the present civil warfare.

*The Hundred Years*, by Philip Guedalla, Doubleday Doran, $3.00. Using a unique literary

(*Continued on page 124*)



# LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

## Business Recession

CERTAINLY, by now, even the most optimistic Government economist has come to the conclusion that there is something wrong in the New Deal business laboratory. Specifically what is wrong no one as yet knows. Thus it is that many economists and politicians view the special session of Congress as a business clinic in process of discovering the cause and cure of this new business ailment threatening to induce still further depression.

The facts of the business recession are obvious on every hand. Factory curtailment is widespread, motor-car production lags, retail stores report a pronounced continuation of smaller sales increases over those of last year, while basic commodity prices decline. Add to this the dramatic slumps in the New York stock market, and it becomes evident that whatever else business is doing, it is going down.

But why? Opinions differ as much as the sources from which they come. The president of the New York Stock Exchange reports the slump in market prices as due in part to the restrictive action of the Securities and Exchange Commission, while the commodity price decline is attributed to the weakness of industrial prices. And the cause of the motor-car production lag is thought to be a direct result of public indifference to the new 1938 models, and to a not yet depleted dealers' stock of 1937 cars. At best, these are some of the reasons offered by business men and professional economists for the sudden slump.

However, the C.I.O. is not neglected, since all business reports ascribe to this organization a good share of the blame. For the present, the C.I.O. shares the whipping post with the New Deal. Again and again salient characteristics of this militant labor group, whether real or imaginary, are called to the public's attention. The C.I.O. is charged with having seized a tremendous industrial power, and with having an active program to seize political power. The C.I.O. is charged with openly fostering a program for seizing industry and running it for its own purpose. In sum this latter is the C.I.O. atrocity story most favored wherever business men gather. Briefly then, the complaints of industry are against the various Federal taxes, the C.I.O., the increased cost of labor and materials, particularly in the building industry, and the effect of the Government's drastic curtailment of extraordinary expenditures.

That these complaints are now being openly voiced by leaders in private industry creates an amusing paradox. Less than three months ago private industry thundered at the New Deal Administration an imperative demand to reduce expenditures and balance the budget. With all the ruggedness characteristic of our commercial saviours they pilloried the President for his spendthrift program. They ridiculed Administration spokesmen for assuming that whatever business recovery existed owed its life to the pump priming tactics of the Government.

### *Reduce Taxes*

And now the situation is in the reverse. Some business leaders are again trekking to Washington much as they did in 1933. On their lips are the same slogans. "Spend more." "Forget the budget." And to these familiar exortations they have added one more—"Reduce Federal Taxes." Of course the situation doesn't make sense. The Government can't continue to spend on the one hand, and reduce taxes on the other. The budget cannot be ignored, if the nation is to avoid inflation. Prices cannot be maintained in the face of growing public resentment against higher living-costs. And to complete this crazy-quilt the harassed citizen has only to superimpose such contradictions upon the inescapable fact that the unemployment problem still remains insolvable.

Again it is the hour of panaceas. There is no lack of schemes to save the situation. But the schemes are, for the most part, distinguished only by their impracticability. Certainly it is a discouraging sight to see them paraded before the public, since in every case they involve but one common principle—the continuing levy of taxes on the middle and lower classes for the peculiar object of supporting a business structure badly in need of overhauling.

### *Worthy of Oblivion*

To nominate even one of these schemes as being worthy of consideration is impossible. However, one does not have to look far for the plan most worthy of oblivion. For ingenuity and stupidity the plan to earmark the collections under the Social Security Act for expenditure in the housing field, is outstanding. The avowed purpose of this scheme is to revive heavy industry, and stimulate business in all fields. The method to be employed calls for the Treasury to deposit promises to pay in place of the earmarked money. Thus, the Security payments now held in a growing reserve, or used to pay ordinary Government expenses, would be directly employed to halt the downward spiral of business. The proponents of this plan justify it by simply pointing out that it will have no effect upon the budget since the sums expended will be flowing regularly from taxation.

To understate, it can only be said that this is peculiar reasoning, although in the best traditions of all panaceas. However, workers will be interested to know that, while the scheme does restore to them indirectly their Social Security payments it meanwhile piles up an increasing debt in the Treasury which, one day, must again be paid by them out of pocket.

## In Special Session

IN SPECIAL session the legislators are again facing the same delicate problems they shirked in the heat of midsummer. However, this time they work under more favorable auspices. The Supreme Court Bill has been relegated to the background, while the voice of business speaks in the inner councils with increased authority. And it is this last phenomenon that is encouraging the legislators to more aggressive, though not necessarily more intelligent, activity. For it is a fact that popularly elected functionaries are the most awkward when interpreting into law the pressure of a popular constituency.

### *Special Interests*

Invariably popular legislators work better in the service of special interests. The motivating process is simple. In the service of special interests the legislator need have no association with those disturbing generalizations appearing under the names of social progress, public service, or humanitarian objectives. Compared with such terrifying ingredients the profit motive is simplicity itself. For example, it is much easier to draft a wages-and-hours plan to meet the demands of business than to meet the demands of an impoverished proletariat in the Southland. Much simpler to concoct a




*Glasgow Bulletin*

***THEY SEEM TO BE GETTING "NO FORRARDER" IN SPAIN!***

***How long this military stalemate will go on in Spain is the problem both sides in the civil war there must be asking themselves to-day.***

farm bill pleasing to the farmer than to slave over the problem of a farm control necessary to the welfare of a whole country. And a legislative pipe to revise taxes downward in answer to the pleas of business, than to seek new revenue to meet an unbalanced budget with the attendant risk of antagonizing powerful interests.

No need now to rehash the Administration's hostility to this naturally friendly legislative attitude in the past. What is important, however, is the immediate extent of the Administration's capitulation to this attitude. In retrospect the relaxation of margin requirements in the Stock Exchanges preceding the special session may be considered a pointer toward the future. Further evidence that this conciliatory move keyed the Administration's penitent attitude toward business is found in the officially sanctioned assault upon the undistributed profits tax, and the capital gains tax. Within New Deal circles all seem agreed that something should be done to relieve business of the most burdensome taxes.

### *Revise or Reduce*

Of course there are a few unregenerate legislators who suspect that the desire to revise business taxes will metamorphose into a ranting, screaming, intemperate drive to reduce taxes. The difficulties experienced by the Vinson subcommittee were an excellent preview of what the future holds in store for the Ways and Means Committee. The Treasury tax recommendations, supposedly made to clarify the tangle, proved not only voluminous but highly contradictory. In essence the preliminary hearings indicated that there is no such thing as a perfect system of taxation, and further implied that the imposition of taxes is conditioned by the resistence to taxes. And this would seem to be the case. At present business is not only resisting taxation but winning substantial relief. Unfortunately such relief is only possible at the expense of some other group. Thus the buck will be passed until, like death, it settles squarely upon the shoulders of the most numerous citizens who must, for the sake of patriot-

ism, national solvency, or what have you, pay the bill in full.

### *Other Concessions*

What other concessions the Administration is preparing to make for the sake of harmonious recovery are not yet clear. It is supposed that the Wages and Hours legislation will fall far short of a revolutionary rehabilitation of the impoverished people of the South. More likely it will produce a hybrid national agency with the power to recommend, but not to enforce, fair wages and hours in industry. The vital work will be placed squarely in the hands of regional committees, by nature hostile to anything deemed detrimental to their own environment. As a result little imagination is necessary to conceive the logical reforms growing out of such regional committees in the South.

### *New Economy*

Perhaps, the most interesting discussion during the special session will revolve around Government reorganization and regional planning. Although covered by separate legislation, they are coming to be thought about jointly. In terms of the future nothing is more important than the T.V.A. Despite adverse criticism, the T.V.A. looms more formidably each day as a tangible harbinger of a new economy. As such, it is not incongruous that a basic reorganization of the Government should go hand in hand with developments in that field.

Nor is it incongruous to consider farm legislation as part of a broader economic program. The Government has already established in the minds of the most recalcitrant farmers the relative character of the web binding them and their produce to the industrial economy. Crop loans, and processing taxes have been tangible evidence of the necessity for counteracting the abundance and scarcity not only of nature, but of industrial production. Today, little opposition faces the Government in its struggle to equalize cotton production, maintain an "ever-normal granary," and scientifically direct allied farm production. It remains only to establish the amount of the Government's authority to compel or persuade farmers to participate. And this matter of compulsion is an important consideration to the farmer.

### *Farmer's Freedom*

To say that the farmer is jealous of his freedom is merely to repeat a trite generalization, since a farmer's freedom is a relative thing, and hardly capable of soliciting the envy of a stock broker. Rather, the farmer is jealous of any infringement upon his bargaining powers. He prefers a position where he may deal freely and lucratively even to the detriment of his profession as a whole. He plants an excess of wheat because he hopes that some other farmer's wheat crop will be a failure. Because of his gambling instincts he makes a poor cooperator in crop control schemes. And in many instances he has demonstrated a penchant for breaking pledges that has amazed even the case-hardened Government administrators. It is this individualism that has in a large part repeatedly induced a breakdown in crop control planning. In view of this it is safe to assume that compulsion will be an ever present point of controversy in farm legislation for many years to come, or until that time when cooperation for mutual benefit has been accepted by the farmer as a profitable enterprise.

# Toward 1940

POLITICAL observers are never content with the result. They are notorious for a proclivity to go beyond the returns to uncover irritating or pleasing facts that might, in some respects, point the way to the future. In the aftermath of the New York City elections these very observers are busily at work salvaging obvious trends and unrelated facts.

However, to most people Fiorello La

Guardia's re-election was a well deserved reward to a man who had given the city a startling four years of clean government. To Tammany it probably indicated the necessity for a new alignment, a new strategy, and the revision of the old cynicism that a reform administration can never succeed itself. To the punks and the racketeers, both petty and grand, it presaged an uncomfortable and lean future under the watchful eyes of Manhattan's District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey. But to the political observer it meant more, much, much more.

### *Political Observations*

First of all it was refreshing to see that the citizens if, but given half a chance, would break old party alliances for the sake of good government. Then, of course, it was noteworthy that not only the communist-supported candidate, but also the candidate of the so-called reactionary elements, were swept into office by identical pluralities, a phenomenon explained by the fact that La Guardia carried the blessing of both the left and the right. For the first time in any American election a truly representative popular front rallied to support and elect a single choice. In the Republican-Fusion-Progressive-American Labor coalition, diverse elements, in fundamental disagreement, supported a common cause.

### *New Factors for 1940*

As a direct result of this united front two factors emerged to overshadow all other considerations. The American Labor party scored a partisan victory in rolling up a 482,459 vote, or almost twice as much as it polled for President Roosevelt last year in its first appearance on the ballot. And Fiorello La Guardia gained in prestige to such an extent that a post-election conference with President Roosevelt caused national comment.

An now for speculations on the future. Shrewd observers are agreed that La Guardia's record of good municipal government, his labor affiliations, and his progressive background will receive national consideration in 1940. He is the answer to the Republican prayer for an acceptable candidate, and he is also a good nominee for a third party Farmer-Labor-Liberal coalition.

### *Jewish-Italian*

Despite the fact that he is of Italian-Jewish extraction his prestige in the West is high due to his liberalism and to his position as Mayor of our largest city. In the East, his strength has been proven among the industrial workers. As the Republican candidate he could do what no other standard bearer has ever done for them—carry a good portion of the workers' vote in the Eastern industrial area. Furthermore, it can be pointed out to those who might be sceptical of La Guardia's ability to swallow politically the queer birds sure to roost in the nest of any Republican Party, that this same La Guardia endorsed Borough President George Harvey for re-election despite his record. By this gesture La Guardia showed himself anything but a political tyro. It can be assumed that by 1940 he will be ready and willing to blink the inevitable blemishes sure to appear both in a Farmer-Labor-Liberal coalition and in the Republican Party.

# Fascism Advances on All Fronts

ON NOVEMBER 6, Italy joined the Berlin-Tokyo gang in their twentieth century witch-hunt—the crusade against whatever the fascist brain-trusts consider to be communism. The members of this three-nation anti-communist club could congratulate themselves on the day that the new neighbor signed up.. For the career of each would make "the American dream" "from rags to riches" or "from log cabin to White House"—look like a tale of the most dismal frustration. Each started out as a "have-not"; and each reached aggrandizement on the basis of ex-




*York in the Louisville Times*

***MAN ABOUT TOWN***

actly nothing—save colossal bluff. The credit, if any, is theirs; for the more powerful democratic nations have stood by quietly and watched them. And the probable reward—a virtual Armageddon—will be everybody's.

Appropriately enough, the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo anti-communist entente was formed on the flood-tide of a new series of fascist diplomatic triumphs. Most alarming to Americans is the spread of the fascist sphere of influence to South America. But perturbing to all have been the marked advance, during October and November, of the tentacles of the Fascist International in Spain and the Mediterranean, and indirectly in Great Britain; in Czechoslovakia and to a lesser extent in Austria; in Danzig and, from the point of view of continental strategy, in Belgium; in the Near East and in South America; and in the Far East.

## *In Spain*

With the capture of Gijon, General Franco completed the cleaning up of northeastern Spain. The result of this is that he can now divert 75,000 to 100,000 troops from the northern battlefront to a concentrated attack upon the loyalist strongholds in the south—particularly Madrid. Reportedly, the rebels are now following a strategy planned for them by Marshal Badoglio, of Ethiopian notoriety. The essence of the scheme is warfare along a wide front, designed to spread out the enemy, combined with sharp, concentrated attacks at key points.

Thus the insurgents plan salients on the Aragon, Teruel, and Guadalajara sectors. As these fronts form a V, troops can be shifted by rail from Saragossa in the northeast to Guadalajara, near Madrid, in approximately one third of the time it would take loyalists to meet the concentration by moving reinforcements around the V from, say, Lerida in the Aragon sector through Valencia to Madrid. For the time being, the insurgents, with an advantageous strategic position, are concentrating upon the capture of Lerida, in the hope of advancing from there to the Mediterranean and cutting off Barcelona from Valencia and Madrid.

The strategic advantages enjoyed by the rebels in this campaign will be enhanced by the presence of the fascist air base at Majorca. It has been known for some time that Majorca had been occupied by the fascists. But interesting light upon the situation there has been recently shed by a series of uncensored despatches sent to *The New York Times* by correspondent George Axelson. Briefly his findings were as follows: There are on the island 500 German and Italian aviators, including Bruno Mussolini, about 100 planes, and five main flying fields. Daily and nightly raids are launched from here on Port Mahon in Minorca, on Catalonia between Barcelona and the French border, and on Valencia and Tarragona. On the naval side, there are six submarines, four of which were probably not Spanish; military garrisons include about 15,000 men. Among other things, the situation is an illuminating commentary on the Italian agreement with Great Britain last January to respect the Mediterranean status quo.

This threat, not only to the loyalist-held Minorca—only 30 miles away—but also to English and French Mediterranean lifelines

and loyalist food supplies, was underscored by the resurgence of "piracy" for the first time since the conclusion of the Nyon Agreement. A French freighter, bound for Morocco, was sunk by an unmarked airplane; the Marseilles-Algiers air-line tender suffered the same fate at Fornells in Minorca, as did a British food ship sailing for Barcelona. As a result, the British *Hood*, the world's largest warship, replaced a cruiser patrol, and the French General Staff renewed its urging that Minorca be occupied jointly by France and Great Britain—a suggestion that has already been turned down once by the English.

### *In London*

Fascist victories on the diplomatic front during the month exceeded those in the field of battle, as the democratic nations continued their retreat.

The first issue to arise over Spain concerned the withdrawal of Italian volunteers. The first concession made was to refer the matter to the London Non-Intervention Committee, where the fascists could reasonably be certain that little would be done about it. The committee soon ran on to the rocks of a fundamental difference concerning the method of withdrawal. The French and Russian plan called for the withdrawal of *proportionate* numbers of foreign volunteers from each side. The Italian proposal, however, was that an *equal* number should be evacuated from the respective forces. This superficially equitable proposition contained a serious catch: the withdrawal of 20,000 men from each side would deprive the loyalists of all their best foreign fighting men and technical experts, while leaving at least 50,000 Italians and Germans to help Franco gain his ends.

A compromise was reached whereby Italy agreed to postpone the consideration of belligerent rights until "token" withdrawals had been made and two international committees, appointed by the London committee, made a survey of the extent of intervention as a preliminary to substantial withdrawals. This agreement

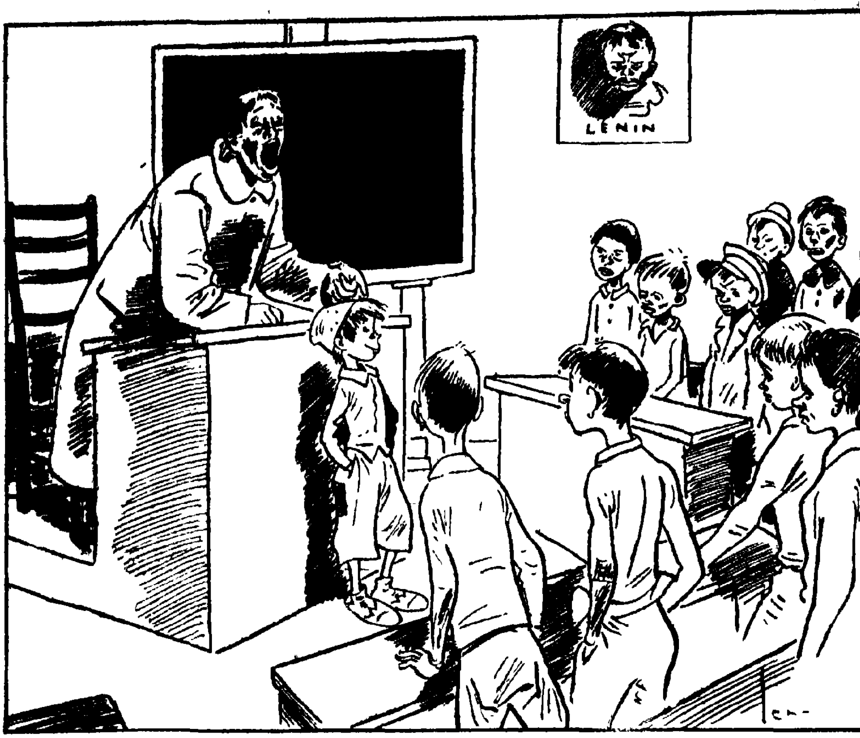


NEA Service

*NO MARINES*

was spiked on October 22, when Italy demanded unanimous support for this plan—which Soviet Russia refused. The following day Mussolini, after a talk with German Ambassador von Ribbentrop, declared that Italy would make no more concessions in Spain—apparently one of the fruits of the recent Hitler-Mussolini discussions in Germany. The other members of the London committee were ready to fall into line and isolate Russia, when the blundering von Ribbentrop suddenly decided to save the Soviet face; on the 30th he demanded unanimity in the committee, automatically preventing the isolation of the Russian delegate. At a later meeting, on November 2, the German demand was withdrawn, and M. Maisky, the Soviet representative, agreed to refrain from voting on controversial issues.

The net result of the whole business was that serious diplomatic differences were left dangling in mid-air—a situation which will permit the Germans and Italians to entrench themselves further in Spain and the Balearics with the assurance that no international action will be taken against them, at any rate while General Franco's drive for the coast is under way.




*Il Travaso, Rome*

***RUSSIAN EDUCATION***

***Master: "Now, take an example from Ivan Petrof. He not only broke every window in the school but he gagged the headmaster and set fire to the assembly hall"***

While Italy was making these inroads on loyalist Spain, any fears she might have had for the future were being assuaged by the soothing voice of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. On October 14 he told Italy that England was willing to let bygones be bygones. A week later, he stated that he unconditionally accepted Italy's disavowals of any designs on Spain, the Balearics, or the Spanish colonies. And on November 4 the British Prime Minister disclosed his talks with the Spanish rebels concerning the appointment of British trade agents. Mr. Eden subsequently denied that this would have anything to do with the recognition of the rebels as belligerents or as a government. But the French, who were not consulted about the move, may have something to say about it!

This whole policy of British acquiescence in fascist maneuvers in Western Europe, in the hope of buying them off at a later date when they run short of cash and when British rearmament is completed, fits in nicely with Hitler's plans of sewing up his western frontiers to leave himself free in the East. During the month under review, he chalked up other diplomatic triumphs in the same direction.

### *In Belgium*

Two Belgian developments materially strengthened the dictator's hand. The first was the resignation, on October 25, of Premier van Zeeland and his cabinet over charges of corruption in connection with the National Bank. Mr. van Zeeland is a liberal statesman and a trained economist; perhaps his outstanding achievement was the crushing electoral defeat he inflicted upon Leon Degrelle, the leader of the Rexist Party, last April. His liberal and anti-

Nazi influence will now be lost to Belgium.

The second and more important event was the German note to Belgium of October 13. This guarantees the inviolability and territorial integrity of Belgium, unless she indulges in military action against the Reich. Significantly omitted from the note are Belgium's obligations under the League Covenant. In short, Germany intends to prevent France from launching an attack upon her through Belgian territory in the event of the Reich taking action against Czechoslovakia.

***In Danzig***

In Danzig, it can be said, the highlight of the month was no more than expected. It was only a matter of time before the "Free City" became another Nazi appendage. In the 1935 elections the National Socialists gained 43 out of 72 seats in Parliament. They have since dissolved the Nationalist, Social Democratic, and Communist Parties; on October 21 they forced the Catholic Center Party to dissolve itself, removing the last shred of effective opposition—save for the Poles, who hold two seats and may look forward to an early disappearance.

Protests from the League, once the protector of Danzig, were conspicuous by their absence, and the new League Commissioner, Professor Burckhardt provided a striking contrast to his predecessor, Sean Lester, who was removed from office as a result of his fight for democracy.

Nor was there any protest from Poland. In the first place she has developed her own port at Gdynia and does not depend upon Danzig as an outlet. Secondly, Herr Hitler has been flirting with the new anti-Semitic authoritarian regime in that country in the hope of gaining Polish adherence to the anti-communist pact; on November 5 a German-Polish agreement was signed protecting the position of minorities on each side of the border, as a first step in this direction.

Czechoslovakia, which sticks its long neck of land out into Middle Europe, has been marked down for some time as a "second Spain." An uprising of the Sudeten Germans, who live on the fringe of Czechoslovakia near the German border, would provide the simplest pretext for German intervention on the Spanish model. In October mutual suspicion and resentment finally broke out into verbal hostilities.

The controversy started with the arrest, on October 11, of two leading members of Konrad Henlein's pro-Nazi *Sudeten Deutsche* Party on charges of immorality. On October 16, Czechoslovakian police suppressed a previously forbidden meeting of the party at Teplitz-Schoenau; some violence occurred. Henlein immediately protested to the Government against the brutal treatment of his colleagues and demanded immediate autonomy for the 3,500,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia. More serious was the instantaneous campaign of vituperation in the German press against Czechoslovakia —and against her protection from Russia, with whom the Czechs have a mutual assistance pact. The Czech Government's answer was a firm one, based upon an investigation that showed the Teplitz-Schoenau to have been framed by the *Sudeten Deutsche* Party and backed by Berlin. A protest—although an unavailing one—was sent to Germany, elections due on November 14 were postponed, and all political meetings were banned for two weeks.

After the expense of the Spanish experiment, which was opposed by the *Reichswehr*, it is not probable that Germany is ready to turn Czechoslovakia into a "second Spain," despite its strategic importance in the *Drang nach Osten*. It is more likely that the German press outburst was in the nature of a trial balloon, to see what outside support Czechoslovakia might command in an emergency and to warn leaders in Austria, Hungary, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, as well as Czechoslovakia, against the formation of an anti-fascist Danubian bloc. Czechoslovakia, for her part, is wisely not counting upon outside help and is preparing to look after herself as best she may.

Two footnotes of significance may be




*Il 420*, Florence

*NOSTALGIA*

***"I arrested him for shouting 'Down with the Czar'"***
***"I see no harm in that. The Czar is in heaven. . . ."***
***"Just so! This man was trying to call him down to earth again."***

added to these events. Austrians have been alarmed by the recent audacity of the illegal Nazi organization, and Chancellor von Schuschnigg has forbidden recruiting for the Fatherland Front, ostensibly to prevent an influx of Nazis. Meanwhile, some reports are current that the Chancellor is ready to quit, what seems to be, the hopeless task of trying to preserve Austrian independence. In Hungary, the Arrow Cross, Sickle Cross, and Anti-Semitic parties were significantly amalgamated into one fascist organization.

### *In North Africa and South America*

Arab unrest in North Africa may be attributed substantially to discontent under the yoke of Europe—whether fascist or anti-fascist (see *North Africa's Turmoil*). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Italian agitation has taken advantage of this discontent in order to embarass Great Britain and France—a policy which, though likely to prove a boomerang, has had effective short-term results.

Palestinian Arabs continue to worry the British; Italian propaganda has been rife among them and has spurred if not created the new series of outrages which commenced on October 14. *The Week* (London) reports that Ibn Sa'ud in Arabia looks to concrete Italian help rather than British promises in his quest for Arab independence. Further west, the doubling of the Italian garrison in Libya to a figure of 50,000 was regarded as a threat to the French protectorate of Tunis, which includes 90,000 Italians. Finally, the French suspected an Italian hand in the Moroccan uprisings which caused them to reinforce their military and air forces and to appoint State Minister Albert Sarraut, their toughest colonial administrator, as virtual dictator of the North African colonies.

Washington's first reaction to the announcement of the three-power anti-

communist pact, was concern for South America, where the communist bogy has been raised to justify several martial dictatorships. In the event of hostilities breaking out on the pretext of suppressing communism, officials are worried at the prospect not only of other American states intervening, but of fascist or anti-fascist European nations sending arms or even "volunteers" to aid their favorite party to the dispute. Dictatorships are prevalent on the South American continent; German, Italian, and Japanese peoples and political doctrines have filtered in (see *Dictators for Neighbors* and *South American Grab-Bag, Current History* October and November); the South American nations are preponderantly in favor of the Spanish rebels; and elsewhere in this issue (see *Are the Americas Safe?*) are remarkable disclosures of fascist military and armament activities in this hemisphere.

### *And in the Far East*

While Japan tightened her stranglehold on Northern China and finally succeeded in driving the Chinese from Shanghai, the Brussels conference of the powers who had signed the Nine-Power treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China, met to consider the situation.

The first set-back encountered by the conference was Japan's refusal to attend; this eliminated the one nation with the power immediately in its hands to do anything to ameliorate the situation. Germany followed the Japanese example. Then the conference discovered that its members distrusted each other and could agree on no definite course. This may have been due to the fact that none of them wanted to do anything about it and called the conference in the hope that, after Mr. Roosevelt's speech of October 5, the United States might be willing to play the role of the hero who would snatch the European chestnuts from the belching flames of the Oriental fire. Thus, Mr. Norman H. Davis was thrust into the part of first speaker; attempts were made to persuade him also to take the lead in drawing up the agenda. Unfortunately for the conference, it had failed to note that Mr. Roosevelt's second talk of October 12 somewhat modified the fiery words of its predecessor, that the President had to meet a special session of Congress at which several embattled isolationists were bound to have their say, and that various straws floating in the wind indicated that American public opinion, to which the Administration is ultimately responsble, retained its isolationist tendencies. All this left the conference with but one form of ammunition to use against Japan—words; and the assembled powers found difficulty in agreeing on which ones to use.

The final ironic touch was left for Herr Hitler, who seized the opportunity to cast himself in the heroic role of the dove of peace and was reported willing to act as mediator in the conflict. Strange to relate, Japan was ready to accept his mediation!

# THE UNIONS SEEK UNITY

## *The sacrifices required for labor peace are less than the costs of future strife*

### By THE EDITORS

THE central fact in the present struggle for peace in the American labor movement is a vast shift in power from one class of labor to another. This change has been slow but unmistakable, and it can be attributed to political trends and mass production technique. Resisting this change, with the bitter tenacity of all declining classes, is the American Federation of Labor, which stands for the status quo, the aristocracy of labor, the skilled worker, and the exclusive craft union. Representing the change is the Committee for Industrial Organization, symbolizing "industrial democracy," the unskilled workers on the assembly belt, and organized to cope with mass production and centralized financial power.

There are, too, a host of secondary issues —the rivalry of competing labor leaders, jurisdictional claims, the issuance of A.F. of L. charters to industrial unions, political action, to name a few—but these all stem from this one fundamental conflict. And the problem now facing the two labor organizations is whether the one is willing to forget the past and the other to discount its future sufficiently to mend a split that may have disastrous consequences.

The first price of failure is the obvious one. In bargaining for the income from industry, the strategic position of employers would be all the more secure for the fact that labor had divided itself. For an anti-union employer there are all the infinite possibilities of playing of one labor group against another and of seeing one nullify the other's strikes; the A.F. of L. and the CIO have called each other strikebreakers often enough to prove the validity of this point. For an employer favorable to the principle of collective bargaining the position is one of difficulty; he can have less faith in his contracts, and if he signs with one group he may incur the hostility of the other.

Pro-labor governmental action is similarly jeopardized. The operation of the Wagner Act is cluttered up by inter-union disputes. The National Labor Relations Board, an instrument devised to help labor achieve its legitimate ends, cannot function successfully if the CIO and the A.F. of L., on each side of the fence, are simultaneously throwing at it brickbats which are a gratuitous addition to those already thrown by antagonistic employers. The same considerations apply to the functioning of the "little Wagner acts" now in force in certain States.

Finally, when it comes to the exertion of labor pressure in the interests of further labor legislation, two jealous groups, jockeying for power, are obviously less effective than a single, united movement.

This vitiation of labor power is the price of the current controversy between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The present peace negotiations follow three years of overt hostility between the craft unionists and the proponents of the industrial form of organization. The specific issue in the A.F. of L. was the granting of charters to industrial unions in the mass production industries. At the San Francisco

convention of 1934 the industrial unionists felt that they had won this point and that the Federation would proceed with an active organization campaign. One year later, they felt that they had been betrayed in their trust; the result was the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization in November 1935. The new organization was led by John L. Lewis and included eight unions* and approximately a million workers.

Two months later this new force in American labor was ordered to disband by the executive committee of the A.F. of L. The CIO refused—which was a surprise to no one. The Federation's answer came in September 1936—the suspension of the unions comprising the CIO.

Since then, the CIO, aggressively following the industrial-union formula, has grown astoundingly. There are now affiliated with it 32 unions,† and it claims 3,780,000 members. It now meets the A.F. of L. on a basis of parity. At the same time the relations between the two organizations have been a continuous dog-fight. At the best the relationship has been one of mutual recrimination; at the worst it has culminated in the ridiculous spectacle of the CIO picketing concerns organized by the A.F. of L. or vice-versa.

Moves to end this grotesque but very real situation had an inauspicious beginning this Fall. The A.F. of L. requested a joint committee meeting to consider peace terms. The CIO refused, unless the suspension was lifted—a condition which, in turn, the Federation rejected. At the A.F. of L. convention in early October, President William Green blasted the CIO, and the convention authorized the executive committee to revoke the charters of any or all the unions affiliated with the Lewis outfit. In the light of this declaration of war, it was only natural to expect that the CIO conference, one week later, would see the establishment of that body as a full-fledged independent labor organization. It was, therefore, a surprise when the industrial unionists initiated peace measures.




*United Feature Syndicate*

***THEY CAN'T FIRE HIM!***

### *Peace Negotiations*

The first approach, made on October 12, was the CIO suggestion that two committees of 100 members of each organization should meet to explore the possibilities of peace. The motive explaining the size of these suggested committees was this: The destinies of the Federation are guided by a

*United Mine Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, International Typographical Union, Oil Field, Gas, Well, and Refinery Workers, United Textile Workers, United Hatters, Cap, Millinery Workers, and International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

†Unions joining CIO since its inception, in order of affiliation: Federation of Flat Glass Workers, United Automobile Workers, United Rubber Workers, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers (S.W.O.C.), United Electrical and Radio Workers Marine and Ship-building Workers, United Shoe Workers, American Communications Association, Aluminum Workers of America, Transport Workers, Architects, Engineers, Chemists, Technicians, National Leather Workers, United Retail Employees, International Fur Workers, Office and Professional Workers, American Newspaper Guild, United Federal Workers, National Die Casting League, State, County, and Municipal Workers, Agricultural, Canning, and Packing Workers, National Maritime Union, Woodworkers Federation, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, and International Longshoremen and Warehousemen.

tight autocracy, comprising President William Green, William Hutchison of the carpenters' union, and "Dr." John P. Frey of the metal trades. The CIO felt that a larger body would include individuals more willing to compromise than a triumvirate fighting for its existence. For the same reason, the suggestion was rejected by the A.F. of L. On October 14, however, the senior body did agree to increase the size of its suggested committee of three. The next day, the CIO offered a compromise—committees of ten. In 24 hours' time, the A.F. of L. accepted this proposal, and October 25 was set as the date of the first peace negotiations.

The first meetings ended in a deadlock, and further discussions were postponed until November 4, the prospects for success appearing dismal. The second period of negotiations was slightly more successful, reaching the stage of actually discussing specific jurisdictional quarrels. However, another intermission was declared until November 18. The fate of labor was still in the balance, and few of the basic issues had been settled.

### *Specific Issues*

The fundamental conflict has been discussed before. The two committees of ten have to wrangle with its specific offshoots.

There is, first of all, the craft versus industrial union issue, which Mr. Lewis claims is basic. The A.F. of L. says that it is willing to receive back the suspended unions. The latter, however, will not return to the fold unless they are assured that the San Francisco act will not be pulled on them again, that an aggressive organizing campaign will be followed, and that industrial unions in mass-production industries will not be subject to "raids" by craft rivals.

If we accept the reasonable proposition that a labor organization exists to organize labor as effectively as possible, then the A.F. of L. will have to admit that the CIO, by its remarkable success in a relatively short period has proved its point that industrial unions are the most satisfactory form of organization for the large, integrated industries. Proceeding from the same assumption, it must also be admitted that the aggressive leadership and organizing technique of the CIO have been more effective in the field of industrial unionization than the older body ever has been—or will be. It is clear that the CIO—under that or any other name—will have to be primarily responsible for the organization of industrial unions.

This leads into the question, defined by President Green, of "democratic procedure, majority rule against a minority." Mr. Green was right when he cited this as a vital issue; but it does not work out altogether in his favor. If a newly constituted labor federation, embracing both the A.F. of L. and the CIO, is to be democratic, it follows inevitably that the industrial unionists must eventually if not immediately swamp the craft organizations. Today, the vote of the original suspended industrial unions, who have doubled their membership, combined with the vote of those who favored industrial unionism at the recent A.F. of L. convention, would still leave the craft unionists with a slight majority. But if the whole CIO membership of some 3,700,000 were thrown into the balance, the story would be entirely different. It would also spell the end of the Green-Hutcheson-Frey-Woll rule.

This issue really overshadows the much-debated question of whether or not the CIO would preserve its identity in any peace plan. It is once again the fundamental problem of the passage of power from one group to another. It is inescapable, and it is a hard fact for the craft union regime to contemplate. But it should not be insoluble.

There are two possible approaches. The first would call for some transitional and elastic voting arrangement which would

break the full shock of industrial unionism's weighty impact. But more important is the extension of rank-and-file control within both the CIO and the A.F. of L. The mere fact that, during the peace conferences, rank-and-file pressure has been exerted in favor of unity, suggests that considerations of personal power have helped keep the two organizations apart.

Thirdly, there is the question of political action. The A.F. of L. prefers the method of rewarding friends and punishing enemies among Democrats and Republicans alike. It places its main faith in the efficacy of its powerful Washington lobby, and eschews independent political action. But the CIO has preferred to pick its own friends and bank on them. Thus it has sought partisans in the White House and in Congress. Beyond this, it has shown a lively interest in independent organization, as such organizations as the Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party, as well as the CIO candidates who have run for municipal offices, show. And there are, of course, differences within the CIO, as, for instance, in the case of the more conservative leaders, such as Sidney Hillman, who feel that Mr. Lewis' habit of letting off occasional thunderbolts against the President is both indiscreet and unwise.

But all parties share an immediate and common legislative program—the extension of labor laws, shorter hours and better pay, amendments to the Social Security Act, the continuance of the WPA and public-works programs, the improvement of the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act. Beyond this, the differences are those of degree not kind.

### *Jurisdictional Disputes*

Finally, there are the still more specific issues of jurisdictional rights in various industries. These are tender spots, but they allow for considerable compromise, and the success or failure of the peace negotiations may depend upon them.




*United Feature Syndicate*

***SUCCESS GOES TO HIS FEET***

**Electricity:** Local radio unions, formed during NRA times, were consistently refused national charters by the A.F. of L. They were subsequently ordered to join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but no basis of amalgamation could be worked out. They finally set up their own national union, becoming affiliated with the CIO in November 1936 as the United Electrical and Radio Engineers. The A.F. of L. now claims jurisdiction over them, and this is possibly the toughest jurisdictional problem facing the negotiating committees.

**Woodwork:** William Hutcheson, president of the A.F. of L. United Brotherhood of Carpenters, is a bitter personal antagonist of John L. Lewis. This factor makes the present disruptive dispute between his union and the CIO Wood Workers Federation, now raging in the Pacific Northwest, another extremely difficult jurisdictional dispute.

**Clothing:** A general settlement between the A.F. of L. and the CIO is the chief ob-

stacle to the return of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to the former. However, the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America competes in the men's clothing field with the A.F. of L. United Garment Workers of America, from which it seceded in 1914. Difficulties are anticipated in effecting a settlement here. In the textile field, some craft unions, chartered by the A.F. of L., are not held likely to dispute the claims of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee.

**Transport:** The A.F. of L. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees is a direct rival of the CIO Transport Workers Union, which has enjoyed remarkable success in New York City. On the maritime front, however, the A.F. of L. will probably be willing to hand over the remains of its International Seamen's Union to the successful CIO rival, the National Maritime Union.

**Government:** The new CIO unions for Federal, State, and county employees conflict directly with longer established A.F. of L. units—another conflict that will have to be ironed out.

**Steel, Coal, Automobiles, Rubber, Oil and Refinery:** In all these industries, there are A.F. of L.-chartered craft unions of skilled workers. But the claims of the CIO are so immeasurably superior that, in the interests of effective organization, the A.F. of L. is expected to yield up its jurisdictional claims in these fields.

### *Factors for Peace*

The foregoing comprise formidable but not insuperable obstacles to labor peace. The price of continued conflict is high. The conditions of peace are that the A.F. of L. will philosophically face some unpleasant facts, even though they point to the loss of its leadership, and that the CIO high command will compromise in its haste to impose its power upon the labor movement. Neither of these sacrifices is too great in the light of the objective.

Finally, agreement or disagreement between the two bodies will satisfy or thwart three powerful forces. The rank-and-file of the labor movement desire peace. The current business relapse demands it; for labor cannot afford internecine strife in the face of falling wages and employment. And it cannot be doubted that the Administration has been exerting pressure to bring about agreement. For the labor legislation it has sponsored cannot stand attacks from labor as well as from employers.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*(The answers to these questions will be found on page 52)*

1. How many states went Republican in the presidential election of 1932?
2. What country suffered the highest percentage loss of men under arms in the World War?
3. The great Boulder Dam is located in what river?
4. What President appointed William Howard Taft to the Supreme Court?
5. What is the oldest living republic in the world?
6. What cities are known by the following sobriquets or by-names? The Windy City, City of the Angels, The City of Brotherly Love, The Smoky City, and the Golden Gate City.
7. Are the following statements true or false? The *Titanic* was torpedoed during the World War. The *Lusitania* sank after striking an iceberg on May 7, 1915.
8. What presidents have died from natural causes while serving in office?
9. Whom did William Green succeed as president of the A. F. L.?
10. Who were the Democratic candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency in 1932?
11. Will sound travel faster in the medium of air than it will in the medium of glass?
12. What is meant by the term, "The Pillars of Hercules?"
13. What is the lowest land in the world?
14. What is a Pyrrhic victory?
15. What range of mountains separates Spain from France?
16. Who was the first president to live in the White House?
17. How often does the English Parliament meet?
18. Which of these are the highest:—Pikes Peak, Mt. Whitney, or Mt. Everest.

# ARE THE AMERICAS SAFE?

## *Activities of the Fascist Bloc in South America throw a new light on our supposed invulnerability*

By GENARO ARBAIZA

"LET no one imagine," said President Roosevelt alluding in his Chicago speech a few weeks ago to the present state of international terror and the threat of a world war, "that this western hemisphere will not be attacked."

Take a look at a map of the hemisphere. The naval strength of the United States certainly does not invite attack upon the northern half, except perhaps upon its Achillean heel—the Panama Canal. It is the southern half—South America—that is the more vulnerable of the two, and the more inviting. Did President Roosevelt have South America in mind when he uttered that warning?

Whether he did or not, it is a fact that the great powers that are doing all the international bullying today, are maneuvering into position in that continent, not only as the greatest potential market of the century, but as a possible scene of warfare. The parvenu imperialist nations—Italy, Germany, Japan—are jockeying for advantage in South America, evidently in anticipation of the impending duel, and the United States, with vital economic interest there, is facing the challenge.

At first sight South America seems far removed from European wrangling. But when you realize that most of the western nations of Europe could not wage a long war without the help of South-American supplies and that the South-American market is one of the largest aims in a struggle for economic world supremacy, that part of the western hemisphere appears dangerously nearer to European events. America, north and south, fed Europe and the European armies right through the World War and supplied them with munitions. South-American raw materials and foodstuffs—especially Chilean nitrates and Argentine grains and meats—were perhaps as much of a factor in the Allies' victory as the help they received from the United States.

While no naval action took place in American territorial waters during that war, two significant sea battles were fought in South-American waters, not far from the markets where German enterprise had been displacing British commerce. Cradock's English squadron, ordered to the Chilean coast to attack German trade and protect the shipping of Chilean nitrates, was destroyed by Von Spee's German Pacific squadron off Coronel in November, 1914. England then rushed Sturdee to the lower latitudes of the Atlantic with the most powerful fleet ever sent there, and the British met and sunk Von Spee near the Falkland Islands, right off the tip of South America, the following December.

Up to the present time South America's exportable wealth has been under Anglo-American control. Great Britain and the United States are the largest investors there, their aggregate interest probably exceeding ten billion dollars or more than two thirds of the total foreign investments. They control the greater part of the machinery by which South America carries on her economic exchange with the rest of the world, and their combined sea power

guards their immense stake in the continent. To be sure, they have been and are rivals in the market, but German, Italian and Japanese aggressive expansion has given them a common task—to preserve the present economic status quo in the territory.

### *The Chance of War*

Germany, Italy and Japan seem determined to break this dual control. However, the Anglo-American position is so strong that they have only one chance to break it, and that chance is war. In a war against Britain, and provided the challengers would break through Gibraltar or prevent a blockade, Italy and Germany would seek two objectives as far as South America is concerned: first, to cut off British communications with that continent across the southern Atlantic, which constitute one of Britain's vital food lines, if not the most vital of them; and second, to get food and other supplies for themselves. With Russia and most of the other great grain-producing countries closed to them—for there is hardly a doubt about the attitude of the United States, Canada and Australia in such a war,—Italy and Germany, even supposing they are able to get access to the Danubian grain fields, which may be devastated in a conflict after all, would have to turn to South America for food supplies in a long war. This is how a war for naval supremacy in the Mediterranean may eventually spread to the shores of South America, and also how it may bring the United States into the fight, for a British defeat in the Mediterranean would by no means be the end of British sea power, and in trying to get access to the South-American sources of supply any European power or combination of powers fighting England would only extend the war to this hemisphere.

What are Italy, Germany and Japan doing to supplant Great Britain and the United States in the South-American market, and to strengthen their own position for the event of war? Concretely, they are disputing inch by inch and with renewed vigor Anglo-American influence in trade. Italy and Germany are carrying on the most active propaganda that has been witnessed in South America since the Allies' campaign during the initial stages of the World War. They are also helping to organize apish fascist and nazi organizations in some of the southern republics. Lastly, they are gaining influence in South American military, naval and air establishments as suppliers of arms, and in one instance at least they have succeeded in securing a strategic foothold in the military establishment of one of those countries.

Although Italy is far less formidable than Germany or even Japan as a trade competitor, she is the most presuming and daring of the three powers in their South-American drive, for she relies for support on the population of Italian extraction which is much larger than that of all the colonies of the Italian empire put together. Since the middle of the nineteenth century between five and six million Italians have crossed the sea to set up their tents in South America, and now the Italian strain is found probably in fifteen million or more. Fascist Italy has lined up a great number of them, particularly among the most influential, into a fighting force.

### *Fascist Propaganda*

In the South-American commercial battlefield, Germany, Italy and Japan have waged a guerrilla war against their stronger rivals in almost every line, particularly since the British trade recession at the beginning of the Twenties and the American recession toward the end of the same decade. But they have won their most important gains since the crash. In 1929 the exports of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan to Latin America amounted to nearly 65 per cent of the total

Latin-American imports. The Anglo-American share in that percentage was about 83 per cent, while the German, Italian and Japanese share did not exceed 17 per cent. In 1936, the Anglo-American share had gone down to 72 per cent while the German, Italian and Japanese share had climbed to 28 per cent. Centralization of foreign trade under government guidance, diplomatic action, cheaper prices, diligence in seeking and securing business, the German barter strategy and propaganda among their settled nationals were factors in the increase. It was in a counter move to stop the expansion of German trade in Brazil, that the United States granted that country a $60,000,000 gold credit last July.

Propaganda is being carried on through the press and in books, lectures, interviews and dispatches from Rome, Berlin and Tokio. Fascist news, feature articles explaining the theory and philosophy of the totalitarian state, fascist illustrations and pictures of Mussolini and Hitler are flooding most of the South-American dailies. Fascist literature appeals to the "Latin" pride. Rome, with Mussolini, is at the head of a new civilization, a renaissance of the old and glorious Latin civilization that led the world before, and is to lead the world again. All the "Latin" peoples are to be organized into a great "cultural" league, according to Signor Nicola Pende, of the University of Rome, who publishes an appeal in the South-American press. He says that the league has already been joined by "half a million intellectuals through South America," and at the present time Italian agents are making preparations for a "great international Latin cultural congress" which is to meet at Buenos Aires and which, "will place Rome," Signor Pende tells us, "by the unanimous vote of the Latin nations at the head of the Latin cultural world." Latin America is, of course, a province of the Latin world. This appeal appears in the pro-fascist *El Comercio*, the wealthiest paper of Lima, under the title "For the Cultural Empire of Fascist Italy."



*DURING THE CONFERENCE: **President Roosevelt is admired, but South America refused to "padlock the pampas" to prevent war.***

With the help of the Catholic Church, Italian paid propaganda has completely bamboozled a large part of South American public opinion into a hostile attitude toward republican Spain, and a favorable attitude toward aggressive Italian policy in world affairs.

### *Money, Reds, and Armaments*

Fascist and Nazi groups and political parties have been formed in Brazil, Chile, Argentina and other countries, in most cases with the aid of Italian and German agents. Representative Meza in Santiago charged not long ago that German concerns are supporting the Chilean Nazi party financially, and the Açao Integralista

Brasileira that claims a million fascists in Brazil is said to have had the backing of the famous Count Matarazzo, an Italian banker, and Egon Renner, Von Hartt and Hasenclever, German industrialists.

Red-hunting is now a favorite sport among tropical dictators, who invariably call their political enemies "communists." President Vargas of Brazil set out the other day to crush a "communist" revolt in the making, and found at Porto Alegre, as the first evidence of the conspiracy, a cargo of more than $1,000,000 worth of arms and ammunition sent from Germany to Flores da Cunha, Governor of the Rio Grande do Sul and a formidable political enemy of Vargas. The arrangement was made through Etzberger Brothers, a German concern. As no shipment of any kind, much less of munitions, can leave Germany without the supervision and approval of Nazi authorities, either Hitler has been helping the "communist" conspiracy or he has been taking a hand in overthrowing the dictator that had just signed a pact with the United States undertaking to stop the expansion of German trade in Brazil.

But the fascist powers' drive has not stopped at trade gains, press propaganda and the organization of mimetic fascism. It has gone further than that.

They are promoting the present armament boom among the South American republics, and they have been supplying arms to most of them. They are today making a determined effort to furnish them with warships at advantageous sale terms.

Mitsubishi, the Japanese naval constructors, have been particularly insistent in doing business with Brazil and Chile. Not long ago there was a report circulating in Brazil that Japan had offered the Brazilian Government 200,000,000 yen worth of warships to be paid for half in coffee and half in cash over a ten-year period. More recently the Japanese submitted to the Brazilian Federal Trade Council a $100,000,000 plan for the reorganization of the Brazilian merchant marine. Incidentally, the Japanese, who are very fond of fishing, have been trying to secure fishing rights in the Galapagos, off the coast of Ecuador, a group of islands ideally located for any one who would wish to spoil the work of Goethals. Japan at the present time is bidding for the construction of two modern cruisers for Chile.

Germany is selling munitions to almost every country in South America. In many instances the Krupp and Rhine Metall Borsig wares are being exchanged for South American foodstuffs and raw materials, and it has been reported that Venezuela is negotiating with Germany for the construction of two destroyers. Some time ago the Nazi Government awarded three scholarships for military training to officers of the Ecuadorean army, and the commercial agreement concluded last May between Germany and Colombia opens to Germany the door for oil investments in that country. Chile is buying bombing planes in Germany.

Italy has sold warships to Brazil and to Argentina and is marketing munitions and military aircraft throughout South America. Mussolini has sent air and military missions to several countries, and he has offered scholarships in military academies to some of the South American governments. According to a recent report, the Italian Government a few months ago offered Chile the two 10,000-ton cruisers Pola and Zara of the 1930 class, now in the Italian fleet, in exchange for Chilean nitrate and certain concessions.

And Italy has made the boldest move in this game by setting up an assembling factory of bombing planes on the west coast of South America. Last year the Peruvian Government signed a contract with the Caproni aircraft company of Milan for the construction of a $75,000 plant at Las Palmas, ten miles from Lima,

and now the site of the largest hangar in South America with a total area of 7,000 square meters. The Italians are financing the deal against plane sales. Steel for the plant was made in Germany, and a German technical director, Herr Von Stach Goltzheim, served as engineer in the construction.

The factory was finished a short while ago, and now is turning out and repairing Caproni planes, with which the Peruvian Government has been abundantly supplied. Italians operate the plant under the direction of Aldo Bert, who was a lieutenant in the Italian air forces during the World War and is now a reserve captain under contract with the Caproni interests.

On a strategic point midway down the west of the continent, commanding communications with all countries bordering upon that coast and with landlocked Bolivia, Italy—using in Peru the same tactics she has used in Bulgaria, where the Caproni company has another plant—has secured a *pied à terre* which is the biggest question mark about her intentions in the southern continent. This question mark still grows more in size when you become acquainted with some details of Italian plans for airline concessions over the South Atlantic. A few months ago General Pellegrini, director of Italian civil aviation concluded negotiations in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil for an airline linking Rome and South America via Gibraltar, Dakar, Natal (Brazil), Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo (Uruguay) and Buenos Aires (Argentina). The amusing thing about this is that the Savoia Marchetti seaplanes put through trials for the purpose are of the bomber types.

### *Fascist Crony*

A *cuartelazo* colonel with a shady record, Benavides, the present dictator of Peru, has turned out to be Mussolini's best tool in South America. In constant fear of an uprising—for, as the last voided elections showed, he is opposed by a large majority—Benavides has no more immediate use for Caproni bombers than to terrorize and exterminate apristas in case they revolt. But there are other reasons. The Benavides dictatorship is as corrupt and venal as the previous Leguía dictatorship, well known to Americans. The Italian interests rank very high among the foreign interests in Peru. Their investments probably aggregate more than $100,000,000. Italian banking has the most active institution in the field there, a bank that maintains close relations with the Peruvian Government. Italy has admitted Peruvian air cadets for training in the Italian military aviation academy, and to complete the picture, Mussolini has sent fascist police officers to Peru in order to train the Peruvian police in fascist methods.

The Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference held at Lima last September brought about a most interesting situation in connection with this Italian foothold in Peru's military aviation. All the American nations participated in it, and the United States sent for the occasion the aircraft carrier Ranger, the Navy's newest and swiftest craft in that category, carrying seventy-eight planes and accompanied by two destroyers, the Warden and the Hull. The Italians had no business at the conference, which was purely inter-American. But they would not let the Americans threaten their position as suppliers of bombing planes to Peru, and with the aid of the Peruvian Government, which arranged the program, they managed to find an excuse to get in—they went there to pay tribute to the memory of Jorge Chavez, the famous Peruvian flier, and they sent for that purpose a shipload of planes aboard the Gloria Stella, and a commission of forty members to demonstrate the planes.

The affair developed into a sales promotion air show and a competition between

Americans and Italians. An American air squadron of sixty-six planes starting from the carrier Ranger maneuvered in perfect array over Lima, while the Italian aircraft flown by crack acrobatic pilots performed stunts that thrilled the Peruvians and all the South American delegates. Witnesses of the event will tell you that the Italians stole the show, and sold six more large bombers to the Peruvian Government besides. No American sales have been reported as a result of the conference. Only two European countries took part in the exhibition of aircraft products organized in connection with the conference: Italy, represented by Savoia Marchetti, Caproni, Caproni Ghibli and Fiat aircraft, and Germany, represented by Focke Wulf, Gotha, Klem, Halie, Junkers and Heinkel planes.

While the Benavides regime is spending large sums on armaments the Peruvian debt to American investors—contracted during the Leguía administration in the Twenties—remains in default. The total amount outstanding was $85,656,500 as of December 31, 1936.

Through efforts of the State Department, Washington has just granted Peru an increase in the quota of Peruvian sugar imports allowed into the United States, from 5,500 to 53,573 metric tons. This increase constitutes a handsome present to the wealthy planters who are among the main supporters of the Benavides dictatorship. Italian and German capital are strongly represented in the sugar industry of Peru. In the meantime Benavides is antagonizing American policy in the present world emergency as defined by President Roosevelt in his Buenos Aires speech, December 1936, and his recent Chicago speech.

If the United States is to adopt a policy directed to "quarantine" morbid rulers suffering from war fever in Europe and Asia, that policy should also be applied to their agents in South America.

*Ed. Note:* Since this article was sent to press, two events have occurred which lend it particular significance. The first was the announcement, on November 6, of the inclusion of Italy in the Berlin-Tokyo pact against communism and the emphasis placed in reports upon the significance for South America of this fascist entente. The second was the formation of a corporate state in Brazil on November 10.

# NAZI PROPAGANDA AT WORK

***An intimate account of a vast machine and the men who guide its destinies***

**By L. F. GITTLER**

THE Nazi propaganda machine is generally considered to be the greatest peacetime organization of its kind on earth. This is unreservedly true for the sheer "organization" of its vast network, but as to quality, direction, and genuine effectiveness in all its activities, it has yet to prove indisputable greatness.

The praise and awe dedicated to Nazi propaganda theory and practice is as astonishing as it is uncritical. Political observers universally agree that German art, radio, press, theatre, films, and literature have become virtually nondescript. These forms of propaganda are precisely the most difficult to perfect. Moreover, they are the most important in a permanent sense. The mass demonstration has always been the means to immediate results, too often emotional and based on a weak foundation. It is in this more obvious form of propaganda that the Nazis, under the personal inspiration of Hitler, have used the greatest insight, intelligence, and intuition. Yet foreign observers have been completely bamboozled by the verbal terror of the Nazis' tremendous outdoor festivals and consequently have been too quick to forget the shortcomings of all other agencies serving propaganda purposes. Indeed, the Nazis are past masters in hypnotizing the crowd, but fail dismally when confronted with the individual. The average German reading a newspaper or book, seeing a film or play, or listening to the radio is skeptical, even dubious. His abject submission when merely one of the spectators in a gigantic demonstration, unsurpassed in its primitive appeal, can only be explained by Gustave le Bon, or some other competent "mass psychologist."

The Nazi propaganda machine is veritably a machine. Like any mass-production enterprise it can be operated with fewer and fewer men while its push-buttons and mechanisms increase. Despite its domination of the mob, its failure to cope with the individual has caused it to drift away from the people. This isolation would be far more serious were it not for men like Josef Goebbels, its overseer, and Adolf Hitler, its drummer. Behind these two masters is the figure of Alfred Rosenberg. Goebbels is perhaps the greatest press-agent the twentieth century has yet seen. His skill in glorifying the heroes of Nazi Germany is unequalled, even in Hollywood. He specializes in raising all Nazi activities to the epic and heroic level. His principal role is in selling the ideas of Hitler and Rosenberg in the condensed form of slogans to the German people. He has a striking vernacular, and a clever way of turning phrases to the hilarious enjoyment of audiences. His newspaper articles are crammed with wit and sarcasm, more brilliant than bitter. His own ideas, admittedly few, are startling, but far less startling than those of Hitler and Rosenberg.

Like all press-agents Herr Goebbels is essentially a skeptic and cynic. Nevertheless, he is extremely adaptable and for this reason has earned a reputation for hypocrisy in Germany. He is well-known for his self-advertisement and self-

commendatory writings. During the days of the "struggle" in Berlin, Goebbels often invaded the red suburbs of the capital on propaganda forages. Undeniably he ran great danger of being waylaid by enraged proletarians. This bravery was never let pass unnoticed. Goebbels wrote anonymous articles in the *Angriff* and *Völkischer Beobachter* depicting in graphic phrases the danger and fortitude of his own "Siegfriedian exploits." Gregor Strasser was the first to reprimand Goebbels for doing "brave acts for the express purpose of advertising them." But that Goebbels was not without fear—great fear, in fact—is naïvely revealed in his diary and in articles written for the party papers. Here he described his psychic powers of detecting danger. His highly-strung intuition often forced cancellation of meetings, the re-routing of parades, and changes of plan in schedules.

Of Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi *philosophe*, Konrad Heiden has said: "He is a man who has the gift of erecting systems of ideas on a truly noble scale from the most improbable premises." This criticism of Rosenberg struck a vulnerable spot. Rosenberg has energetically attempted to elevate Nazi ideas to a high intellectual level. In Germany this means the molding of ideas into a recognized *Weltanschauung*, outlook on life. But Rosenberg's thought has turned out not to be "thought" at all but a perilous superstructure of ideas that can be successfully juggled only in the drawing-room.

Rosenberg is the ardent prophet of "race revolution" on an international as well as national scale. His project of "international race revolution" was clearly expressed by Hitler in a debate with Gregor Strasser in 1930: "Our task is to undertake an immense organization of the whole world in which the Nordic race shall take the leading part. . . . National Socialism would not be worth anything . . . if it were to be confined to Germany and did not secure the rule of the superior race over the whole world. . . ." This statement would seem to contradict emphatically the recent protests by Nazis that Nazism is not an "article for export."

### *Shabby Messiah*

While Rosenberg is a quiet-spoken man with an academic air who spends his time converting German scientific circles and cultural clubs and editing magazines and newspapers, Hitler visualizes himself as an "iron-willed man in dirty boots but with a pure soul and mailed fist who will fearlessly carry out the nation's deeds." To the propaganda organizations, Hitler has contributed his curious petty-bourgeois knack of inventing spangles, Blood Flags, swastikas, salutes, daggers, slogans, etc. His keen political sense both in foreign and internal policy is mostly underrated. As a propagandist and agitator, he is indefatigable, never content, never satisfied with results. With his unerring instinct for *Romantik*, he knows how to build around himself the legendary myth that strikes the highest and lowliest with awe and reverence. During the years of the inflation, Berlin's intellectuals used to speak of him as the "mystery man" and the shabby Messiah come to cure the post-war disease. When Hitler came out in the open to the full blast of fanfare and trumpets, he invented his singular delight of torchlight parades and great demonstrations punctured with wild obedient echoes from the feathered flock.

Rosenberg's Slav-German blood myth and Hitler's lashing harangues were the raw materials upon which Goebbels fashioned his genius for showmanship and organization. At Goebbels' disposal was the German gift for administrative bureaucracy and discipline. He believed, like Hitler, in the spoken word, in sinister pagan manifestations with architectonic

dimensions where all the fury of war-defeat could be exploited to the utmost.

Goebbels always cherished the dream of a fantastic propaganda organization. A year before Hitler became Chancellor, Goebbels had written in his diary: "My department will be something immense . . . something the world has never seen before . . . a Ministry of Public Upbringing and Education in all fields of radio, film, news and photo services, art, culture, and propaganda." Thus when Hitler was crowned with the wreath of power, Goebbels' dictum that "politics is no more the art of the possible but for us is the wonder of the impossible" began to be admirably demonstrated.

The Nazi party propaganda machine was not demobilized but was kept intact with specific duties. What emerged was the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, and now, almost five years afterward, it is a Prussian model of clockwork efficiency where all agencies and possible communication with the people by mouth, sight, sound, or smell, and cultural forces such as education, art, music, theater, sporting and religious cults have been centralized, regimented, and concentrated into one huge organization.



Pix

***SKEPTIC AND CYNIC: The dramatic Dr. Goebbels, "is perhaps the greatest press-agent the twentieth century has ever seen. His skill in glorifying the heroes of Nazi Germany is unequaled."***

### *Public Enlightenment*

The German word "propaganda" does not imply a negative reaction as it does in this country. By "propaganda" the ministry "inspires and electrifies the people" and causes the "popular will to express itself spontaneously." By "public enlightenment" it "instils understanding" by distributing the official explanation of events at home and abroad. This is well understood by the propagandists who are selected from every part of the Reich, trained and drilled in special schools in Berlin and Munich. These propagandists are well-informed of the psychological needs and reactions of their own particular locality, and despite their humiliating sentimentality, practical psychology and the necessity of understanding the emotional structure of various German types and groups are stressed. All propagandists from Hitler down have a pronounced contempt for the "mass mind," whatever their external mouthings may expostulate. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler was especially articulate in discussing propaganda technique. "Propaganda," he wrote, "belongs to the mobs and multitudes and therefore must be popular in its leaning and appeal; it must grasp the sentimental imagination and idolatry of the wide masses whose receptive capacity and understanding are narrow." He advocated a propaganda of the "essential," of boiling all theory down to a few basic points and consolidating these into slogans to be hammered continually into the mass consciousness. "An

agitator," Hitler wrote self-consciously, "must be a psychologist even if he is only a demagogue."

In the propaganda schools of Berlin and Munich, neophytes are told at the outset that propaganda is an art, and the propagandist is an artist as much as the painter, sculptor, or writer. To be a consummate propagandist, the student must learn the great and eternal truths of propaganda: the supreme importance of redundant technique, the complete one-sidedness in outlook, and the absolute suppression of all other political persuasions and problems which may "create spiritual dissension among the masses." Herr Goebbels explains: "Either we are lying and the others are right, or we are telling the truth and the others are lying, but that we are right and telling the truth I believe with all the inviolability of our blood." Nazi propaganda, concludes Karl Bömer, Rosenberg's press chief in the party's Foreign Policy Bureau, is therefore logical and "nothing but the truth."

Much experimentation, however, is allowed propagandists and their students. The propagandist, it is argued, is always one jump ahead of his consumers, painstakingly preparing them for what is to come. A surprise should never be a surprise, and the "Saturday surprises" that the Führer was indulging in over a long period of time were always more exciting abroad than in Germany. Nazi propagandists consider it reckless to speculate on the spontaneous feeling of the mob; more appropriate is the "spontaneous appearance." It was no easy task to prepare the German nation for military conscription. The Republic had motivated such a strong pacifist movement that a subtly drumming propaganda was needed to reassure the populace. Popular fears are usually sounded out by "feelers." Attachés of the propaganda ministry are sent out as "missionaries" to ask questions of various income groups, linger in cafés and bars, mingle in demonstrations and meetings, stand in the winter lines for butter, meat, and eggs, always watching, listening, observing, and searching new clues in propaganda appeal and the magical common denominator that will unite all. That this method is successful is proven by the transformation of May 1, a revolutionary holiday for the German communist masses, into a peaceful exhibit of military pomp and show with no violence and hardly a murmur of disapproval.

### Propaganda Factory

It would be impossible here even merely to outline the functions and structure of the Nazi propaganda set-up. In addition to the official Propaganda Ministry, there is the Nazi Party Propaganda Organization, the Reich Culture Chamber, the Reich Culture Senate, the National Socialist Culture Society, the Political Academy, and several training schools for youth. All of these are interlocked and work closely together. With the exception of the Political Academy and the Nazi Culture Society where Rosenberg teaches the future German élite the principles of Rosenbergism, all propaganda is under the tutelage of Goebbels and his right-hand man, State Secretary Funk.

The Propaganda Ministry has its home in a rambling structure on the Wilhelmstrasse. It has nine departments and 31 branches in the party districts replacing the old German states. Each department retains an adviser who watches trends and reactions and belongs to the committee-at-large which runs the huge framework of the ministry. Among its departments are: (1) General Propaganda, with its sub-bureaus managing winter relief, the Political College, new labor schemes to reconcile the working masses, and the Committee on Foreign Traveling in Germany; (2) Radio, which subsidizes radio corporations, runs

the Special Committee for Political Activity on the Air, directs powerful senders intended to counteract Moscow short-wave broadcasts, and encourages "pure music," folk *kultur*, etc; (3) Press, which reads the foreign and domestic press to discover slurs against the regime, distributes news in daily press conferences, handles wireless services, German correspondents abroad, and censorship; (4) Film, which essays politically and economically to penetrate Central Europe and Scandinavia, distributes shorts on the army, labor camps, the Beauty of Work, the Joy of Having Children, forbids "pessimism of life" and criticism, handles censorship, and observes all productions in the making with Goebbels usually the observer; (5) Theater, with duties of censorship, managing the party and workers' theaters, traveling troupes, opera and drama in the provinces and cities, and the expensive efforts by Goering to revive the classical German stage even at the cost of hiring former communists and Jews; (6) Foreign Department, whose main task is to defend Germany against "enemies abroad" who spread "lies and rumors," but which studies the foreign press, radio, and public opinion, and maintains spies abroad to watch the movements of emigrés, and translates and distributes Hitler's speeches to all parts of the world; (7) Literature and Writing, which fosters the literary ambitions of blood-conscious writers, keeps a weather eye on all literary effort, publishing houses, magazines, and bookshops, instructing them what material and what authors to feature; (8) Art and Culture, the one department which today has the least to do. It talks much of the New Creative Life and runs shows of the "decadent art" of the past and the glaring sunrises of the present.

The Nazi party propaganda set-up has been for the most part incorporated into the official ministry. It confines itself strictly to party circles, serving primarily two purposes: (a) to maintain contact with party members and hold them together into a powerful group to defend the Nazi state at all times; (b) to cultivate the development of the party member into a National Socialist "type of man." It sends out periodically a corps of one thousand speakers to every hamlet in Germany to explain actions of the Government on questions ranging from Nordic motherhood to foreign policy. It manufactures films, runs broadcasting stations for the storm troopers, inspects all German political monuments and seeks likely places to build new ones, "coordinates" the names of streets, roots out "cultural decadence," discovers quotations of German historians and literati to justify the Nazi scheme of things, and protects Nazi dignity and honor.

The secret pamphlets that the Nazi party sends out to its provincial propaganda directors contain complaints of agents who can get nobody to attend meetings although all the propaganda laws designed by Goebbels have been faithfully followed. In answer to this a manifesto was issued ordering all propaganda directors to stop "collecting meetings to death." This is a serious problem the Ministry has to face. The German burghers will pay and even come from miles around to see and hear glorified profiles spout and rant but they think it is a trifle too much to listen to boring mouth-pieces reiterate what has been rumbling over the German landscape for years. The Ministry also views with some alarm the degeneration of party enlighteners into ward politicians after the American style, who preen and prance with all the self-conscious power of small-time bureaucrats. Nazi propaganda is slowly deteriorating in the absence of a veritable enemy. Time alone will tell whether the Frankenstein Goebbels and his masters have built will destroy itself by its own viciousness.

# NEWSPAPER BY RADIO

## *Facsimile transmission has potentialities for changing the social life of the nation*

### By W. CARROLL MUNRO

INVARIABLY whenever the mechanical mind steals some new treasure from the coffers of electrical energy, a thousand enthusiasts hail the "marvel" with awesome noise. With the naivete of country apple-knockers, they stare upward, and bid others do likewise, at the substance of things to come. And the tragedy is that most of these still-born "marvels" remain just things to come.

And yet, it is fun while it lasts. Fun for those who hail and for those whose invention captures, for a brief instant, the public imagination. But embarrassing for those who are left holding a bag around the "marvel" that just won't deliver.

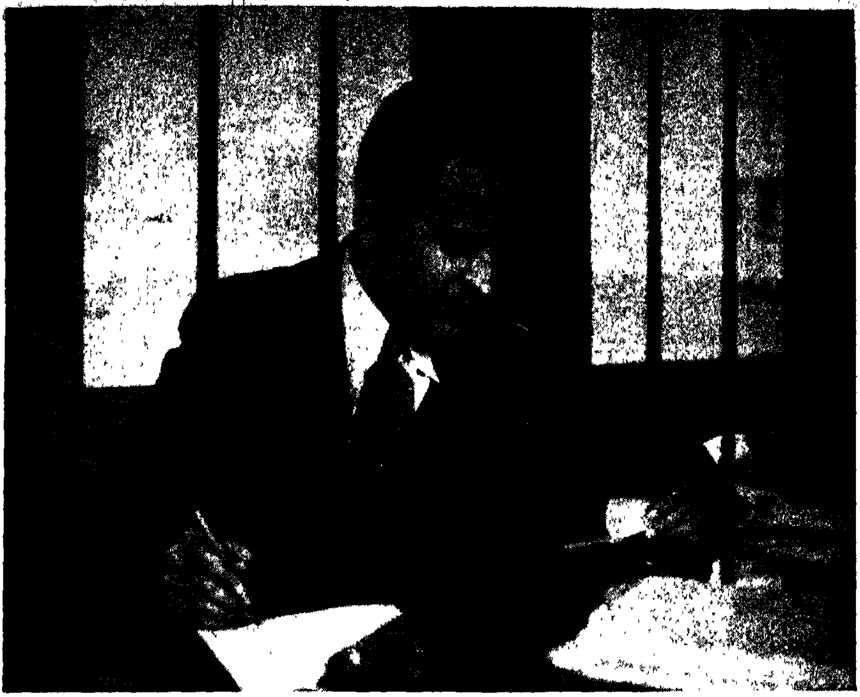
After saying that, it only remains to usher in another bigger and better miracle. Happily, this is not necessary.

From the National Resources Committee, the special deputation of President Roosevelt, has come tangible evidence that facsimile transmission is about to break in radio. It is an invention of which there have been few harbingers although facsimile transmission by radio is not new, nor is it a technical problem with future, though vague, possibilities. In a recent comprehensive and authoritative report the National Resources Committee singled out facsimile transmission as one of thirteen inventions carrying potentialities for changing the economic, cultural, and social life of the nation. Further than that, President Roosevelt pointed out that soon, by means of facsimile broadcast, the average citizen would be receiving his morning newspaper in his home. In this statement the President assumed the role of pessimist. Soon encompasses a vague future. The facts concerning the availability of facsimile broadcast are of the present. The radio newspaper is here.

To the delight of every mechanically minded man, whether he be qualified to jam the workings of a watch, unscrew a delicate lock, or snuffle in the bowels of his automobile, this new instrument is teetering on the threshold. And even better than that, the very fact of ownership of a facsimile set will guarantee, for those progressives who snap it up when it first appears on the market, a higher more enviable status in his or her community despite contrary past prejudices.

For instance, what better oath to mental leadership in any community than to know the contents of the evening newspaper long before the newspaper has been sufficiently assembled to be put to press. Or a news bulletin reporting the latest convolution of British foreign policy twelve hours before your favorite editor has turned it over to the office boy for solution. Or pictures—photographs or line drawings. For the erudite, a handsome portrayal of the author of a best seller, and for the morbid a picture of the newest hatchet sensation received in the home a few hours after the police jerked the murderer from a warm bed somewhere in the Bronx. Magnificent! Of course! For this is no fantasy.

However, before discussing the machine proper it is worthwhile mentioning one aspect of radio broadcasting that, in critical



*Halstead*

***W. G. H. FINCH: Head of the Finch Telecommunications Laboratories, this man symbolizes the modern inventor. With the completion of the Finch facsimile system he, and his associates, take first rank in the world of radio.***

circles, is considered radio's greatest flaw. At best, the product of radio, whether a symphony or a learned address, is impermanent. For radio broadcasting does not lend itself to permanency. At present it is derivative, and lacking in continuity. And to many this is not an important failing. But in evaluating the radio as an entity critics state that at present it violates the basic laws of knowledge—permanent record and continuity. For, in the history of humanity it is never the spoken word, the mouth to mouth method of communication still practised by many backward tribes, but rather the inscribed tablet embodying the written word that has builded column by column the knowledge to which we now have access. But if this is the criticism suffered by radio in the past, competent people say that facsimile broadcast will make it invalid in the future.

### *The New Machine*

And now for the machine. Imagine a family at home preparing for breakfast. From a small cabinet, attractively designed and operating automatically through a time-clock connection with an ordinary radio set, unfolds a wide ribbon of paper. Tearing off a strip the master of the house exclaims: "Sweetheart, take a gander at this! Last night the Secret Service uncovered the fact that our Secretary of State is really a member of the British royal family. Whew! What a mess!"

But "sweetheart" is already occupied with a few radio newspaper columns of her own, getting a peek at an illustrated advertisement describing the breath-taking bargains in fur coats at the favorite department store.

How is it done? To answer the question at once—done with the greatest simplicity.

Comparatively, the facsimile transmitter is little larger than the receiver. The copy to be sent, whether straight news bulletins or photographs or line drawings, involves no printing, since the material is inserted directly into the machine. And the insertion of material requires less skillful fumbling than the loading of a movie projector. With the material in line an electric bulb throwing a tiny spot of light swings back and forth across the copy to be facsimiled. The mechanical action is similiar to the human eye sweeping from left to right along a line of type recording images of black characters upon a white background. From the copy the spot of light is reflected back to a light sensitive photo-electric cell. Thus, when the scanning light strikes the white it returns a full reflection, on the densest black no reflection, while on the gray and varying shades of black it returns only a partial reflection. Through the action of the photo-electric cell these reflections metamorphose into their equivalent of electric energy. On the receiving end such electric impulses are employed to operate a stylus sweeping synchronously across a carbon-backed paper. Thus, a black impulse will press the stylus down, a white impulse will lift it. One hundred lines will build an inch of type, or, at the operating speed of the present machine, a two-column newspaper at the rate of five feet per hour.

Increasing use of the machine will lead to exquisite refinements. It is not impractical to hope for a newspaper of five columns in the near future. This is the tabloid size, and the most efficient reading organ the newspaper profession has produced.

The facsimile system can transmit through any circuit, whether shortwaves, micro-waves, telegraph wires, or normal broadcast frequencies. Distance of facsimile transmission depends entirely upon the amount of power employed. At present, broadcast stations will use their regular wave-lengths to broadcast facsimile during the early morning hours when normally such facilities would remain idle.

### *Possible Effects*

What immediate effect the facsimile newspaper will have, can be easily imagined. Owners of facsimile sets will receive the news long before the ordinary newspapers are run through the presses. And the most attractive feature of all is the low price at which the sets will be available to the general public. Initial cost will be comparable to that of a good midget radio set—somewhere around thirty-five dollars. Paper and electricity costs will be probably ten cents and twenty cents per week respectively.

As an economic venture for the broadcasters the facsimile is promising. Operating expenses will be more than offset by advertising revenue, since the facsimile carries both pictures and text. At present, that is in the future. After six months when actual experiment on the public has been completed then the station owners will be able to calculate their possible profit.

And in the interest of national defense the facsimile machine has many possibilities. Reconnaissance units, whether planes or fast destroyers, can carry the transmitting system with ease, since it weighs less than ten pounds. Thus, military and naval staffs will have the opportunity to not only receive verbal information but to study actual maps and charts showing the exact positions of the enemy.

In brief, that is facsimile transmission. Already, broadcasting stations have applied to the Federal Communications Commission for permission to start at once experimental facsimile transmission of radio newspapers to homes in their service areas. In the East, WOR owned by Bamberger Broadcasting Service, Newark, New Jersey, has announced that they are preparing to inaugu-

rate a service in the New York area. In California, the MacClatchy newspapers operating four broadcasting stations have applied to the FCC for permission to send facsimile. Stations WHO, 50,000 watts, Des Moines, KTSP, 25,000 watts, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and WHG, 250 watts, Norfolk, Virginia, have already received permission to broadcast facsimile to their service areas using regular broadcast frequencies and full power. These latter stations are awaiting the delivery of machines for installation in homes for use during an experimental period.

Of great significance is the fact that the Federal Communications Commission has seen fit to grant broadcasters permission to operate the facsimile over their regular frequencies. That alone is proof enough that far from being a machine of tomorrow the facsimile newspaper is a thing of today.



Halstead

***FACSIMILE RECEIVER: Attached directly to the terminals of an ordinary radio loudspeaker this small cabinet contains all the equipment necessary to receive a radio newspaper in the home.***

### *About the Inventor*

And that it is the product of the day and not of some confused future is a testimony to the inventive genius of W. G. H. Finch, president of the Finch Telecommunications Laboratories, New York. For the personality of this man is, in a sense, as important as the facsimile machine he has invented. His interest in facsimile goes back to 1922. In the interim, he has studied law and become one of the best patent lawyers in the country, he has worked with television, and acted as Chief Consulting Engineer for the Hearst radio interests. Last year he resigned as Assistant Chief Engineer of the FCC in charge of the telephone division to complete the development of his facsimile system on which quiet research had been under way for many years.

What these years have meant in hard work and courage to attain the goal set is known only to Finch. In his physical appearance, and in his mannerisms it is difficult to find those little tell-tale signs that mark the man who has fought bitterly against overwhelming odds. He is slim and lithe, and his face is vivid, almost boyish. He smiles, and laughs easily. And yet he hardens too. When antagonized there is a bright aggressiveness about him.

Finch is optimistic concerning the future of his machine, though alert to the difficulties immediately confronting it. These difficulties he foresaw when, fifteen years ago, he began to build the independent patent structure upon which he based his finished products. Perhaps Finch possesses the most formidable independent communications patent set up in the country. To quote one of his associate engineers: "That the machine is working is not so amazing as the independent patent structure supporting it." Amazing indeed, for the patent is the pivot of our machine age.

Unfortunately, to possess a patent is not

enough. There are too many well-dressed, soft-spoken, college-trained criminals within the American corporate structure. Some of these gentlemen would commit violence on an inventor for his ideas. Others would connive, steal or bribe their way to the same end. Finch knows these men for what they are. He has had experience of them in the past and anticipates meeting them again in the near future.

Large American radio corporations are the worst enemy of the independent inventor. Within the walls of their mass production laboratories the inventive technique has been commercialized to the point of sterility. Revolutionary change is as much an anathema there as it is in the financial institutions that, in the final analysis, actually own them. Yet, this is no bar to progress. What the independent inventor creates, they believe, will eventually fall into their hands. Ruthlessly the agents of the radio corporations hound the lone inventor. If he resists bribery, they simply steal his work. And if he goes to court, they sabotage the wheels of justice until the victim starves or waives his claim for coffee and cake money. Call it what you will, that is the system.

In more than one way the Finch Telecommunications Laboratories symbolize the dozens of independent organizations waging a relentless war against the patent pools and radio monopolies. With thirty important U. S. patents covering his machine, and over one hundred patents pending, he is sanguine concerning the outcome.

"It is not so much," he says quietly, "that the Finch laboratories turned out this machine. But it is important that there are dozens of laboratories, dozens of Finches all over the country. These little independent laboratories are doing real inventive work. Where the subsidized inventor, working in one of the large industrial laboratories is inhibited by the peculiar nature of his surroundings, the independent inventor progresses toward technical perfection without regard for what the chairman of the board of directors might have to say. And this independent movement is an outgrowth of the depression. The inventor learned his errors then. He will not repeat them in the future."

And Finch has other ideas. He preaches and practises a heresy that with each passing day becomes more and more respectable. "Primary service," he says thoughtfully. "Service to the public. It is something that becomes more real each day. Radio demands that the public be served first. After public service then comes more public service."

### *Integrity of Communications*

Next to the technique of communications the thing that has intrigued Finch more than anything else is the integrity of communications. He visualizes facsimile transmission as a blackboard, a blackboard placed in every home. In the future, public executives may demonstrate with symbols, drawings, photographs all the facts which, in the past, have been relayed to the people inadequately. No longer will such communication between the people and their leaders be subservient to hostile facilities in a position to distort the truth.

Although newspaper interests already view this facsimile service as a threat to them, Finch holds the opposite view. Technical time and space limitations will necessarily make the news bulletins so brief that there will be ample interest in the more detailed accounts available in regular newspapers. In fact, Finch believes the facsimile broadcasts will create an entirely new demand for newspapers and magazines. To substantiate this assumption he points out the position of the music industry when faced with the early radio broadcasting. Then, the movie industry feared for the future. Subsequently these fears proved unfounded since radio, instead of

diminishing, created an increasing demand for music both good and bad.

Finally to list some of Finch's answers to the most obvious questions concerning the facsimile receiver from the consumer's stand point.

(Q) Will the set be available within a year, and at what price?

(A) If experimental tests are satisfactory the Finch Telecommunications Laboratories hope to make the sets available as soon after the experimental period as is possible. In mass productions the sets will probably sell from thirty-five to seventy-five dollars.

(Q) Will the ordinary radio set receive facsimile and music simultaneously?

(A) Due to the peculiar sound of facsimile transmission it would be undesirable to send both music and facsimile at the same time.

(Q) At what time would facsimile be available for the ordinary set?

(A) Probably between midnight and morning when both broadcast and reception facilities would normally be idle.

(Q) If the present machine prints five feet of two column material per hour will it be possible to speed this rate in the future?

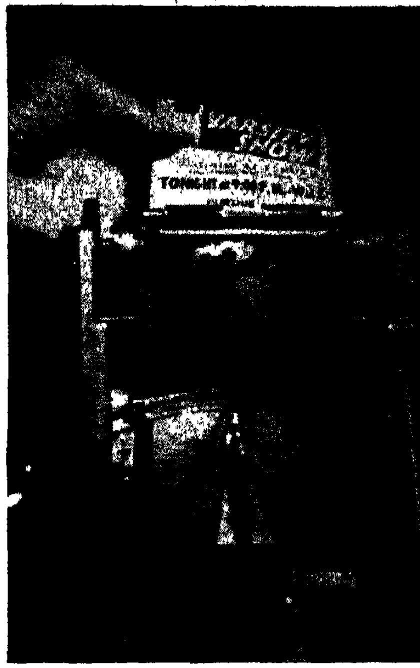
(A) The speed at which facsimile can be sent and received is only determined by the utmost mechanical limitation. Rules of progress are as applicable to the facsimile as to the automobile, airplane, etc.

(Q) Will the machine be noisy during the time it is in operation?

(A) The noise will be no more objectionable than that of any other tiny electric motor. Sound proof cabinets will reduce the operation sound to a minimum, or specifically to a faint hum.

(Q) If the receiver fails, will it be possible for the ordinary radio mechanic to repair it inexpensively?

(A) The most important feature of the present machine is its simplicity. In construction it is far less complicated than a standard radio set. It is hoped that an intelligent handy-man will be able to make repairs.



*Halstead*

***SIMPLE MECHANISM:*** ***A stylus sweeps across a carbon-backed paper. A black impulse will press the stylus down, a white impulse will lift it. One hundred lines will build an inch of type.***

(Q) Will advertisements play such a large part in facsimile transmission as to be objectionable to the ordinary human?

(A) This is a question of good taste. If newspaper and radio advertising are objectionable now it is supposed that facsimile will not, at first, escape the taint of bad taste in advertising.

(Q) Will the paper, upon which the facsimile is printed, stream out of the machine? Will it be similar to teletype reception?

(A) As yet no provision has been made for cutting and folding the radio newspaper. The action of the paper coming from the machine is like teletype reception.

# MEDITERRANEAN TUG-OF-WAR

***An unpublished interview with Azana reveals Spain's Mediterranean policy***

## By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

*New York Times and London Times Correspondent in Spain*

SPAIN, which by its past neutrality has been the deciding factor in the European equilibrium as determined by the balance of power in the Mediterranean, has no intentions of setting itself up as a military power, thus jeopardizing the Mediterranean status quo. It asks for nothing better than continued peace with its Mediterranean neighbors whom it has never molested. This was the assurance recently given to me by the Spanish Republican President, Don Manuel Azaña.

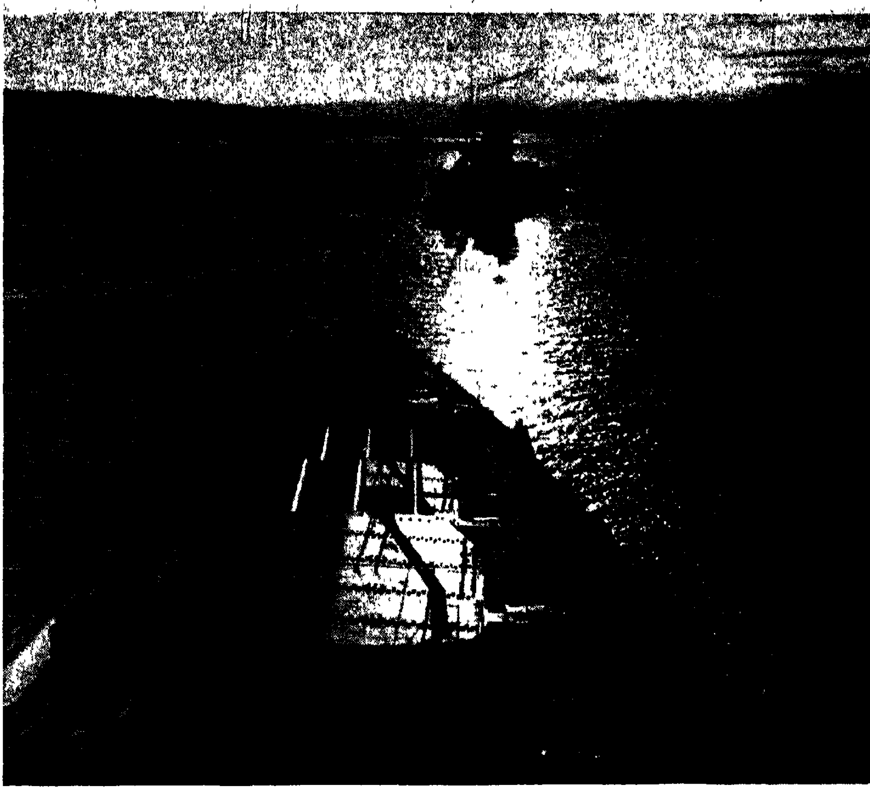
Since Spain first entered a Mediterranean agreement in 1887 there have been many attempts to wean her away. At that time the Mediterranean bogey was France, and Spain was a party to an agreement concluded between England and Italy intended to fend off French ambitions. In 1904, France having made its peace with England on the Mediterranean question, Spain made an agreement with France whereby she accepted a new Mediterranean arrangement affecting Morocco. Again, in 1907, by the Pact of Cartagena, the understanding as to the Mediterranean status quo was amplified and made more complete. These in main outline are the agreements which stand menaced by the associations of the Spanish rebels with Italy and Germany, reviving ancient ambitions which, at least in the case of Germany, were believed to have been squelched by firm British action preceding the World War.

The Spanish Republic's position was elucidated in two notable speeches by President Azaña which have not received deserved attention abroad. The first was his Valencia speech of last January 21. In that speech he said:

> The invasion of Spain constitutes the rupture of the system of equilibrium in Occidental Europe, and this rupture is directed against those powers which, until today bound in friendship with Spain, have been able to behold, without any kind of perturbation or preoccupation, the situation in Western Europe. The military weakness of Spain and its will to be neutral constituted a fundamental piece in the organization of that equilibrium. If Spain in the past had set herself up as a military power, that fact likewise would have broken the equilibrium. But if the equilibrium of Europe is to be broken, we must meditate whether, in the last analysis, it is not worth while that it be broken in our favor, however that may be, because to no country have there yet been closed the various courses that lie before it.

Of particular moment to Europe was the hint that Republican Spain might find itself forced to abandon the Mediterranean alliance in its own self-defense.

In his speech on last July 18, on the anniversary of the rebellion, he once more emphasized Spain's special position in the Mediterranean power balance. Spain, he said, had always lived in peace with her European neighbors, including Germany and Italy. But now: "They come in quest of our mines, our raw materials, of our ports, our straits, and our naval bases in order to molest, not ourselves, but the political powers with whom Spain has always had peaceful relations." As in the



*Wide World Photos*

***A CONSTANT FACTOR:** During the days of Mediterranean tension Britain's fleet is a factor for war, and for peace. In the disposition of its power lies the choice of either.*

former speech, he likewise struck a note that sounded like a warning:

"Society of Nations? Committee of London? Diplomatic treaties? Precious friendships? The army of the Republic is worth more!"

It was particularly with respect to these notes of warning that I desired an elucidation from the President. This is the statement I received:

> Spain has no desire to be a great power or to interfere in the affairs of other countries. The Spaniards are a benevolent people with no ambitions for the present or the future in the exterior order. But they will not be at the mercy of those who desire to attack them. All they wish is to live in peace.

The President made it clear that when he spoke of "Spain" he meant "the Spain of all Spaniards," and that when he spoke of Spaniards he meant the 24,000,000 inhabitants of the peninsula who, taken together, constitute the nation that is Spain. The great mass of those Spaniards who, whether by chance or sympathies happen to be on one side or the other, he felt, were united in their desires for peace with their neighbors, however they might have been misled by certain leaders. I asked him what he meant by his public references to "the spiritual reconstruction of Spain" and by "a nation of Spaniards once more living together," He replied:

> From the general point of view, Spaniards are slow to change their opinions and the Republic has no desire to force them to do so. A monarchist, for instance,

> prefers always to remain a monarchist and a Republican does not change his ideals. But in a liberal Spain there should be room for all kinds of opinions as there was under the Republic.
>
> I hope all Spaniards will profit from the experience of this war; that the uselessness of cruelty and bloodshed will be a lesson to all; that they will learn to live together in greater tolerance under a free regime. That is what I dream.
>
> The Spaniards are a violent people. Let it be hoped that after this war they will lessen their violence, that this experience will teach them they mustn't commit suicide. We Republicans have never objected to having among us monarchists or other persons of non-Republican principles. But they must all live together and recognize the authority of the government. There must be respect for law, for each other's rights and for the civil regime. And I am sure that will come. One of the results of the war will be an increase in the authority of the state. That follows all wars.

A liberal regime with such increased authority, the President thought, would be in a better position both to be tolerant and to enforce that respect for each other's rights which he foresaw for the future.

### *United Spain*

It seems evident that if Spain is to maintain her position as the deciding factor in Mediterranean equilibrium there must be no division of the country into quasi-independent regions or states which might be tempted to assert international personality, and perhaps arrive at some understanding with other powers which might jeopardize the Mediterranean position. Feints at asserting international personality have already been made by Catalonia, happily cut short by the central authority at Valencia. And Italian intrigues in Catalonia, both before and since the Civil War, are matters of common knowledge. These intrigues could have no other object than to disturb further the Mediterranean position. "Divide and rule," cardinal principle of Machiavellian political art, has also been a cardinal principle of Italy since Mussolini took power.

President Azaña's firm stand against any division of Spain is well known from his public utterances and actions. He opposed Catalonia's attempts to declare a "federal state" in 1934, while preceding the elections of February, 1936, which brought the Spanish Popular Front to power, he was prepared to reject all Catalan support unless they agreed to have done with separatism.

I was anxious to know whether the President had in any respect revised his opinion regarding the division of Spain into regions or states. The President was obliged to say, however, that such a question entered the domain of political problems which it would be improper for him, as President, to discuss. He has steadfastly taken the position that as a constitutional President he must strictly observe the constitution which relegates political problems to the governmental ministry. The propensity of the late President Alcala Zamora for meddling with political problems was bitterly resented, and explains why the Popular Front eased him out of power overnight.

Notwithstanding, this writer has no doubt as to where President Azaña privately stands on the question of any attempted division of Spain.

### *Final Victory*

The President felt confident of a final Republican victory which the realities indicate to be so important for the maintenance of the Mediterranean equilibrium. In particular he stressed the importance of the proposals before the Committee of London for the withdrawal of foreign combatants. He discussed the question of foreign combatants on the government side frankly and reiterated that the Republican

government stood ready to withdraw every foreign fighter now enrolled in its aid who was not a Spanish citizen previous to the outbreak of the rebellion in July, 1936. He shares the view of other Republican leaders that Franco has no help except enforced help from the masses whom fortune—or their misfortune—have placed in his territory, and that Spanish Republican armies could easily carry the day once the Italians and Germans departed.

"If the non-intervention committee's agreement for the withdrawal of foreigners were faithfully carried out," he told me, "the war would end rapidly. We would have no fear of the outcome."

This view, he explained, did not, however, mean that Spain consented to the activities and agreements of the non-intervention committee insofar as they were deemed to interfere with Spanish sovereignty.

"Spain can never renounce its sovereignty," he stated emphatically.

Indeed it is apparent that the full recognition of Spanish sovereignty is the sine qua non of the maintenance of the Mediterranean balance. Republican Spain will not continue as a party thereto on any other terms, while the Spain of the rebel chief Franco would not be a party thereto on any terms whatever.

When I left the President, he accompanied me to the door and said with considerable emphasis: "Let it be known wherever you go and in all parts of the world that we are not here to pursue a cannibalistic policy whereby Spaniards go on killing off each other. We desire to establish only a regime of liberalism and peace."

It has been suggested that one of the outcomes of the war may be a divided Spain in which Franco and his followers would rule one half of Spain, and the Republicans the other. Such a divided Spain would naturally jeopardize the Mediterranean balance. But those who take the suggestion seriously do not know Spain or Spaniards. Neither one side nor the other would ever consent to that. No second Portugal could ever be carved out of Spain, because all of the natural inhabitants of Spain are Spaniards. That is true even of the Basques and the Catalans—truer than those peoples themselves imagine. As has been suggested, Catalonia does entertain notion of independence but not even her Spanish Republican friends, to say nothing of the Franco insurgents, would ever consent to that.

### *Power Equilibrium*

To consider briefly the historic phase of the Mediterranean equilibrium:

Over the last fifty-five years or so there is a repetition of history and a parallelism in Italian-British rivalries which challenges the attention. The rivalry was interrupted by the World War when Italy deserted her ally, Germany, and eventually became the ally of England and her associates. But the very treaties which, thereafter, ostensibly sealed the peace of the world, in confirming Italy's possession of Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands, provided the basis of a new rivalry between Italy and Great Britain; this, in the case of the former, has now sprung forth in most virulent form. And, as before the War, Italy is found once more allied with Germany in a subterranean game which menaces world peace.

The story of this more recent period of Mediterranean conflicts in which Italy plays the role of the chief trouble maker, of her abandonment of her World War allies, France and England, to return to her pre-war love, Germany, and of these two powers' joint challenging of British power on the Mediterranean, is all too recent history to be recounted in detail. At present Italy would seem to be in understanding with Germany to violate the 1904 pact which guaranteed the Gibraltar straits,

### *Spain's Position*

Let us now consider the special position of Spain. She first entered the picture by assenting to the Anglo-Italian pact of 1887 intended to safeguard Gibraltar straits against the ambitions of France of that day. In 1904 Spain's adherence to the status quo was further confirmed, but this time at the instance of France which had concluded her peace with England. By that agreement her position in northern Morocco was defined and she was assured of French protection against German designs on the Balearic islands and the Canaries. She was further side-tracked from temptations to join up with Germany. Britain, for her part, had exacted from Spain an agreement not to fortify Algeciras, adjacent to Gibraltar, an agreement which the rebel government, as recently demonstrated in the House of Commons, does not respect. These accords laid the groundwork for the Mediterranean equilibrium which the Spanish Republican Government seeks to maintain. Spain further confirmed this equilibrium by the Pact of Cartagena (1907), whereby she joined with England and France in guaranteeing the status quo, and more particularly each other's rights, in the Mediterranean. It seems strange that, in view of this pact, the question has not been raised as to whether England and France are not, in fact, committed to protect Spain against the encroachments which Germany and Italy are making upon Spanish possessions at Majorca, Canarias, Algeciras, Ceuta in northern Morocco, and Rio de Oro and Ifni on the Atlantic side of northern Africa.

Alfonso, who notwithstanding German pressure remained friendly to England, was, before the World War, prepared to enter the Triple Entente. He stood ready to guarantee the security of the Spanish-French frontier in case of war, to facilitate the transport of French troops from Africa through Spain and to accord France certain privileges in Spanish Mediterranean ports. During the World War France must have regretted her hesitancy in accepting these proposals. Subsequent German influence at Madrid tended to give the government a pro-German tone, despite her neutrality, and tales are extant as to how the Spanish government was blind to irregularities which favored the German submarine campaign in the Mediterranean. It is notorious, for instance, that German submarines were provisioned at sea from Majorca by Spanish ships which, ostensibly sailing for Marseilles, returned empty without ever having reached their destination. This provisioning of German submarines is reported to have been the basis of the huge fortune of the Majorcan banker, Juan March, whose resources have since been placed at the disposal of the Spanish insurgents and have played an important role in financing their war. After the Republic was proclaimed, Señor Azaña once more entered into relations with France, with whom, reports had it, he was negotiating along lines similar to those proposed by Alfonso before the World War.

### *Overtures to Italy*

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, however, was under the influence of die-hard factions which had never reconciled themselves to the British possession of Gibraltar and which had visions of another imperial Spain that should make England pay for Trafalgar. It had no respect for the Mediterranean equilibrium and would wreck it without compunction. They are the same influences now at work in Franco's rebel government. Overtures to Italy were made at that time by Dictator Primo, and there were exchanges of courtesy visits between King Alfonso and King Victor Emmanuel. There has been much speculation as to whether a secret pact giving Italy naval facilities in the Balearic islands was not the outcome of these negotiations and do not even now lie at the bottom of

Italy's presence in Majorca. However, whatever other arrangements might have been made between monarchist Spain and Italy were interrupted by the Republic which came on the scene in 1931 and which could scarcely come to terms with the Fascists.

In the summer of 1932 the entire Italian Mediterranean fleet visited the Balearic islands and during a period of ten days or so explored their various harbors, taking advantage of the courtesies usually extended by nations to the naval units of friendly countries. It would seem, however, a considerable straining of the privileges of hospitality to reduce a naval visit to a tour of exploration and observation which, in the ultimate analysis, could have no other purpose than a hostile one.

An important modifying factor in the maintenance of the equilibrium deserves to be noted here, namely the development of the airplane which gives Italy and Spain, with their long Mediterranean coastlines, positions of added importance.

### *Italian Challenge*

The Mediterranean balance had its first serious challenge since the World War when Italy took the bit in its teeth on the question of Abyssinia. The British navy was entirely unprepared and Italy, with its elaborate spy system, must have known that to the last detail. British dreadnaughts raced through the straits with their magazines virtually empty. They had not enough munitions to last through a fifteen-minute engagement. British destroyers found it convenient to disguise themselves by flying the French flag. No wonder Great Britain, which found the same ruse valuable during the World War, has refused to take seriously the Franco complaint against the occasional practice of Spanish Republican ships in flying flags other than Spanish. Augmenting this unpreparedness were the reports of Italian air squadrons of death ready to swoop down on British dreadnaughts and sink them. This danger was probably more imagined than real, but Italy deliberately encouraged the reports and contributed to create a near-panic in the British navy. Had there been an engagement, British naval men do not doubt that their fleet would have triumphed in the end, and this likewise is the view of Italian officers. But Britain could scarcely have avoided the loss of one or more major units, a consequence which would have had a disastrous effect upon British public opinion and would almost certainly have meant the downfall of the government. It is confessed in authoritative Italian circles that Italy would never have offered battle had Britain called her bluff.

At Malta, Italian hostility took an aggressive form. A large part of the British fleet was shifted from Malta and concentrated in the Alexandria harbor. No doubt one of the reasons was the exposed position of Malta lying within a short striking distance of Sicily. But another reason was to prevent the Italian warships from getting there first and taking possession of the harbor. In this the Italians were outguessed; but one day found an Italian passenger steamer burning in the entrance to Alexandria bay. She was in danger of sinking, and had she done so the British fleet would have been bottled up. But she did not sink there because, while she was still fiercely burning, British destroyers, at risk to themselves, nosed up to her and pushed her out of the way. British naval men have their own private opinion as to the significance of the burning of this ship in this particular place.

### *British Policy*

Even though one may conclude that England pursued a wrong course in allowing herself to be bluffed, thus storing up for herself even more serious future trouble, such as now occurs in the Spanish

situation, one must at least respect her decision in choosing not to do so, in the light of the foregoing facts. Nor is it easy to accept the assertions that the whole Abyssinian imbroglio was a cut-and-dried affair in which the British Foreign Office was secretly determined, long in advance, to give Italy what she wanted after making just enough opposition to save the face of England and of the League of Nations. It may be true that in certain quarters of the Foreign Office there was hostility to the League of Nations and a conviction that League action did not afford a solution to such problems—a conviction which may have had something to do with the half-way sanction measures, so patently ineffectual. But that is different from the interpretation that the British attitude on Abyssinia was Machiavellian.

The foregoing is an outline of the Mediterranean picture with special reference to Spain's position. But the whole subject is a vast and complicated one, for the complete understanding of which it would be necessary to consider also such questions as the positions of Turkey and Greece, their growing friendship with England, the understandings between Turkey and Russia which last year resulted in the new Dardanelles agreement which both opens and closes those straits to the Russian Black Fleet, as that fleet's needs may require, the newly forming bloc of Arabian states considered to favor Britain's position, the fortification of islands and harbors, and kindred considerations. A complete study of the problem would probably lead to the conclusion that in the long run the Anglo-French domination of the Mediterranean will endure, the neutral position of Spain will be maintained, and Italian Fascism will scarcely gain its ambition of becoming the iron master of the Middle Sea.

## ANSWERS

1. Six: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Delaware.
2. Roumania. Her average loss was almost 45 percent.
3. The Colorado River.
4. President Harding.
5. The United States.
6. Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and San Francisco.
7. The *Lusitania* was torpedoed during the World War and the *Titanic* was sunk after striking an iceberg. Statement is false.
8. Zachary Taylor, William Henry Harrison, and Warren G. Harding.
9. Samuel Gompers.
10. Al Smith and Joseph Robinson.
11. Sound travels in the medium of air approximately one fifteenth as fast as it travels in the medium of glass.
12. The Rock of Gibraltar and its twin across the straits on the African coast make up the "Pillars of Hercules."
13. The edge of the Dead Sea in the Valley of the Jordan.
14. A victory gained with a ruinous loss such as the victory of Pyrrhus over the Romans at Asculum in the year 279 B.C.
15. The Pyrenees.
16. John Adams.
17. Once a year.
18. Mt. Everest is the highest, having an elevation of 29,002 feet.

# THIS BUSINESS OF CHRISTMAS

***A religious and sentimental festival-day accounts for two new American industries***

## Toys

**By JAMES L. FRI**

THOSE who think of the toy business as all play may be interested in what goes on behind the scenes in the preparation for the peak Christmas selling period in which half of the year's sales are made in the ten selling days immediately preceding December 25.

In the face of a birth-rate which statisticians report has declined considerably during the past ten years, the toy industry is preparing this year for a $230,000,000 sales volume—an average of $7.50 per family. This is 10 per cent under 1929, the all time high in the industry's sales, but 50 per cent over the 1932 volume, the low point, and 10 per cent over last year.

Although most stores keep their toy departments open all the year 'round, the sale of toys over the retail counters is highly seasonal. In department stores, for example, 68 per cent of the total year's business is done in December and in chain stores, about 55 per cent. The fact that nearly half of the total year's business in toys is done in the ten selling days immediately preceding Christmas creates a very difficult merchandising problem for the retail store, not only in providing stocks but in employing and training sales people to handle this peak business. The store plans for eleven months for a few days' intense selling. It is doubtful if any other type of merchandise or industry has a more concentrated selling period.

In planning stock, the buyer begins with the total estimated sales and the amount of stocks he must carry to take care of these sales. In most lines he cannot re-order after volume sales begin. He must, therefore, place initial orders for his complete holiday needs. This differs somewhat from the merchandising practice in most lines where it is possible to sample and feel out customer demand, re-ordering according to tried-out sales possibility.

After the total volume of stock is decided upon, the buyer distributes it to the different classifications, such as dolls, wheel goods, trains, construction toys, games, etc., in accordance with the ratios established by past experience. This type of planning gives the buyer a good idea of the amount of purchases. He must then decide or "guess" what types of dolls, games, mechanical toys, etc., will be the best sellers in each one of the classifications and distribute his purchases accordingly.

A toy department in the average store contains thousands of different items purchased from hundreds of manufacturers. On Christmas Eve stocks should be pretty low or completely closed out. It takes an experienced buyer with considerable luck to plan a stock of goods which will take care of the needs of his customers right up to Christmas Day and then leave him with low and clean stocks. The practice of cutting prices in order to move stock has been found to be bad policy both for the customer and the store. Price cutting may

move stock in one store this year but next year it encourages customers to wait, thus intensifying the peak in sales and increasing the traffic and difficulty in shopping just before Christmas. The practical elimination of price cutting in order to move stocks has tended to encourage customers to purchase early and relieved somewhat the intense burden of last-minute service in the toy department.

### *The Manufacture of Toys*

Most of the toys for the holiday season are shown to the distributors at the American Toy Fair, held in 1937 from April 5 to April 17. During this period more than 400 manufacturers displayed their 1937 lines at the Hotel and in their permanent showrooms for the convenience of the buyer. These exhibits were visited by 4,000 buyers, and advance orders were placed for a considerable amount of the holiday business.

Chain stores, mail-order houses, and wholesalers place the bulk of their initial orders during the first six months of the year, while department stores place most of their orders in the second six months—the largest volume being placed ordinarily in August and September. About 40 per cent of the toys are sold through wholesalers, 40 per cent through chain stores and mail order houses, and 20 per cent through the department store, which purchases direct from the manufacturer. The American Toy Fair gives the manufacturer an opportunity to get the toy buyers' opinions regarding the sales possibilities of the various lines and advance orders which enable him to get production under way. There are more than 1,000 manufacturers of toys, but 90 per cent of the total volume is produced by about 200 manufacturers.

Each manufacturer is a specialist in a particular line of toys—a particular game, type of doll, construction set, or mechanical toy. His production facilities are not large and it is necessary, therefore, that he know well in advance what the possible demand will be on a national basis so that the goods may be produced. Manufacturers start the production of toys in volume immediately following the American Toy Fair, the peak production being reached about October.

Of the toys sold in America, about 95 per cent are manufactured here. Approximately three fourths of the imported toys come from Japan; one fifth from Germany, and the remainder from a number of other countries. Most of the imported toys, especially those from Japan, are in the lower-priced lines and distributed primarily through the chain stores. A large percentage of imported toys are copies of domestically produced items which have been taken to the Far East for reproduction.

### *Trends in Toys*

It is partly by chance but primarily by purpose and planning that America is today the toy center of the world. Toys in 1937 present a dramatic contrast to those produced and distributed twenty years ago. Before the World War Germany held unquestioned leadership in toy manufacturing. When the war-time embargo on German merchandise went into effect, the American toy industry capitalized this opportunity for advancement by breaking with the novelty tradition in toy designs and in emphasizing purposeful toys. The industry has continued year after year to improve the purposefulness of toys and to adapt them to the changing interests and needs of the child so that they have really become second only to the schools themselves as influences on child life. The dominant emphasis in American toys is the development of safe, workable miniatures of arts, industries, and sciences.

Child play in 1937 features skyline building, the mysteries of radio, engineering, and electro-chemistry, as well as up-

to-the-minute technique in transportation, architecture, housekeeping, scientific baby care, art, and handicrafts. Santa Claus continues to back the neutrality policy of the United States. The G-Man, the engineer, and the cowboy vie with cartoon celebrities and Hollywood stars for the first place in the list of 1937 playroom heroes. Although war toys are prominent abroad, less than one per cent of the American toy pack features miniatures of military equipment. Parlor games based on crime solving, business, sports, and chance-taking outnumber battle strategy games by 1,000 to 1. Dolls wear replicas of the smartest juvenile fashions in contrast to the uniformed dolls abroad; children's drawing books reproduce peaceful activities in American industry and homes.

Everybody from dictators to grocers is complaining about the decreasing number of babies being brought into the world but, for the toy industry, at least, there seems to be a logical solution. Modern American toys have been transformed rapidly from the class of holiday novelties to the category of educational necessities. The problem of the toy industry is to add continually to the educational value of the products, to give more value for the money and to sell the public on the importance of giving every child in the community an increasing share of the advantages which modern toys make possible.

Froebel's doctrine, one hundred years ago, that the most important part of man's education is accomplished in the play hours of the first seven years was a belief which only a handful of educators advocated. The theories of progressive education, however, began to make steady advances. The old maxim that children should be "seen and not heard" was soon discarded, and the general public began to appreciate the wisdom of the educational precept that children learn best by doing. The popularization of these beliefs was accompanied by great advances in the mechanics of toy building. Inventions such as the unbreakable composition doll began to challenge the dictionary definition of toys as "fragile novelties." Mass production methods were rapidly developed which made toy miniatures of adult possessions just about as durable and well built as their grown-up models. They are no longer objects that must be handled with care if they are to survive many play hours. They are made for use.

This transition was not a rapid one. In the beginning educators were often didactic and impractical in their specifications for toys which would have educational value. When such designs failed to sell, manufacturers countered with suspicion of anything which was tagged educational.

But these early misunderstandings were gradually overcome and manufacturers and teachers mastered lessons in adaptability and realized that their aims were mutual. Today a number of toy manufacturers hire noted educators as advisers and designers. The majority of the 50,000 types of playthings shown at the 1937 American Toy Fair were advertised in terms of their educational value. The reasons why each toy would be of value to children were listed. Fun continues to be the first requisite of toy success, but manufacturers and educators have realized that the child enjoys most the playthings which he can use purposefully. The fact that the use of mind and muscles is educationally beneficial is a by-product—but it is a by-product which has immense appeal to parents who hold the purse strings. This appeal is just beginning to be capitalized.

The country's leading stores have given impetus to and have keyed in with this new trend in toys. Many of them provide toy counsellors or advisers who explain to parents the various kinds of toys which a child needs at various ages to assure all around development. Lists of toys classi-

fied according to age interest are provided.

*Another indication of this trend is the* increasing attention which welfare organizations are giving to the provision of playthings for underprivileged youngsters. In many communities Santa Claus has been made a daily commuter through toy lending libraries. The well-to-do families gather up discarded toys; local firemen or WPA workers repair them. They are loaned to underprivileged youngsters who formerly enjoyed no toys suitable to their age requirements. In a number of communities new toys have been bought to add to the store of playthings available to the underprivileged.

Already schools have become a significant factor in the toy business. Kindergartens and primary grades are now good customers for a variety of building and handicraft toys, and playgrounds are steadily increasing their purchases of play equipment. These markets for toys are comparatively new and suggest potential opportunities for expansion.

Although the birth-rate seems destined to decline, it seems reasonable to predict that manufacturers and retailers who develop constructive playthings will be able to hold their own in the merchandising picture by intensively capitalizing the consumers' increasing appreciation of the value of play in child education and physical development.

# Cards

## By OCTAVIA GOODBAR

FEW of the senders of Greeting Cards realize how large the industry has grown. Estimates made a few years ago indicate that the production of such cards reaches about 1,500,000,000 per year, or nearly 12 cards to every man, woman, and child in the United States.*

The sending of Greeting Cards is one of the great number of customs that has its basis in the age-old history of the Nativity, in Bethlehem, and of the bringing of gifts of frankincense and myrrh by the Wise men from the East.

Christmas was not among the earliest festivals of the Church, and before the fifth century there was no general consensus of opinion as to when it should come in the calendar, whether on January 6, March 25, or December 25.

In Britain, December 25 was a festival long before the conversion to Christianity, for Bede relates that "the ancient people of the Angli began the year on December 25th, when we now celebrate the birthday of the Lord." In England the observance of Christmas was forbidden by an act of Parliament in 1644; Charles II revived the feast, but the Scots adhered to the Puritan view.

### *Christmas as an American Holiday*

In this country, Virginia sanctioned Christmas Day as a legal holiday throughout its history as a State. The Virginia Code of 1849, which recognizes the day as a holiday, appears to have been based upon a provision in the English law promulgated before the Revolution, during the reign of George III.

In the records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, under the date of May 11, 1659, is to be found an order of the Court assessing a fine of five shillings on all found observing any such day as Christmas. This law, however, was repealed on May 21, 1681. And on April 15, 1856, Christmas was officially included in a list of legal holidays in Massachusetts.

Christmas had undoubtedly been observed as a holiday in all American States long before it received any official recognition. Nevertheless, it is surprising to learn how long it was before express legislation authorized financial transactions to be postponed to a later date, when an obligation chanced to fall on December 25th.

In Connecticut this recognition of Christmas as a holiday at law did not occur until June 12, 1845. Other dates are: Georgia, on February 8, 1850; Vermont, Acts of 1850; Louisiana, Acts of 1855; Minnesota, March 1, 1856; Massachusetts, April 15, 1856; Rhode Island, Statutes of 1857; Maine, Chapter 4, Laws of 1858; Iowa, March 18, 1858; Tennessee, Code of 1858; Michigan, February 7, 1859; Illinois, February 22, 1861; New Hampshire, July 3, 1861; Wisconsin, General Law of 1862; Nevada, a non-judicial holiday, January 1, 1866; District of Columbia, June 28, 1870; California, March 1, 1872; Kentucky, Statutes of 1873; Mississippi, February 9, 1876; North Dakota, February 16, 1877; Missouri, July 29, 1877; Texas, Statutes of 1879; North Carolina, March 11, 1881; Florida, Acts of 1881; Utah, March 9, 1882; Alabama, February 23, 1883; Oregon, February 26, 1885; Arizona, March 10, 1887; Montana, Territorial Code of 1887; Idaho, July 3, 1890; Washington, February 25, 1891; New Jersey, March 9, 1891; New York, May 18, 1892; Arkansas, April 19, 1895; West Virginia, February 18, 1899; Colorado, April 8, 1903; Indiana, March 4, 1905; Nebraska, 1905; New Mexico, March 15, 1915. Kansas has never declared December 25th to be a legal holiday, although it is, of course, observed as a holiday in that State.

These dates have brought a very genuine feeling of astonishment and surprise. The accepted ideas of the present day about Christmas and its observance are really new.

### *Development of Greeting Cards*

One of the outstanding features in this development is the widespread and ever-growing use of greeting cards. The immediate predecessors of Christmas Cards were the "Christmas Pieces", which date back to 1702, in the reign of Queen Anne, in England. These were specimens of handwriting produced by children under the superintendence of the school master, and were sent to relatives and friends to show what progress the pupils had made during the preceding year.

The first known Christmas Card, made for general distribution, is now in the British Museum, in the department of prints and drawings. The original plate for this card was drawn and etched by W. M. Egley, a lad of sixteen, in 1842.

This first card showed several scenes suggestive of the holiday season. There is a Christmas party, skating, carol singers, distribution of soup, a Punch and Judy show and two figures dancing the Roger de Coverley. Also, it carries a greeting as follows: "A Merry Christmas & A Happy New Year to You," with space for the sender's name.

### *Greeting Cards in the United States*

The first manufacture of Christmas Cards in this country seems to have been undertaken in Roxbury, Massachusetts, by one Louis Prang, a German printer, who was exiled from his own country after the unsuccessful German Revolution in 1848, and who, in 1874, manufactured Christmas Cards, which he shipped to England, for sale there. The following year he undertook their sale in America—and this was the beginning of the Christmas card manufacture in the United States. It was not, however, until about 1906 that the use of greeting cards began to develop as an important element in American life.

The actual use of cards, though spread over the country as a whole, finds its great-

est concentration in the territory included within a 50-mile radius of New York City. This territory alone purchases perhaps 20 per cent of all the greeting cards used in the country. The great population on the Atlantic seaboard is the heaviest purchaser of cards. According to the best information available, the State of New York ranks first in its purchases. Then come Massachusetts; Illinois; Pennsylvania; Ohio; the Pacific Coast; Michigan; Missouri; New Jersey; the area embracing Washington, D.C. and Baltimore; Texas; and finally the New England States outside of Massachusetts, in the order stated.

Since 1932, when we experienced the low point of the depression, the number of cards sold and used has increased astonishingly. In the neighborhood of ninety millions passed through the Metropolitan Postal Area of New York, in 1935—and in 1936 it was estimated that the number had grown to a hundred and five millions.

The designing of greeting cards is, of course, in conjunction with the greetings they bear, the ultimate foundation on which the custom rests. A completely new line of greeting cards is produced every year in this country, and this requires the services of some of the cleverest and most gifted artists in the country.

Every method of reproduction known to the graphic arts is used in producing greeting cards. Each producer has its own staff of artists, under the supervision of an art director, who sometimes actually creates a portion of the line, and also directs, criticizes, and selects the work that will be reproduced in cards for the following season.

Besides regular members of the staff, there are numerous free-lance artists. Many of these never succeed in attracting much attention, but there are others who become noted for originality and initiative. There seems to be no racial monopoly in talent, nor does it appear to be limited to either sex; for women as well as men have attained eminence in this field.

The actual sentiment, however, is the true heart of the custom. This is clearly shown by the fact that more than 95 percent of all cards purchased are cards which carry not only a mere greeting, but also some message of sincere and friendly remembrance.

In carrying these graceful and effective messages of friendship, embodied in a design which itself reinforces the thought and emotion, the greeting card performs a genuine service. The astonishing growth in the use of greeting cards is evidence of a widespread public appreciation of their effectiveness in making new friends and in uniting old ones.

Beautiful as these greeting cards frequently are, and fascinating as is the opportunity they afford for stepping beyond our own limitations in the expression of friendliness and regard, their increasing use may possibly be due, in part, to another motive.

Sales of writing paper have experienced a decline that largely reflects a fundamental change in people's habits. Apparently it is no longer the practice of friends and relatives to write the long and intimate letters of days gone by. Perhaps to some extent the phenomenon of greeting cards is due to the ease with which they discharge a part, at least, of the social obligation which formerly required a letter. Except when definite news, or specific ideas, are to be imparted, this modern development of the greeting card maintains contacts and expresses friendships with an elegance and grace which none but the most talented could ever approximate with letters of their own composition. It would seem that the appropriately chosen greeting card has established a new and higher standard in the art of maintaining friendly contacts with our fellows.

# CHRONICLE OF WAR

## *A military history of the Far Eastern war, showing Japan's plans and China's chances*

**By ANDREW TOLSTOY**
*Writer and Military Authority*

THOUGH the diplomats still persist in calling it a Sino-Japanese controversy or dispute, the hostilities in the Far East have taken the shape of a large scale war of first magnitude, with over a million combatants in the field. The insignificant clash outside of Peiping on July 7 gave the needed pretext for setting the Japanese war machine in motion once again. At that time Japan had only 10,000 troops in North China, and the credible world could well believe that only a limited objective of wresting another slice of Chinese territory was contemplated. It is clear, however, that whatever the extent of Japan's ambitions in China, in terms of territorial or economic gains, her paramount objective is now to crush the anti-Japanese Central Government and Chiang Kai-shek's modernly equipped armed force. This determination is reflected in the following words of Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye: "Japan's best course is to beat China to her knees so she will no longer have any spirit for a fight." This declaration serves as a notice to the world that Japan is fighting for the complete subjugation of China. After that is accomplished an obedient government can be installed in China, and Japan can have her choice of territories and on her own terms. The Japanese grand strategy, it seems, embraced the following broad objectives:

(1) To drive deeper a wedge separating Soviet Russia from China and, by the capture of Kalgan, to cut the last remaining link through which assistance and war supplies could reach China by the northern overland route.

(2) To blockade the coast of China and, by seizure of her ports, to deprive Nanking of one third of its total revenue derived from customs, disrupt foreign trade, and prevent implements of war reaching China by sea routes.

(3) To subject to air bombardment the far-flung provinces to discourage the local war lords from aiding the Central Government, to terrify the population and destroy its will to resist.

(4) To occupy as swiftly as possible the five northern provinces of Hopeh, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung so that their severance from Nanking will become a *fait accompli,* and so that Japan may acquire the rich coal and iron-ore deposits of Shansi as well as the cotton-growing districts to the south.

Reviewing the events and military operations on the two widely separated fronts, one may gain a clear idea of what has been already accomplished by Japan during the first four months of this undeclared war.

### *War Starts in the North.*

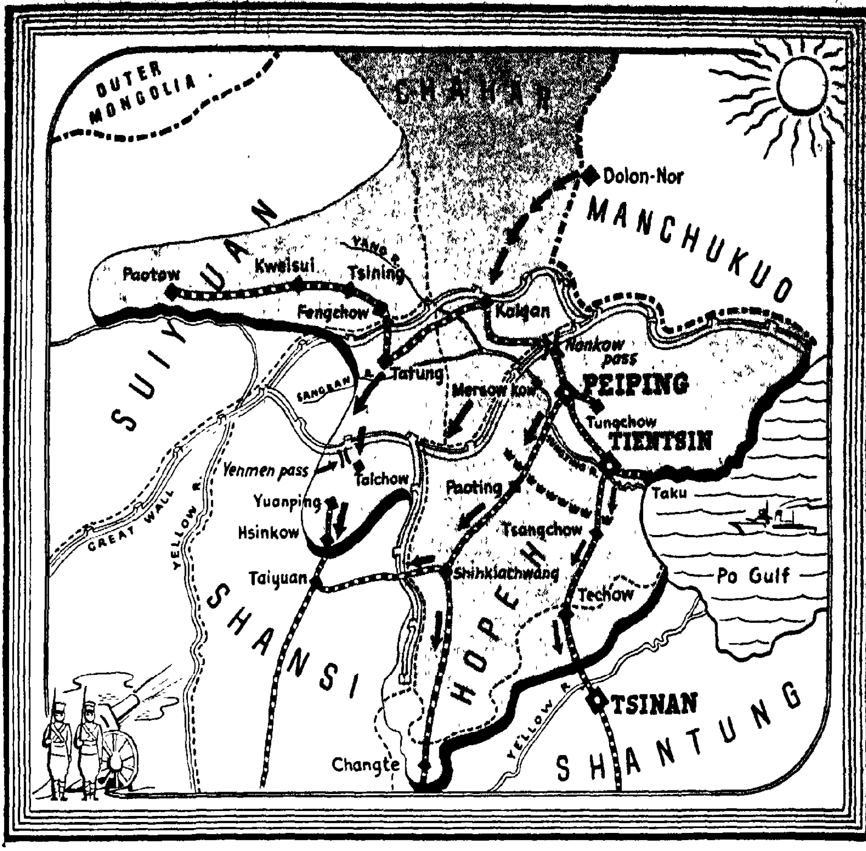
On July 27, a Japanese detachment was trapped in the Peiping city gate and annihilated between the outer and inner walls, which indicated that the withdrawal of the so-called anti-Japanese 37th Division did not preclude Chinese armed resistance in that region. The next day a series of battles began around Peiping and prospects looked not too bright for the Japanese. On July 29, Chinese troops skillfully infiltrated inside the Japanese lines and delivered a surprise attack on Tientsin—the headquarters and main supply base of the Japanese Army in North China. The

attackers captured the railroad station and penetrated into the Japanese concession. The troops of autonomous East Hopeh, armed and trained by the Japanese, revolted against their masters, massacred the Japanese population of Tungchow and, joining hands with the Chinese, harassed the railroad line. By August 2, the Japanese, with only 35,000 troops at hand, managed to avert a major catastrophe and gained complete control in the Peiping-Tientsin area before Nanking troops could arrive on the scene. The next week, Chinese troops started from their Kalgan base to advance along the Suiyuan railroad, threatening to strike from the northwest and menacing the communication lines to the north of Peiping in the Japanese rear. At the same time a terrific typhoon swept over South Manchuria, crippling the railroads and completely disrupting the traffic of Japanese troops and supplies trains. Chinese troops, gathered in considerable strength, just below the Peiping-Tientsin railroad, once again were too slow to take advantage of the extremely dangerous position of their enemy and hesitated to strike. In the face of these perils, the Japanese felt so confident, that on August 8 they staged the triumphal march of their troops through the streets of Peiping to mark the formal occupation of the ancient capital.

To deal with the threat from the north, the Japanese sent 3,000 mechanized troops (subsequently augmented to 15,000 men) to break through mountainous Nankow pass, 30 miles from Peiping, and to advance to Kalgan. Then, for three successive weeks newspaper despatches described this operation as a Japanese offensive through the pass and commented on their slow progress against the defending Chinese troops. The real situation was that the Japanese were on the defensive against the Chinese troops, which, lacking a motorized transport, had to cling to the railroad running through Nankow in their advance on Peiping. The Japanese maneuver consisted of stemming their advance by bottling up the defile, where the Chinese could not deploy and take advantage of their numerical superiority. Simultaneously, another Japanese detachment of Kwangtung army, using the strategic roads and bases of Manchukuo, started the march toward Kalgan from Dolon-nor. Advancing 200 miles across the flat terrain of Northern Chahar, and encountering no resistance, this detachment captured Kalgan from the north, before the southern column cleared Nankow pass on August 27. Chinese troops, caught between two pincers were forced to retreat to the south into the Shansi mountains, leaving the entire stretch of the Suiyuan railroad between Kalgan and Peiping in the hands of the invaders.

Since that time little has been heard of Chinese resistance in the Northwest, the reports merely announcing the names of towns occupied by the Japanese. Their rapid advance progressed in three directions: one column, operating parallel to the southern spur of the Great Wall, prevented the retreating Chinese troops from joining their main forces in Hopeh. The second column, rimming Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia, continued along the railroad to Kweisui, capital of Suiyuan and ultimately to Paotow, terminus of the Suiyuan railroad, 507 miles from Peiping. Finally, the third column branched out after the capture of Tatung on September 14 and pushed southward, along the main highway to Taiyuan, capital of Shansi. The approach to the latter was blocked by mountainous Yenmen Pass, with its elaborate fortifications, erected at a reported cost of $10,000,000. At this point large bodies of Chinese troops were expected to make an effective stand.

Instead of storming the fortified positions, the Japanese forced their way across the mountains through secondary passes and outflanked the Chinese. Yenmen Pass,




thus rendered useless as a blocking fortress, was abandoned by its defenders and fell into Japanese hands on October 2. Relentlessly pushing southward the soldiers of the Mikado for the first time met with the former Chinese Communist Army. The latter, led by famous General Chu-Teh, recently joined hands with its erstwhile arch-enemy, Chiang-Kai-shek, and was incorporated into Chinese National forces as the 8th Route Army. On October 9, the Japanese occupied Yuanping, the railhead of line running 70 miles southward to Taiyuan. At this point their progress was noticeably slowed down. They had marched 130 miles away from their advanced base at Tatung on Suiyuan railway and their insecure lines of communication, passing through mountainous country became exposed and extremely vulnerable. The fresh Chinese troops, upon reaching this front, scattered in small detachments and delivered a series of bold attacks on the Japanese rear. This tactic proved to be much more effective than all the previous attempts at a determined stand, causing serious embarrassment to the invaders and marking the first Chinese successes in retarding the hitherto unchecked Japanese advance.

### *On the Main Front*

While the Japanese western army was swiftly advancing in Shansi and Inner Mongolia, the main front, running parallel to the Peiping-Tientsin railroad, remained comparatively quiet until the beginning of September. The Japanese awaited reinforcements from the homeland. Torrential rains immobilized their mechanized forces,

grounded their planes, and they preferred to remain on the defensive. The feeble attempt to recapture Peiping by encircling the Japanese right flank resulted in a Chinese defeat at Mentowkow on September 4.

The Chinese massed 400,000 troops to block the Japanese advance southward along the Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Nanking railroads (the latter is usually referred to as Tientsin-Pukow line, Pukow being its terminus—a suburb on Yangtze, across the river from Nanking). Gathering strength (now estimated to exceed 300,000 men), the Japanese thrust forward in two spearheads, straddling the railroads, and on September 14 crossed the Yungting river. Chinese troops, having lost their opportunity to strike the negligible forces of their foe when handicapped by boggy roads, were at least expected to offer a stiff defense of positions which they had ample time to prepare and fortify. Instead, the Japanese marched across the North China plain as if nothing stood in their way. Capturing station after station, they moved toward the strongly fortified Chinese line, studded with concrete pillboxes built by German experts in 1935. This line extended from Paoting (capital of Hopeh, 85 miles south of Peiping) to Tsangchow (65 miles from Tientsin on the railroad to Nanking), and here the Chinese were expected to make a prolonged stand. On September 24, however, Japanese vanguards approached within sight of Paoting and, next day, stormed and captured this strategic town. Simultaneously Tsangchow fell into Japanese hands. The entire line of fixed defense works became both untenable and useless.

### *The Turning Point*

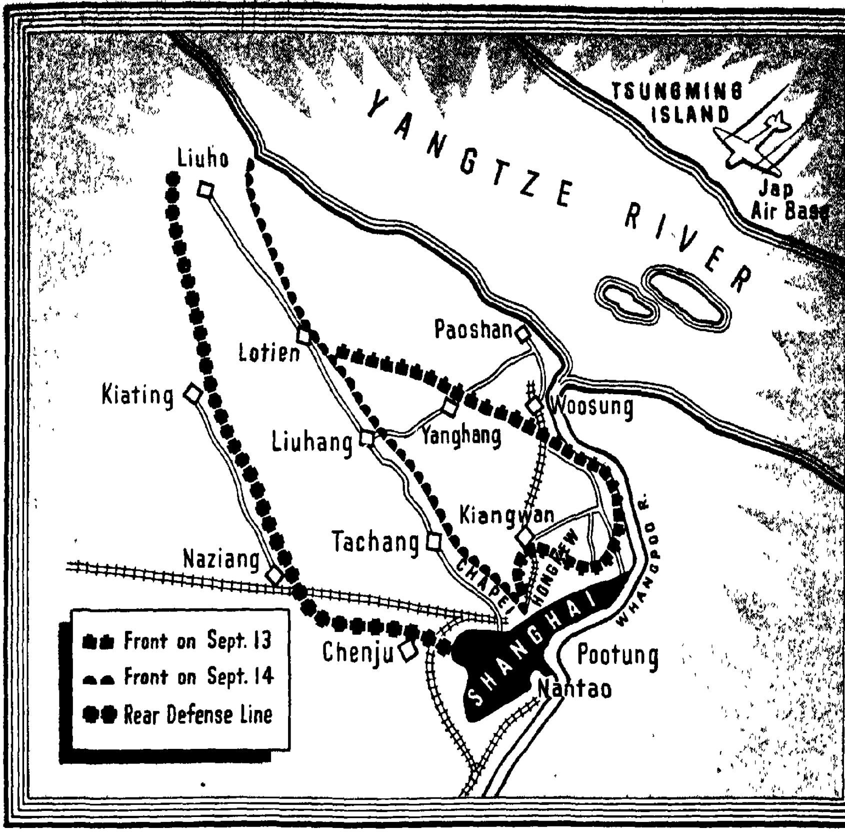
The Japanese continued their rapid advance along both railways, and on October 8 their western column (operating from Peiping) approached Shihkiachwang while their eastern column (moving from Tientsin) crossed the Shantung border and reached a point ten miles north of the Yellow River. Chinese troops, occupying strong positions, stubbornly defended the strategically important Shihkiachwang railway junction, a point from which a line branches out westward to Taiyuan. On October 10 the capture of Shihkiachwang and the crushing defeat of Chinese armies signalized the turning point in the North China campaign. The previous Chinese feeble rearguard actions had had a semblance of a strategic and planned retreat, but after that decisive battle it became a rout. Further south, below the Yellow River, 250 miles away and paralleling the Lunghai railroad, lies the famous "Hindenburg" Line, where the Chinese hope to check the Japanese invasion. But the mere mention of this line is an admission of complete loss of the whole of North China. Furthermore, it was never anticipated that the Japanese would push beyond the stream which constitutes the natural boundary of North China. With the exception of Shantung, which for some obscure reasons of a political nature escaped the invasion, the Japanese army won a complete victory and achieved all its objectives. Toward the end of October, the buffer separating China from sovietized Outer Mongolia was securely established, and Japan seized in North China an area of 197,208 square miles* inhabited by 38 million people.

### *On the Central China Front*

On August 9 two Japanese naval men were killed at Hungjao airport, outside Shanghai, creating a tension, during which the Chinese massed over 35,000 troops against hurriedly erected sandbag defenses

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*In his total is included the whole of the Chahar province (99,928 sq. miles). Northern Chahar (75,000 sq. miles) was dominated by Japan before the start of this campaign but this domination was by political influence and not by military occupation. If Northern Chahar area is excluded, the figure would be 122,000 sq. miles.




held by 5,000 Japanese marines. On August 13, one rifle shot started the battle for Shanghai—a repetition of warfare that took place on the same spot and under similar circumstances in 1932.

The Japanese stratagem was to gain a foothold in Central China and to establish air and naval bases in the Yangtze delta. These bases would facilitate the blockade of China's 2,700 mile long coastline, would permit the spreading of air raids further inland, and ultimately create a threat to Nanking, only 170 miles away. Hostilities on this front were planned to compel Chiang Kai-shek to throw his crack army into the battle and to eliminate the prospect of a long, indecisive campaign with a slow retreat from the North, during which this main force could be kept in reserve until the time when extended communication lines, harassed by guerrilla attacks, would put the worn-out Japanese troops in a precarious position. In addition, the capture of Shanghai would block the outlet to the sea for all the commercial traffic of the Yangtze river, close the port that handles 51 per cent of China's foreign trade and prevent the import of arms and implements of war.

From the very start of hostilities, it became evident that the Chinese possess much more formidable weapons for the defense than they had five years ago, but, contrary to widespread opinion, the efficiency of their troops did not show any marked improvement. The use of airplanes, the markmanship of artillery, and above all the way the troops were led presented a

deplorable spectacle. The troops, as if reinforcing the infuriated Chinese mob, madly charged through narrow streets and were mowed down by withering machine-gun fire, without inflicting losses on the enemy. Outnumbering the Japanese almost ten to one, they were unable to dislodge them from hurriedly erected sandbag barricades and to sweep them into the river. No attempt was made to prevent the ingress of incoming Japanese troopships, nor to block the Whangpoo river at Woosung to cut off the enemy's flotilla in the harbor. Instead of installing batteries in Pootung, from which Japanese warships could be fired upon point blank, and which would subject to artillery barrage all possible places for troop landings in Yangtzepoo, just across the river, the Chinese decided upon a spectacular aerial attack on the enemy's flagship *Izumo*, resulting in the killing of a thousand civilians in the most congested section of the International Settlement! Chinese batteries appeared on Pootung bank only after landings of Japanese troops had been effected, and their close range fire failed to sink or cripple a single warship. Remembering the lessons of 1932, they endeavored to prevent the landing of Japanese on the south bank of Yangtze in their rear. Yet the Japanese succeeded in disembarking troops at Liuho (exactly on the same spot as 5 years ago), under enemy fire, and penetrated eight miles inland to Lotien, across exceedingly difficult terrain, cut by muddy bottomed creeks, ponds and canals, against an overwhelming numerical superiority of Chinese troops, who stood there in wait to prevent this maneuver.

It is undisputable that during these land battles around Shanghai, the Chinese displayed great courage and tenacity. Nevertheless, their poorly led, incoherent divisions could not match the formidable striking power of the Japanese. After exactly one month of bitter fighting, the defending Chinese troops had to admit that the Japanese were firmly established and on September 13 abandoned the sharp salient along the banks of Yangtze and Whangpoo. They retreated, in good order, to a prepared line, running from Liuho to Chapei to shorten the front and to lessen the effectiveness of Japanese naval gun fire. The public imagination was so impressed by the stiff resistance of the Chinese that the real meaning and net results of this battle were overlooked. In the first place the Shanghai battleground is, so to say, an auxiliary front, where, despite minor Chinese successes, the Japanese gained almost all their objectives and were the real victors. The attack on Shanghai diverted 500,000 Chinese troops from the main North front. The Japanese won a foothold around Shanghai, established a first class air base on Tsungming island, blocked the river by permanent concrete forts, erected on Parker islands in the mouth of Yangtze, and closed the port for the Chinese.

In their next objective, to drive the Chinese from the vicinity of International Settlement from which they receive large quantities of supplies, the Japanese are confronted with almost insurmountable difficulties. The Chinese are firmly entrenched on a well conceived, strongly fortified line with concrete pillboxes and dugouts. Their right flank is shielded by the neutral zone of the International Settlement, while the approaches to their left flank are criss-crossed by oozy canals and flooded rice fields, which make the advance of tanks and artillery impossible. Thus, unable to encircle either flank, the Japanese are forced to conduct frontal attacks in the urban built-up section. Consequently the Japanese advance must be slow, but their military ability to pierce the Chinese line of defense is scarcely open to doubt. The outcome of the battle for Shanghai, like the outcome of the war on the whole, is merely

a question of time needed for the Japanese to overcome China's resistance.

***China vs. Japan***

Most foreign observers agree on China's helplessness against the Japanese war machine. To sum up these familiar discussions, the story runs as follows: Japanese industry, long under the tutelage of the General Staff, and now put on a war basis, will turn out all needed munitions and implements of war, while the Japanese fleet will ensure the transport of these supplies to the armies in the field. China, lacking her own munitions industry, with all her ports closed by Japanese blockade, can only hope for imports through foreign leased territories on her coast like Hong Kong, Macao, or Kwangchowwah, entirely dependent on the willingness of the Powers concerned to render this assistance to China. This is further complicated by the fact that these ports are far from present battlegrounds and the imported supplies will have to travel up the single tracked Canton-Hankow railroad, which is already taxed to capacity, clogged with troop-trains and refugees, and can deliver only a drop in the bucket of China's war needs. On the sea Japan is unopposed; in the air her planes outnumber the Chinese ten to one. It is usually pointed out that China's only advantage over Japan lies in her gigantic reservoir of man power.

The bogey of numerical superiority of China's armies and man power reserve is very greatly exaggerated in the popular mind. China's strength is represented on paper by a staggering figure of 1,700,000 men under arms. However, only less than 10 per cent of this figure is a modernly equipped fighting force, trained by German officers in recent years. The rest consists of regional armies, under provincial governors and war lords, untrained, unstandardized in equipment, deficient in artillery, devoid of tanks and aviation, utterly inefficient in the field and at best suitable for guerrilla warfare only. A large portion of these armed hordes from the outlying provinces never will be brought into play, or reaching the front will become cannon fodder. The total population of China and Japan, determining the ultimate figure of man-power reserve, compares as follows: Japanese Empire, including Korea, Formosa, Sakhalin, Kwangtung, and mandated islands, has 99,456,262 subjects as against China's total of 370,000,000 which includes also the outlying domains, under purely nominal Chinese suzerainty and completely detached from China proper. Since Japan was able to form an army of 100,000 in Manchuria, it will be just to add its population of 29,606,117 to Japan's side, bringing her total to 129,062,379 (exceeding that of the U.S.!). The occupation of North China and the Yangtze delta will alienate or at least neutralize 100,000,000 people; this must be deducted from China's total, bringing the ratio to only 2:1. The belief that almost every man, woman and child becomes a potential sniper behind the Japanese lines is utterly ridiculous and is refutable by the fact that during the fierce battles around Peiping and Tientsin, Chinese coolies unloaded Japanese ships with munitions, Chinese gendarmes guarded the tracks, and Chinese engineers drove Japanese troop trains. But most striking of all is the ability of Japan to muster an army in 95 per cent Chinese Manchuria and to lead that army against China!

It seems that despite her military reverses, the crumbling of her defense lines and the loss of vast territory, China still has spirit for a fight. Her hopes are that, with deeper penetration into the roadless expanses of China, the scattered Japanese forces will become more vulnerable to guerrilla warfare and surprise attacks in their rear, and that the prolongation of the struggle will increase the probability of intervention.

# LABOR IN AMERICA, IV

## *The fight to organize the coal industry has brought labor on to a wider stage*

### By HERBERT HARRIS

*This is the fourth of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early in 1938. The fifth installment will appear in the January issue of* Current History.



BY THE turn of the century, the United Mine Workers had enlisted 10,000 members largely as the result of a successful 12-week strike in the bituminous area of the Central Competitive Field. The union had gained recognition which by itself had stiffened its morale and widened its reputation as a going concern. Its leaders felt that it was prepared to extend its influence by invading anthracite. But here it bucked up against a resistance as strong and stubborn as the British squares against which Napoleon's hussars spent themselves, losing Waterloo.

The operators of the "anthracite monopoly"—extending over a region of 500 square miles in eastern Pennsylvania—were few and well-organized. They were also tough. Especially hard-boiled was Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Reading and Philadelphia Railroad that controlled about 70 per cent of America's hard coal output and was in turn dominated by the House of Morgan. Mr. Baer was king-pin among the operators and their most vigorous spokesman. He believed unions in general to be spawn of Satan and the United Mine Workers in particular to be the earthly incarnation of Beelzebub. On the other hand, the hard coal miners who were averaging around $22.00 a month for a 10-hour day tended to look upon the union as if it were very much of a delivering angel. Whereas during the previous twenty years, profits had mounted and dividend slices had grown large and delectable enough to sate the appetite of almost any financial gourmet, wages had remained at 1880 levels.

For two years, 1899–1900, union organizers had sought to crystallize such discontents, pointing out that their causes could be removed only if and when unionism arrived in hard coal. Yet this vanguard of the United Mine Workers found the route rough and progress slow. There were 20 nationalities with which to deal—tongues enough for a new Babel with all the hatreds and misunderstandings of its "race memories" and religious differences. Many miners, moreover, suffered from the trauma of former failures to build a union. They were frightened by the prospect of reprisals against union adherents since the operators who ran anthracite had from the beginnings maintained rigid and reciprocal blacklists.

Despite such obstacles, however, the union's evangelists had brought 7800 miners into the fold in mid-summer, 1900. Late in August, they drew up a list of demands for (a) an increase in wages, (b) abolition of company stores, (c) the elimination of company doctors, and (d) reduc-

tions in the price of powder which the miners were compelled to buy from the company at $2.75 a keg while the same keg sold for $1.10 in the open market. They formally submitted their proposals to the operators who ignored them with the silence of a steam-calliope. On September 17, a strike was called and three days later, despite the small membership of the union itself, more than 90 per cent of the 143,000 employees quit work.

Joyously Mr. Baer girded his loins for battle. But the cagey Mark Hanna, G.O.P. national boss, wouldn't let him fight—at least not just then.

A presidential election impended. William McKinley was running for his second term; and the Republican Party, as the political appendage of Big Ownership, wanted to avoid anything that might be made into an unpleasant campaign issue—especially in Pennsylvania, a key State, where in 1896 the majority of miners had voted for William Jennings Bryan.

Hence Hanna went over the heads of the operators to J. P. Morgan himself; and at the latter's signal the operators reversed themselves with the speed of expediency and the grumblings of doubt. They yielded to the miners to the small extent of granting a 10-per-cent raise in pay and cutting the price of powder 45 per cent leaving everything else to future negotiation.

The head of the United Mine Workers, the dark and morbid-minded John Mitchell who looked like a gypsy and acted like a banker, accepted this concession as a starting point for getting more later on, and the men returned to work.

A state of armed truce prevailed for two years thereafter. The miners were still dissatisfied and the operators felt the same way about it.

The showdown came on June 2, 1902 when the operators scorned the union's ultimatum of 8 hours a day with no decrease in wages. Pumpmen, firemen, engineers were the first to abandon their posts. Meantime the operators had made preparations to transform every colliery into a base for military maneuvers. Within 48 hours more than 3,000 of the private "Coal and Iron" police, with their shining hob-nailed boots, their shiny holsters and revolvers, their shiny silver buttons on blue uniforms, were hired along with 1000 "special operatives" garbed in less costly rainment, to guard shaft and breaker and washery that soon were surrounded with stockades and barbed-wire fences. Promptly from Boston and New York trains rolled in, carrying strikebreakers herded into freight cars, recruited almost equally from new immigrants and thugs. The Lehigh Valley Coal Company began to evict all striking miners and their families, bag and baggage, from its endless rows of company-owned hovels.

In retaliation, the strikers in nearby cities such as Wilkes-Barre instituted a boycott. They placed on their "unfair lists" any business establishment that supplied the needs of the imported strikebreakers or of local workers who refused to lay down their tools.

After the first days of the strike call, the mines for all practical purposes were closed, mainly for lack of skilled manpower. They were, furthermore, endangered by the possibility of fire, explosion, and flood, since half of the imported workers were more accustomed to find their way around saloons, jails, whore-houses, and gambling dives than in a coal mine; and the other half, the "greenhorns" were still trying to find their way around the United States.

Tonnage dropped gradually to a low of 5 per cent of the total, salvaged from culm banks. For a while, the operators were baffled. Then a "Citizens Alliance" which was to have its successor in virtually every major strike up to the present-day, was set up at the behest of company executives. It comprised superintendents, foremen,

clerks, and various business and professional and political people who, for one reason or another, preferred to line up on the company's side. It hit out against the boycott.

### *The U. M. W. Meets*

Meantime, Mitchell who was a well-meaning man, a vice-president of the A. F. of L., and Gompers' white-haired boy and heir apparent, kept trying to prevent a general "sympathetic strike" from spreading to the soft-coal fields. To thresh out this question, 768 anthracite and 1,416 bituminous delegates attended a national convention of the United Mine Workers, held at Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, on July 17, 1902.

On the floor debate was pungent and prolonged, The hard-coal emissaries, along with quite a few of their soft-coal brethren, contended that if the anthracite miners were licked, the operators in bituminous would likewise seek to destroy the union in their regions, too. The advocates of this view pointed out, further, that whereas anthracite was burned mainly for household uses and bituminous for mills and factories and railroads, the one type of coal in many cases could be substituted for the other during times of shortage. On the other hand, the majority of soft coal representatives, led by Mitchell himself, insisted that they were in duty and honor bound to abide by their contracts with the operators which were to expire the following year on April 1, 1903, and which excluded strike action.

And Mitchell's insistence that the union keep faith with the operators was but the logical application of what had already become and still essentially remains, the official philosophy of the United Mine Workers: that differences between labor and management in coal should be settled by joint discussion and that the terms of the ensuing bargain should be clearly specified in a written contract which must be binding in spirit and letter upon both sides.

Behind Mitchell's devotion to this creed was a good deal of practical insight. He had himself come up from the ranks. He knew from personal experience that the miners in soft coal had struggled, step by step, to stabilize employment in their industry by means of collective agreements with the employers. He knew further that to violate this variety of pact, whatever the temptation, would have injured his union immeasurably. It would have given the operators the opportunity to go to the public and say that since the United Mine Workers refused to abide by its pledges, even when set down in black and white, it was quite obviously irresponsible and untrustworthy and that therefore there was nothing to be gained by recognizing it or negotiating with it.

In the anthracite fields, in the haze of Pennsylvania's harsh July heat, most mines were idle and the strikers wouldn't budge. Neither would the operators. The summer dragged on with the *New York Times* becoming restive, urging the companies to take a firmer stand. "The duty of the operators," it declared, "is to begin mining coal without delay." Churchmen all over the country voiced the same sentiment, embellished it.

Using this and similar preachments as text, the Citizens Alliance began a campaign of hand-feeding reporters, circulating the most incredible and hair-raising tales of violence and lawlessness on the part of strikers despite the fact that they had adopted the tactics of passive resistance and would neither "work nor riot" though they were offered ample inducements to do either or both. By mid-August the strikers had sacrificed $12,700,000 in wages in what was becoming a war of attrition. Their credit had been shut off by many local retailers because the coal companies, through their New York banking connec-

tions, and "cracked down" on wholesale houses, insisting that they demand cash on the line for all merchandise shipped to stores in the strike vicinity.

By the middle of September the general public began personally to feel the repercussions of the conflict. As the supply of anthracite dwindled, profiteers boosted the price from $6.00 to $10.00 to $15.00 to $20.00 a ton. The poor—who bought their coal by pail or basket—paid $28.00 and $30.00 a ton.

In a final push to shatter the solidity of the strikers, the operators, through the Governor, called out the militia. Five regiments of infantry and two of cavalry patrolled Olyphant, Wilkes-Barre, Shenandoah, Lebanon. They didn't do much good. They could parade. They could stand guard. They could patronize the saloons and try to date up the girls. But they couldn't mine coal. The deadlock continued.

Meanwhile Roosevelt I had succeeded the assassinated McKinley and late in August he began casting about for ways and means of ending the dispute. He summoned Morgan and then Mitchell to the White House. The latter, at least, was impressed. He had been brought up in poverty; his mother had been a washerwoman and he had to deliver laundry baskets while the other boys were playing backlot baseball. He had developed an inferiority complex a mile long and twice as wide.

The President submitted to him the proposal that Morgan and his ace brain-truster, Robert Bacon, had fashioned. They recommended that a commission be appointed by the President to settle the question. While the commission was investigating, however, the miners were to return to their jobs; and both sides were to accept the commissions awards as binding for three years. There was a joker, however. The commission was to include an army or navy engineer, a mining engineer, an eminent sociologist, and a Federal judge from the Eastern Pennsylvania district. No labor representative was to be allowed—a proviso that expressed Morgan's seigneurial view that serfs should be seen but not heard.

To remedy this lack of labor representation, Mitchell urged that a priest be added to the commission since most of the miners were Catholic and might by this method be induced to accept a body that otherwise was a surrogate for "the propertied classes." T. R. approved, selected Bishop John Spalding of Illinois.

Then, trailing clouds of vicarious glory, Mitchell returned to Wilkes-Barre to offer this arbitration scheme to delegates of the anthracite miners. They didn't like it. They were angry that no labor spokesman was to sit with the commission. They distrusted E. E. Clark, Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, who out of the bedlam of T. R.'s mind had been named as the "eminent sociologist" perhaps because he had a non-aromatic record of strike-breaking during the Pullman walkout.

In addition, the tentative outline of the agreement with the operators didn't provide for the more than 5,000 firemen, engineers, and pumpmen who had really begun the strike, had had the least to gain and the most to lose, and who had had their posts taken over by non-union men. Mitchell replied that he was very sorry about it and while "it may be true that some will be sacrificed, and much as we shall regret that, I desire to say that no battle was ever won that didn't carry with it some victims."

After two days of similar argument, Mitchell persuaded the men to accept the Morgan-Bacon truce. On October 23 they returned to the mines and next day the commission began its hearings.

It examined 558 witnesses, in Scranton, in Philadelphia. And on March 18, 1903, it delivered its verdict which specified: (a) a 10 per cent increase in the rates paid contract miners, retroactive to November 1,

1902; (b) an 8-hour day for engineers, pumpmen, and firemen and a 9-hour day for all others; (c) a sliding wage scale with a one per cent increase for each five-cent advance in the selling price of coal at New York City over $4.50 a ton f.o.b. It established an arbitration board comprising 6 persons, 3 to be chosen by the operators and 3 by the miners, to iron out difficulties that might arise under the terms of the new pact. Yet the commission dodged the issue of union recognition by quibbling the point that Mitchell in negotiations had not represented the United Mine Workers *in toto* but only the anthracite miners, a conclusion that was more jesuitical than just.

The miners felt betrayed. They had struggled for five months. They had undergone incredible privations with that sullen and proud tenacity notable among men who work in the pit. They had lost $25,000,000 in wages. They had received no assurance that a miner still wouldn't be fired for joining a union. They had saved Mitchell's face, causing him to be praised in the press as the most "enlightened and progressive labor leader of this generation." They didn't think that such *kudos* was worth their suffering. They looked forward to the expiration of the agreement in 1906 when, they promised themselves, "we'll build a real union and make it stick." But to do that they had to wait a long time.

### *Towards a New Union*

In 1920 Warren Gamaliel Harding was elected President of the United States and John L. Lewis was elected president of the United Mine Workers Union of America. In terms of the future, the latter was the more important event.

For some years Lewis, as vice-president of the union, had functioned as its chief in fact, if not in name, since its official head, Frank J. Hayes divided his time almost equally between getting drunk and going to sanatoria seeking by means of Keeley Cures to vanquish a dipsomania as tragic as it was invincible.

His successor was 40 years old. He even then looked like a cross between a ham Shakespearian actor and an idealized statue of labor's might. He was six feet tall, of vast bulk, with wild and wiry hair and beetling eyebrows. His chin was a crag of flesh; and his eyes held the gaze of the miner who toils in the pit towards the sun. His voice was resonant with all the tremolo-to-thunder range of a Wurlitzer organ. He was immensely intelligent; his energy was inexhaustible, his intellectual curiosity endless; and he was animated by the implacable conviction that he was chosen by destiny to hew great ends.

He was well qualified for his new post. He knew mining and miners. He had started out digging coal in Lucas, Iowa, at the age of 17. He had risen by quick stages from committee head of his local, to its representative at union conventions. In 1911 he had been picked out by Gompers as a man of singular promise and appointed Field and Legislative Representative for the A. F. of L. He was hence enabled to travel around the country a great deal, observing much at first hand, peddling the wares of unionism in steel, in glass, in lumber and in copper for five and a half years. Impressed by his minute knowledge of the coal industry, which he studied by day and by night, John P. White, then president of the United Mine Workers named him the union's statistician in 1916. Lewis had more than a gift for figures. He was a politician born; and his advancement within his union was as meteor-like as it was merited by unusual abilities. When he became its president, moreover, he inherited an extremely prosperous and going concern, esteemed by its fellow unions in the A. F. of L. as well as by the public.

Some five months after the Armistice was signed, however, the union held a convention on September 11, 1919, in Cleveland, Ohio where 2,000 delegates, with Lewis presiding as acting president, voted for a 60 per cent increase in pay, a 6-hour day and a 5-day week. They justified this somewhat sudden and startling maneuver by saying in effect that the profiteers—among whom coal operators were particularly prominent—had made millions as the carnage had called forth capacity production of American mines. It was time, said that union, that the miners' right to share a little in such enormous gains should be recognized.

When its triune demand was placed before the coal operators, however, they rejected it with what amounted to oral apoplexy. In reply, union officials convening on October 23, announced that a strike covering both soft and hard coal fields would be called on November 1.

Mr. Wilson responded by speeding through Congress a set of sharp resolutions supporting his position. In turn Lewis accused him and the United States cabinet of allying themselves with sinister Wall Street influences in the attempt to "deny justice to labor and to precipitate our country into industrial turmoil."

Meantime the newspapers had whipped up the public into a frenzy of alarm over the prospects of a coal shortage, here and abroad. The projected strike was in fact going to set off world-wide repercussions.

### *The Strike Starts*

Despite such domestic and foreign pressures, the strike was called on schedule, picks were stacked and work whistles blew in vain. The next day, November 2, 800 Federal troops entrained from Camp Taylor, Ohio for duty in West Virginia coal fields. The Governors of Utah and Wyoming called out the national guard. After the first week the coal stoppage which (save for non-union and marginal mines which were re-opened by the hundred) was almost complete. It had forced nine Chicago factories to shut down, throwing 25,000 men out of work. In nearby Gary, Indiana, the great steel plants were closed and in Kansas City (Mo.) schools were discontinued.

On November 8, Mr. T. T. Brewster, spokesman for the coal operators, made an appalling discovery. The strike, he announced, had been directly inspired by Bolsheviks Lenin and Trotsky and financed by Moscow gold. Lewis denied that he had even received a ruble and asked for proof and Brewster backed down while the papers played up the story for three days.

The Federal Government through its psychotic seiner of red-herrings, Attorney-General Palmer, had prevailed upon United States Justice A. B. Anderson in Indianapolis to issue a restraining order against United Mines Workers officials, forbidding them to go ahead with their widespread walkout. The American Federation of Labor, after a few days in which to become properly aghast, joined the war of words by thundering that "The government injunction is so autocratic as to be staggering."

Editorial writers compared the situation with the memorable anthracite strike of 1902. They reminded their readers that then the operators had been distinctly at fault and that an "aroused public opinion" had finally brought them to book.

They could with reason put the onus of the strike upon the collective "greed and callousness" of the operators and denounce them further for artificially restricting coal output to hike prices and for arranging scandalous rebates from railroads with which the coal companies were financially linked. Yet to risk any further extension of the fast-mounting public antagonism and government hostility towards the un-

ion was a course suited only to the romantics of the barricade school.

On December 7, therefore, Lewis—accompanied by the union's plump, urbane and very hard-working Secretary-Treasurer, William Green—conferred with President Wilson in the White House study which had been the scene of a similar meeting with the operators the day before. That night a strike settlement was announced. Its terms called for an immediate 14 per cent increase in wages and left other questions to the judgment of an impartial commission to be established at once.

But the union's troubles, despite the moral lift of this victory and the setting up of the new Coal Commission, had only just begun. The war of words which had beclouded basic strike issues was soon replaced by a battle of "facts and figures" which has continued up to the present and which has tended to make the coal industry a statisticians' paradise during the past two decades. By 1920, of course, the idea of an advance agreement had been well implanted in the minds of operators and the union alike, the former looking upon it as an inescapable evil which could be perhaps circumvented and the latter regarding it as the beginning of wisdom. In any event, to achieve a basis for negotiations, each side invoked the high gods of correlation analysis. The subjective quality of mathematics has never been more apparent. Despite such bickerings, however, the contest for power had been shifted, during the 1920's, from the tipple to the conference table, and the result of this newer kind of bargaining was embodied in contracts of law.

Yet the union's equanimity was definitely disturbed by many long bitter strikes which occurred not only when operators refused to renew wage-scale agreements but also when miners in un-organized areas sought concessions, objected to cuts in pay. For in the roaring 20's coal remained the sick giant among the titans of American industry. Water power and oil in supplying extraneous energy encroached more and more upon coal's domain. The incredible inefficiency of a good deal of mine management, antiquated methods, refusal to install technological improvements which the union, with great foresight, recommended even at the risk of displacing man-power, combined with the old evils of over-development to infect the United Mine Workers with the same ailment that kept the doctors hovering anxiously around the bedside of King Coal.

### *Coal Capital Moves South*

During this same period, moreover, coal capital like that for textiles went south. Hundreds of new non-union mines were being opened below the Mason-Dixon line where Lincoln's abolition of Negro slavery had only paved the way for a new industrial peonage of both black and white. In Alabama, in Tennessee, in Kentucky employers were notoriously and ruthlessly "open-shop." Union organizers seeking to invade such areas were murdered, beaten, ridden on rails, tarred and feathered, and otherwise treated to fine old Southern hospitality. In West Virginia the companies employed the same tactics of tyranny with such rigor that union membership in that state dwindled from 10,000 in 1920 to less than 600 in 1929.

Everywhere operators were more or less candidly voicing the belief that if they were going to make profits at all they would be compelled to "take it out of labor's hide."

The very agreements which Lewis cherished almost wrecked his career and often split the union into warring factions and broke the grounds for the seeds of communist sowing. For such pacts presented a double dilemma.

Along with other top-officials in the United Mine Workers like the able, canny

Philip Murray, Lewis [illegible] tried to organize all labor in coal. But when union missionaries were slain or railroaded out of mining communities where free speech was only a phrase, nothing much else could be done than to safeguard strongholds already built up in union territory and await a more propitious turn of events. But when non-union miners went out on strike they would insist that Lewis call out all the other workers in coal, whether covered by a contract with the owners or not. The theory was that only a major coal stoppage could focus enough attention upon the cause of the original strikers to force the operators to meet with them and come to terms. Obviously if union mines continued to produce while non-union were closed, there would be no general coal shortage, no big headlines, no investigations, no intervention by the Federal government.

Quite as obviously, Lewis believed, that if he called a strike in violation of the contract signed with an operator who was living up to its provisions, the job of ultimately obtaining this kind of an agreement for the whole industry would be immeasurably impeded, if not made impossible. He was, after all, a "business" unionist who prided himself upon his realism. But neither this line of reasoning nor the strategy it entailed impressed miners who were virtually starving as serfs in non-union pits. Even in his own union there were "outlaw" or unauthorized strikes while Communists like William Z. Foster sought to canalize growing discontents among the rank and file into rival organizations or movements to oust Lewis from his "despotic and autocratic" rule. In response he indulged in some of the most vicious and vitriolic and contemptible red-baiting that this whole period of anti-Bolshevik hysteria records. Everyone who fought him was excoriated as a minion of Moscow and in meeting after meeting parliamentary procedure was flattened out by the steam-roller of the Lewis machine.

His own progressive lieutenants like John Brophy and Powers Hapgood who were respectively to become Director of the C.I.O. and head of the United Shoe Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, openly accused him of "betraying" 75,000 miners in pits owned by the United States Steel Corporation when he refused to send funds or organizers to aid this great non-unionized group.

In the mid-twenties, with his vexations mounting daily, he took time off to write a book—perhaps to take stock of himself and his union by putting things down on paper. It was a revealing book, as significant in what it said as in what it omitted. In economics it showed its author to be an advocate of laissez-faire, still loyal to the thesis that under a system of free enterprise the ultimate prosperity of all is to be assured by the utmost efforts of everyone to better his own condition.

### *Lewis' Knowledge Without Power*

Yet ironically though Lewis in both theory and fact knew more about the coal industry than any other man in the United States, it was a knowledge almost without power. He and his union were unable to cope with the new growth of holding company and interlocking directorate which, through the House of Morgan and the House of Mellon, fused steel, motors, railroads, and coal into a single financial empire that, among other things, furnished its own fuel and favored the open shop. And as the rest of American business moved swiftly towards the debacle of Black October, 1929, coal was already disintegrating as competition with other fuels and between operators kept lowering profits, wages and morale. Even the famous "Jacksonville Agreement" hailed as ushering in another "new era" soon had a host of chiselers who looked upon their "contractual obligations" as scraps of paper. Miners in

many places were receiving $3.00 a day for a two or three day week; and although in 1924 the union had reached an all-time high in membership, having on its rolls 497,000 of the 700,000 men employed, the prolonged depression in coal, intensified in 1925–26–27, provoked countless defections. Palpably the dual strategy of the union—(1) to stabilize the central soft coal areas by strict adherence to contract and (2) to organize the Southern and Western mines to prevent the under cuttings of non-union operators—had failed on both counts. In desperation Lewis and other officials took the attitude that the interplay of "natural forces" would drive inefficient, uneconomic, mines out of the industry, would force superfluous labor into other occupations. The underlying belief was that "laws of supply and demand" and the "survival of the fittest" would soon or late cause something nice to happen in coal. But both Adam Smith and Charles Darwin failed Lewis and the United Mine Workers.

And as the result of this "do nothing" policy, Lewis became a much hated man among the rank and file. They wanted him to "do something." But he seemed at this time to be quite as bewildered and thwarted as they were themselves.

### *New Deal Days*

Then came Roosevelt and the early hectic days of the New Deal. Summoned by brain-truster Raymond Moley to help draft recovery legislation, Lewis submitted the Davis-Kelly bill not only as a method of stabilizing the coal industry but also as a model for the new business-government-labor relationship that was emerging from the capital's bedlam. The principles of this measure formed a complete about-face of the traditional United Mine Workers' creed and of Lewis' own economic views. From an apostle of "let us alone" he had become an advocate of "give us a plan."

When this thesis was written into NIRA's section 7a, Lewis saw his chance to do or die. He did. He did very effectively. He gambled the last $75,000 in the union's treasury upon a bold brilliant organizing campaign, so successfully planned and executed that after a meeting in Williamson, West Virginia, 4,200 new inspired miners signed up within two hours. He drove himself to the uttermost limits of his gargantuan strength. Cars and trucks, banners and flares, slogans and prayers of rejoicing were hurled with an inspired corps of organizers into the coal fields, North, South, East, West. "The law is on our side!" they chanted. "The government's with us," they cried. "John L. and the president are buddies, I'm telling you," they said. And within 2 months the United Mine Workers was bigger and more powerful than ever before with more than 515,000 dues-paying members watching moves at Washington with a new-born interest, and with high hope.

And with this single magnificent stroke, John L. Lewis had redeemed himself, recovered a lost prestige. At 53 a new career had opened up for him and for his union. Both were ready to play a larger role on a greater stage.

# AUSTRALIA AWAITS A CUE

***There are problems and also programs, but the antipodeans need leadership***

By C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

*Author, Now Studying Australian Problems*

THE Australian dilemma is painfully clear in the field of population. As a people, the Australians are infatuated with the idea of a large population; they believe that they have a moral obligation to increase the number of residents to the full extent of the resources of the continent. In the contemporary world, this is also interpreted as a political obligation—the only effective answer to competitive peoples who look longingly at Australia's so-called "vast open spaces."

Traditionally the task would be accomplished in the first place by getting more and more people on the land—in Australian terms, by facilitating closer settlement. This policy is still active today. Since the boundaries within which the development must take place are pretty much defined by rainfall, the policy is implemented by reducing the size of the farming or pastoral units in the well-watered districts, and by more intensive use of existing irrigation facilities or building new ones. Australia does not have large areas of farm land absolutely unoccupied. But smaller farm units—assuming that their feasibility is proved—and more irrigated farms, means more producers for the commercial market. To quote a recent release of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research:

> Experience during the last two decades, and especially in recent years, has demonstrated how difficult it is to effect any great extension of the markets for Australian agricultural and pastoral products. Yet a very substantial increase in primary production would be required to provide a large additional field of employment, particularly because mechanization and improved yields have been causing a falling off in the numbers employed.

The old-line policy is, therefore, viewed with scepticism by the more informed section of the public, but it is continued by the governments (settlement is a state matter), though at a declining rate. Incidentally, the C.S.I.R. is doing a great deal to intensify production on existing units, and so are other agencies—thus multiplying the problem of disposing of the produce.

The tendency is, therefore, to throw more and more emphasis on secondary industries. The C.S.I.R. declaration is both authoritative and typical:

> . . . for Australia to augment her population more rapidly than is possible by natural increase, and, at the same time, to provide employment for increased numbers, . . . emphasizes the importance of all measures for stimulating secondary production.

But, by some strange lapse in logic, it is apparently overlooked that the multiplication of secondary industries, while theoretically providing the basis for a larger population, has not yet given evidence that it can do so at a rate sufficiently rapid to absorb the annual recruits to the labor market, let alone take in thousands from overseas. Moreover, as is occasionally pointed out in Australia, the only historical example of a country fitted for extensive primary production which has industrial-

ized, is the United States. In this instance, industrialization went hand in hand with increased primary production for export. If the latter factor is subtracted from the Australian equation, how can industrialization be achieved? Apparently only on the basis of the existing population plus a small increment each year, chiefly of local origin. Obviously a population of 6,800,000 provides a very inadequate base for manufacturing as organized in the modern world. Mass production is the objective usually striven for today. This was not true when the industrialization of the United States was originally carried out. To develop Australia on the basis of small-scale industry in a mass-production world may be intolerably expensive.

### *Empire Ties*

Moreover, it is also frequently overlooked that the development of the United States took place largely during a period when the world market was not reckoned anything like saturated—in a world indeed where the United States as a great exporter was only beginning to be a factor, in which Canada, Argentina and Australia were relatively unimportant, and in which industrialized Japan did not exist. To industrialize Australia today means slowly to cut down her imports at a time when markets are at a premium for countries already industrialized. It means also, slowly disrupting the home industries of her principal supplier, the United Kingdom, thus reducing the power of the latter to absorb the primary produce of Australia. At present, the United Kingdom is Australia's chief market. Economic nationalism in Europe has cut the European market to the bone. Japan's rise means a relative increase in consumption of Australian exports, but trade cannot be on a one-way basis and, in Australia, Japanese manufactures are resisted because they displace United Kingdom products. Tomorrow they may be barred as competing with Australian manufactures.

And so one goes whirling around, seeking an outlet from the tangle which Australia, like all the nations, inhabits. Currently re-armament has given the world economic system a fillip, but it is hardly a basis on which to build a substantial future, and the stimulation Australia gets out of it may be most significant as the reason why facing the fundamental problem was postponed.

### *White Australia*

Even from the narrow standpoint of the kind of people she would like to absorb, Australia's case is difficult. The dogmatic, immutable, White-Australia policy is the least part of it. Australia is also aggressively British. Though the statisticians point out the difficulty of an exact analysis, the boast is that Australians are 95-98% British stock. They don't intend that that percentage be appreciably reduced through immigration. Yet the countries allegedly seeking outlets for population—Japan, Italy and Germany—are not British. Of these, only the Italians have thus far shown any partiality for Australia. (The Japanese are barred by law.) According to the 1933 Census (the latest) there were 17,658 Italians in Australia, 12,755 of whom had arrived since 1921. They constituted .0026% of the population and also constituted, in Australian eyes, a "problem," chiefly because they tend to congregate in areas of intensive agriculture: the sugar growing region of tropical Queensland and the irrigated section of New South Wales. This should make it plain that Australia intends to remain British!

### *"Pauper Shoveling"*

Unfortunately the British population experts are emphasizing that the British people will begin to decline in numbers in about a decade, and once begun the

decline will be rapid. In spite of depressed areas, it becomes an open question as to whether migration overseas should be encouraged. Especially is it an open question when Australia makes it plain that she won't ratify anything savoring of "pauper shoveling"; when rearmament puts a premium on the skilled workers Australia might welcome to build her secondary industries; and when a new war may well put a premium on England's resident manpower whatever its work-history. The United Kingdom as a source of immigrants seems to be of declining significance; and Australia thus far looks hopefully at no other.

Of course it is not at all clear that Australia can absorb immigrants in considerable numbers in the visible future, but if she can it will be because of her ability to increase production. With this in mind, Australia's governors are devoting a good deal of attention to irrigation projects, to water storage in pastoral areas, and to such conservationary projects as the control of soil erosion.

### *Australian Labor*

Leaving these generalizations, let us consider some of the social problems confronting the Australian people. Here we encounter organized labor. In Australia, labor must be approached from two angles, trade union and political, even though they are inextricably intertwined.

Political labor, the Australian Labor Party, grew out of the disastrous strikes of the 'nineties. Originally an aggressive movement, it has gradually taken on policies which it supports in common with the conservative parties, among them the tariff, defense, development and public works, marketing arrangements (as outlined), and the industrial arbitration courts. In fact, it is to be differentiated from the conservative parties chiefly because it places slightly more emphasis on the social services than its rivals. Even this is not a clear differentiation, however, because the stress the conservatives place on activities in this field varies with the political pressure exerted upon them. The A.L.P. is a decadent organization, not so vastly different from its prototype in the United Kingdom in current character, even though it still officially declares for socialization. In practice, it gets little beyond social service capitalism, loosely conceived. Its official leader, John Curtin, recently declared:

> . . . for the last 25 years the Labor movement has been largely a stand-pat movement.

Nor are the trade unions much more lively. The great days are in the past. Struggles such as are sweeping the world today "scare" the leaders. They complacently interpret the C.I.O. as an American effort belatedly to achieve what they have long since won. An aggressive Roman Catholic minority, taking its cue from the Church, supports General Franco in Spain, and pro-Government resolutions are passed "amid scenes of disorder." The Communist Party of Australia is officially spat upon. (This is also true of the A.L.P.'s attitude.) But left-wing unions in coal and railroads have appeared and promise to stir things up a bit if the leaders can maintain their positions. Unionism, by and large, is bureaucratism, with the Secretaries as the chief bureaucrats.

Much history enters into the explanation of this condition, but involvement in the industrial arbitration courts is an important factor. Especially is this true in respect to wages which are, through the courts, adjusted up and down in response to the movement of cost of living indices; and it is also true with regard to working conditions. Strikes to force wages and conditions above court-fixed levels do occur, and they are hopeful signs of labor vitality. Current union agitation centers around an

increase in basic wage awards to catch up with rising cost of living—and perhaps a bit more—and the 40-hour week.

### *Leaderless Labor*

Australian labor "took a licking" during the depression, and took it quietly, and it has not yet reasserted itself. It is sometimes argued that a political success in the forthcoming Commonwealth elections would revive it. But there is remarkably little doing intellectually in Australian labor in any case, and any activity would be traditionalist in character. Australian labor radicalism is a myth at present. There is no Sir Stafford Cripps to brighten the scene!

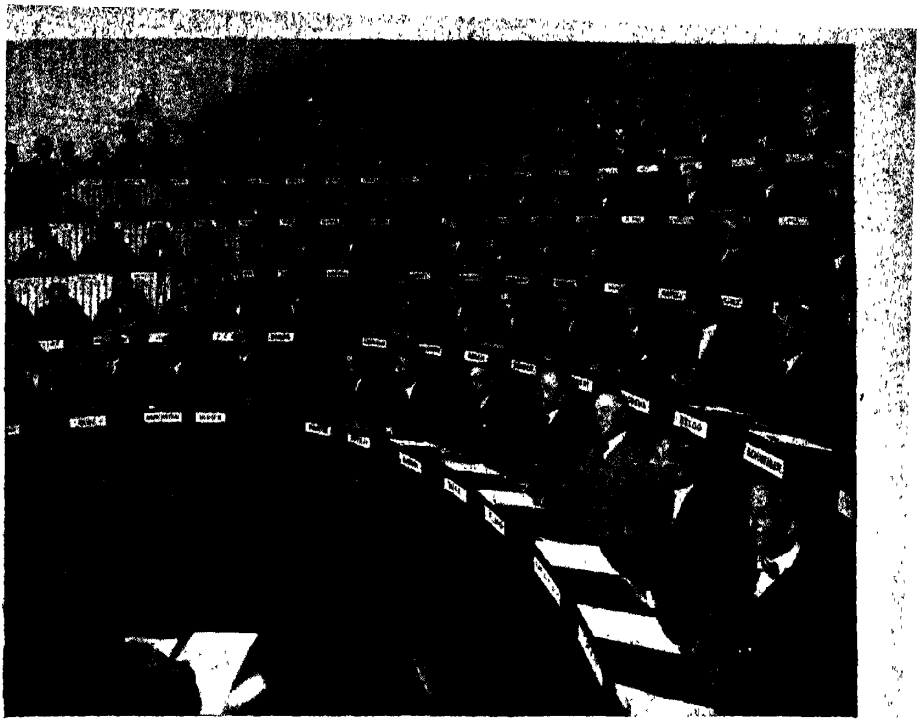
Current social problems in Australia are very like those in other countries: youth unemployment, housing, nutrition and health. There is a sizable body of unemployed youths left stranded by the depression in spite of a decline of the percentage of unemployment approaching the 1929 level, though as the conservatives always fail to point out, the percentage applies to a larger labor force, and hence implies a larger absolute number of unemployed. The group is also kept in existence by unfair employer practices, chiefly the firing of young workers when they are old enough to demand adult wages. All kinds of dubious schemes have been mooted to cope with youth unemployment. Perhaps the best of them is technical education which would fit the unemployed to enter expanding secondary industries. The school leaving age in Australia is 14 and workers under 16 constituted 6% of all factory workers in 1934–35, and while the males declined by 3% from 1926–27, the females advanced 25%. The number of adult females at work in factories is also on the increase. While all this is closely related to the changing structure of Australian industry, it is undoubtedly accentuated by the fact that in industrial court awards, female basic rates are 52 to 54% of male basic rates. There is some equal pay for equal work agitation in the country.

### *Social Problems*

Housing, a state matter, is being agitated in New South Wales and Victoria by the governments in power and outside pressure groups. This means a conservative government in the former, and an A.L.P.—Country Party coalition in the latter. The outlook is not very hopeful, and it is stated that the new houses are too expensive for occupation by those who need them most—the low paid workers.

As to nutrition and health, closely related matters, the Australians have apparently taken their cue from the United Kingdom. That is to say, the agitation chiefly takes the form of bellowing at the people to buy more and better foods. They would respond if they had the money. The chief bellower is old "Billy" Hughes, Minister for Health now, and the only wartime leader of any nation with sufficient prestige left to keep a cabinet post. Most of them are dead. Neither "Billy" Hughes nor the war is dead in Australia.

Australian social problems really head up today in the question of National Insurance. This is a scheme to coordinate all existing social legislation, Federal and State, eliminate overlappings, extend services available in but one state to all states, incorporate new departures, and establish the finished structure on a Commonwealth basis. This project has been discussed for well over a decade. In 1925 it was reported on by a Royal Commission. It is being restudied currently by two British experts whose reports will in due course be released. It is significant that this project is on the agenda of the conservative group currently holding power in the Federal sphere. Off-hand it sounds like an A.L.P. project. Actually, Labor has said little about it, but it is obvious that it will sup-



Soibelman

***THE WORLD BUYS AUSTRALIA'S WOOL:*** *But Australians pray for higher world prices to save them from their domestic dilemma.*

port it, agitating for more liberal allowances than the conservatives will propose, and also advocating a non-contributory scheme. The latter is really a basic issue and may lead to a genuine debate. But it is significant of the state of Australian opinion that the project-as-a-whole is accepted by both sides.

### *Money for Defense*

The last statement also applies to Australia's defense program. Expenditures on defense are mounting rapidly, and the Imperial Conference of 1937 will undoubtedly give birth to a scheme which will require still larger sums. Appropriations advanced from $15,000,000 in 1931–32 to $45,000,000 in 1936–37. There is talk of borrowing to speed up defense measures. A.L.P. Leader Curtin's contribution is to demand that no stone be left unturned until Australian industry is so organized as to support adequate defense. This line is taken by the conservatives also, and their oil-from-shale project is part of it. Thus both parties support the distortion of the Australian economy in the name of defense.

Australian opinion—with some academic dissent—rejects the idea of redistributing mandates as a contribution to world peace. New Guinea is looked upon as a permanent Australian possession. At the Peace Conference, Mr. Hughes wanted to annex it, and the Australian mind has not changed.

### *Fundamental Dilemma*

Summed up in a phrase, Australia's fundamental problems derive from her position in the modern world-economic order. Unlike the United States, Australia does not conceive of herself as a nation with

over-developed productive capacity which it must somehow check and control in the public interest. To the contrary, her one dominating idea is to expand, and much of the national ingenuity is directed toward schemes designed for achieving that end. Much of the energy—particularly in the field of marketing—is frittered away, in the larger view, in shoring up the development thus far achieved in the hope (possibly vain) that on some bright tomorrow world prices will reach such heights that production at Australian costs will be saleable at world prices without artificial assistance. Thus is the fundamental Australian dilemma evaded. It is also evaded in the field of secondary industry, since no new principles of progress are introduced, and one—expanding primary production—is admittedly a weak support. But in both instances, temporary shelter is provided, and Australians are great improvisers.

In times past they have also been original builders and leaders. At present they are too apt to rest on their laurels. The stabilizing effect of industrial arbitration courts is emphasized to the exclusion of any examination of the social consequences of them to the Australian masses. In social legislation, Australia has some valuable schemes on the books, but there is no uniformity through the nation. It is inevitable that National Insurance will introduce that uniformity, and also add some valuable new features. That is to the good, but there is a prevailing weakness in Australian practice in this field: the failure to administer the laws at all rigorously, and to take stock of the social value of what is done. For example, allowances are generally too small in relation to basic wages and applied with too little regard to variations in family or individual condition. In short, Australia retains her title of leader in this field only because what she has done has not been rigorously assessed by independent investigators.

What has happened to bring the country to its present pass? I have emphasized outside forces. There is the equally important matter of internal forces. It will have been noticed that a heavy emphasis has been placed upon using community and state power to sustain the producer—the tariff and the marketing schemes. This has resulted in tipping the social balance in such a fashion as to produce a state-supported, community-subsidized, private capitalism. The social initiative has passed to the hands of the conservatives, and they have wielded it to their own advantage, aided and abetted during the depression by almost all the economists, academic and otherwise.

That this should have happened at a time when labor is at low ebb intellectually is exceedingly unfortunate. But it is true. It is also unfortunate that opposition opinion, whether labor or left-liberal should count for so little in Australia. The latter finds almost no expression in a public way, its strength being in quite isolated individuals, some of whom wield considerable individual power. The newspapers are almost uniformly conservative and while it is true that evidence is at hand to show that the masses of the voters don't attend to their editorial opinions, the public reaction is really negative in character and hardly constructive. The public rejects, but it has little positive leadership to support. Certainly there is no important Commonwealth-wide liberal-labor press, though some insignificant organs function on a local basis. The total result is that Australia drifts. She awaits a cue. And there is no one to give it.

# SPORTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

## *Mass participation in athletics aims at producing strong, loyal citizens*

By SAMUEL S. SHIPMAN

ONE of the most striking phenomena of life in the Soviet Union is the widespread development of sports that has taken place in recent years. Every factory, mill, workers' club, Red Army unit, school, and college has its sports and physical culture organization. In the plans and budgets of the various government departments, appropriations for these purposes run into very large sums. A considerable proportion of the restricted space available in the press is allotted for reports of sports news. Even the austere *Pravda*, organ of the central committee of the Communist Party, regularly carries reports of football games, boxing matches, and other sporting events. Almost as well-known to the general public as the leading "Stakhanovists" are such prominent athletes as the Znamensky brothers of distance-running fame, the football-playing Starostin brothers of Moscow, the record-breaking swimmers Semyon Boichenko and Klavdia Alyoshina, the renowned weight-lifter George Popov, and others of their calibre. They receive official recognition by the government award of "Honored Master of Sport." Every city of any size has well-equipped stadiums seating up to 75,000 spectators (one under construction in Moscow will have over 100,000 seats). The production of sporting goods has developed into a substantial industry.

All of this is of course a familiar story in the United States and in Western European countries, with their decades of sports traditions and growth. But in Russia organized sports for the masses are a development only of the past dozen years or so. Before the War, sports activity was confined principally to small groups of the upper classes who played tennis, or rowed and sailed boats at one of the imperial yacht clubs. Among the workers, contact with sports was limited mainly to watching professional wrestlers, weight-lifters, and bicycle riders at circuses and carnivals. At the present time it is estimated that some nine million adults, including two million women, take part regularly in some form of organized physical culture or sport activity. About 4,500,000 are the proud possessors of the GTO ("Ready for Labor and Defense") badge, which is awarded to those passing a series of tests in running, swimming, skiing, bicycling and other sports, as well as in knowledge of first aid hygiene and sanitation. This is no easy task—the tests include a three-mile run, 25-mile walk with gas mask or rifle, 35-foot ski-jump, proficiency in some particular sport, skill in boxing or wrestling. To qualify one must also be a "shock-worker" at a regular job.

The principal links in the movement are the seventy great All-Union sports societies, for the most part connected with the trade unions and cooperatives. These unite the physical culture groups in the individual enterprises and institutions. They include, for example, the "Locomotive" society of railroad workers, which has branches on every railroad and at practically every station and depot of any im-

portance, the *Stakhanovetz* club for coal miners, the "Wings of the Soviets" society for workers in the aviation industry, and so on.

However, sports are by no means confined to the cities and industrial centers. Since the spread of collectivization in the villages, sports have taken a firm foothold in the countryside. To date, some 25,000 physical culture groups have been organized on the collective farms and many thousands of athletic fields equipped. With the increasing mechanization of farm labor and more rational methods of cultivation employed, the peasants have much more free time for recreation and even the bearded elders and the women are drawn into the games.

Last year the first all-Union collective farm "Olympiad" was held at Dniepropetrovsk in the Ukraine, with 900 of the best collective farm athletes participating.

### *Sports Among the Minorities*

One of the most interesting features in the wide sweep of the sports movement in the U.S.S.R. is the rapid growth of sports consciousness among the national minority peoples inhabiting the outlying regions. Youths of the formerly nomadic denizens of the Kazakh steppe in Central Siberia are learning how to box. Tadzhik girls, who only a few short years ago dared not venture forth without their veils, are now taking part in track events, wearing the regulation outfit. From the Caucasus mountain fastnesses, from Central Asia, Kirghizia, the Far East, go forth thousands of young men and women to study at one of the state physical culture institutes, later to return to their people as instructors and coaches. Despite the emphasis on modern sports, however, the traditional forms of wrestling and other feats of strength and skill handed down through the generations are not lost sight of and are features of the national celebrations.

There are several important respects in which the sports and physical movement in the Soviet Union differs from that of most other countries. In the first place, it is conducted exclusively on an amateur basis, the only professionals being the trainers, coaches and instructors. The athletes are all manual or intellectual workers or farmers, actually employed in their respective spheres of activity. Barnstorming trips lasting months and continuous participation in tourneys and meets, phenomena which tend to reduce the distinction between amateur and professional to the vanishing point, are unknown (although occasional trips to other cities and abroad are encouraged).

The principal aim is to stimulate the widest participation of the masses in physical culture activities and remarkable success has been recorded in this direction. Last summer, for instance, 250,000 students participated in gymnastic competitions held in various colleges, the winners contesting for the All-Union championships. Over 11,000 athletes took part in a recent cross-country run. Groups of 500 contestants were started off at ten-minute intervals, the winners being determined by recorded times. Thousands take part in mountain-climbing expeditions and month-long hiking trips.

Sometimes the desire to produce record-breakers and champions, a natural trend in a highly-developed sports atmosphere, tends to obscure the goal of maximum mass participation. The leading editorial in a recent issue of *Pravda* complained that the number of winners of the GTO badge was "clearly insufficient," attributing this to the fact that too much attention is paid to "masters and champions." Instead of developing greater self-participation on the part of their members, the editorial goes on to say, some of the sports societies connected with the trade unions are "busy trying to entice champions from other

clubs. The swollen staffs take the lion's share of the funds allotted for mass work." The editorial also complains about the inadequate support given by the authorities to the physical culture circles on the collective farms, the small amount of time devoted to physical culture in the schools, the neglect of automobiling, motorcycling, and organized tours for the masses. Finally, it charges that insufficient attention is devoted to the political education of athletes and sportsmen. "What we need," says *Pravda,* "is not just physical culturists in general but people strong in body and spirit, loyal to our party and ready always and everywhere to defend their fatherland —the U.S.S.R."

This authoritative and trenchant piece of "self-criticism" epitomizes the problems facing the sports movement in the Soviet Union. Perhaps more significantly, it indicates that the central authorities are aware of the evils creeping in and that steps are being taken to eradicate them. For the development of sports is considered a matter of "state importance" and is planned as an integral part of the social-economic program. This purposeful character is another of the most salient characteristics of the physical culture movement in the U.S.S.R.

The central regulatory body in this field is the All-Union Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, under the jurisdiction of the Council of People's Commissars. The All-Union Committee coordinates the activities of the vast number of athletic organizations spread out all over the country. It supervises the network of educational institutions which prepares instructors and coaches. This consists at present of four institutes and 23 secondary physical culture academies, altogether enrolling about 8,000 students. The former give a four-year and the latter a three-year course combining practice and theory. Aside from the strictly practical subjects, the curricula include politics, economics, literature, anatomy, physiology, psychology, pedagogy, plastic dancing. In order to cope with the great demand for coaches and trainers in the various fields of sport, special one- and two-year courses have recently been established by the physical culture institutes to train experts in specific lines. This year about a half-billion rubles ($100,000,000) is being expended on physical culture and sports development. Of this sum, about a fifth is allotted from the state budget and the remainder comes from the funds of trade unions, cooperatives, colleges, schools, collective farms, etc.

### *International Aspects*

The All-Union Committee publishes a large, lavishly-illustrated semi-monthly magazine *Physicultura i Sport* which has a circulation of over 55,000 copies. Considerable space in this is devoted to foreign news. Reports of the Olympic games featured conspicuously the victories of the "non-Aryans," such as the American negro runners and jumpers and the Egyptian weight-lifters. So great is the interest in sports developments abroad that the magazine at frequent intervals publishes detailed glossaries of sporting terms in four languages (English, French, German, and Russian) in order to enable readers better to follow the literature on the subject. Foreign experts are invited to demonstrate their prowess and teach the Russians. France has led in this respect, sending over in recent years, among others, Jules Ladoumegue, the long-distance running champion, Marcel Thil, the middleweight boxer, and Henri Cochet, the tennis expert. Soviet soccer football players, swimmers, boxers, wrestlers, ice skaters, and basketball players have made frequent trips abroad to engage workers' organizations in Turkey, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Belgium,

and Finland, usually with conspicuous success. In turn they have played host to athletes from most of these countries. Corresponding to the political situation, sports relations with Turkey are particularly cordial.

Special emphasis is placed on collective feats of endurance and courage, in line with the mass character of the sports movement. At the great physical culture demonstration last summer, in which 40,000 athletes from all over the U.S.S.R. paraded through the Red Square in Moscow, perhaps the greatest plaudits went to the fishermen from far-off Turkmenistan who had sailed their native canoes to Moscow, the girls from the Moscow electrical factory who had executed a record ski-run to Siberia, the cyclists who had completed a bicycle journey along the entire far-flung borders of the Soviet Union.

Journeys of thousands of miles over the great expanse of the U.S.S.R. are undertaken, by almost every conceivable means of locomotion—hiking, skiing, canoeing, bicycling, horseback—and under the most difficult conditions possible. For example, three youths hiked 5,600 miles from Leningrad to Khabarovsk in 145 days, often going through roadless forests and steppes. Five metal workers walked and ran 1,300 miles from the Urals to Moscow in 25 days, in 19 of which they were forced to proceed under pouring rains. Six young athletes canoed from Lake Baikal to Moscow, a distance of over 5,500 miles, taking four and a half months for the journey. The intrepid sportsmen negotiated 15 rivers and 2 lakes and crossed numerous rapids which time and again threatened to smash the fragile craft. The Ural ranges had to be traversed largely by foot. Thirty-four Turkmen collective farmers rode their horses 2,700 miles to Moscow over vast deserts, arid steppes, and high mountains. Well-deserved was the triumphant reception accorded them at the completion of their 85-day ride.

The sturdy young generation of Soviet women has also contributed its share of memorable performances requiring great skill and endurance, particularly in a series of remarkable ski-runs almost from one end of the country to the other. Last winter five Buryat-Mongolian girls, ranging in age from 17 to 24 years, completed a combined hike and ski-run of 3,800 miles from Ulan-Ude, capital of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic, to Moscow. In the course of the 95-day jaunt they crossed mountain ranges and Siberian steppes, frequently overcoming the severest frosts and wind- and snow-storms. This feat climaxed a series of similar runs by groups of young women during the past few years. Men skiers have recorded a number of transcontinental journeys of from 4,000 to 6,000 miles. All sorts of novel experiments are tried—dropping men and skis from a plane by means of parachutes, skiing for days with gas masks, towing skis by dogs and motorcycles.

The long Russian winter and the favorable topographical conditions make skiing one of the most popular of all the mass sports. Expeditions of thousands sally forth over the countryside. There are some 1,500 skiing stations and the number of devotees runs into the millions. Ice skating and hockey are of course favorite winter sports of Soviet youth.

### *Football in the Soviet*

The most highly developed of the sports, the one that draws the greatest throngs and receives the most attention in the press, is soccer football. Soviet football teams have long made their mark on the international arena. But, strangely enough, exceeding it in popularity, judged by the number taking part, is volleyball, which was introduced into the U.S.S.R. only in 1925 by an American residing in Moscow.

Since that time it has caught on like wildfire. At schools, factories, farms, rest homes, Red Army posts, in court yards of city apartments—everywhere teams are organized, often with young and old and men and women all playing together. Basketball, another recent American importation, lags somewhat behind but is fast gaining in popularity. Tennis, also, has begun to assume the proportions of a mass sport only in the past few years.

Among the younger generation the traditional old Russian village game of *gorodki* is still immensely popular. This is a game resembling skittles or ninepins in which the aim is to knock the opponents' pins out of a square by throwing a heavy club, sometimes with apparent disregard of the lives and limbs of bystanders.

The development of bicycling is still at a relatively low level owing to the shortage of vehicles, though production is increasing rapidly. A number of notable long-distance runs have been recorded.

Although track and field sports (called "light athletics" by the Russians) are a comparatively new development, many first-class athletes have been developed, particularly on the feminine side. In "heavy athletics," the term applied to such activities as weight-lifting and wrestling, the Russians have long excelled. The former has a peculiarly strong hold on the sporting public and in this field Soviet athletes hold almost a third of the world records. In speed swimming the Russians fall considerably behind the United States and Japan. However, in long-distance swims, ranging up to 30 and 40 miles, they have registered many noteworthy achievements.

The mass exploits of Soviet youth in gliding and parachuting have become known to Americans through frequent reports in the press. In these fields interest among the general population has been stimulated to an extent unequalled elsewhere in the world. The same is true of chess, which highly intellectual pastime, for some reason or other, is generally included in the category of physical culture and sports. About a million persons belong to the organized chess groups. A similar situation prevails in rifle shooting, no less than 1,800,000 marksmen having earned the "Voroshilov" award for sharpshooting. Many matches by correspondence have been arranged with teams abroad. The names of such places as Wenatchee, Portsmouth, and Atlanta have become familiar to Soviet readers through this medium.

Mountain-climbing, called "alpinism" in the U.S.S.R., instead of being confined to a comparatively few experts, has become the sport of many. In recent years thousands have made the ascent of Mount Elbruz in the Caucasus, the highest peak in Europe. Large groups have also negotiated the even more difficult peaks of the Pamirs in Central Asia, towering 23,000 feet above the sea.

This all-embracing and systematic stimulation of sports activities has been an important factor in creating a healthy new generation of young people, clear of eye and sturdy of limb. The improved physical development of youth is indicated by the statistics showing a rapid drop in incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases and by the measurements of young men called for army service. These show an average gain in weight of several pounds and increased chest measurement of a couple of inches as compared with before the war. The number of rejections on account of physical unfitness has been reduced to a small fraction of the former figure, although the requirements are now considerably higher.

# NORTH AFRICA'S TURMOIL

## *Franco brings the Moor back to Europe, fanning Islam's smoldering nationalism*

### By MARC T. GREENE

THE more important colonial possessions of France have cost her heavily both in men and money. Indo-China was subdued only after years of struggle with stubborn foes of several races and terrible sacrifices to climatic conditions. The merciless elements took even heavier toll in tropical Africa. But it was along the northern coast, in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, that the French empire-builders found their most obstinate resistance. Here as they strove to push inland into the fertile country of plains and valleys that, 300 miles in width, lies between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, they met an enemy whose forebears had held this soil since the dawn of history and which yielded each yard only at the bayonet's point, an enemy which endures "Frankish" dominance today no more willingly than a century ago.

The sturdy Berber race lived here in their hundreds of thousands before the Pyramids were built, and many of them, from their strongholds in the high valleys and fastnesses of the Atlas Mountains, successfully resisted Egyptians and Phoenicians and Romans, even as the mountaineers of southern Morocco continue to defy the French today. Worshippers of tribal gods then, they accepted Moslem early in our era when the Arabs brought the faith of Mohammed across the desert. Gradually the two races blended until the distinction was not easily recognized and the term "Arab" came to be applied to all peoples of North Africa except the blacks.

But it is really the Berber blood in all these races, especially the Moors, which refuses to flow tranquilly while the unbeliever remains in possession of a land he has held for scarce a century since the end of five thousand years of Berber independence. Now and then that blood has boiled over, as in the recent "incidents" at Fez and Casablanca, the uprising in Constantine a couple of years ago and the murder of the Grand Mufti there, riots in neighboring parts of Algeria, and so on. And today, what with Mussolini's promises to the Libyans on the east and Franco's persistently-rumored assurances of independence to Spanish Zone Moors, there are possibilities in the North African situation more disturbing to the French than anything that has happened since the massacre of the foreign garrison and their families in Fez hardly thirty years ago.

The Moors have always been the most troublesome to the empire-builders, because they are redoubtable fighters, ardent Moslems, perfervid nationalists, and still far more Berber than Arab. Only the genius of Charles Martel at Tours in the eighth century kept them from overrunning Europe, and even then it was not until 700 years later that Ferdinand and Isabella ended, at Granada, their power on the Continent. Now, after four and a half centuries, 20,000 or more of them are back in Europe. Trivial to them the matter of the political faith of their opponents, whether "Communist," "Marxist," "Republican," or even "Anarchist." Enough that these

are of the rejecters of Moslem and thus worthy only of destruction in the great name of Allah. Although it is impossible to say what promises were made of partial or complete self-government if they succeed in establishing a fascist state in Spain, the understanding is general among the "Arabs" of North Africa today that the Moors of the Spanish Zone are presently to regain their independence. All the other Moors are convinced of it, and so very generally are the Algerians and Tunisians. And it is the growing restiveness among them, born of this conviction, that is filling the French with apprehension and bringing a strengthening of the military establishment and a rapid and significant expansion of the North African air defenses and patrols.

### *France's Foothold*

France first secured a hold in North Africa about a hundred years ago with the capture of Algiers from the Turk. Half a century and more passed before the valuable lands were "subdued," and then the conquest of the desert was undertaken. And when you find that Algeria contains now 3,000,000 hectares of cereal-producing land and exports every year to France 10,000,000 hectolitres of wine you have to admit that there is at least an economic basis for French pride in their pioneering achievements.

In Morocco colonization is practically only of the past twenty years, or since the redoubtable Abd el Krim was disposed of. But today, as in Algeria, grape-growing is a flourishing industry, and hundreds of thousands of gallons of wine are yearly shipped across the Mediterranean, there to be blended (as also in the case of Algerian wine) with the products of the Bordeaux district and sold all over the world as "French claret."

In the French "zone" of Morocco, some 250,000 square miles in extent, there are today more than 75,000 French settlers, an increase of 50 per cent in ten years. In the Spanish "zone," the section of about 9,000 square miles that remained out of a territory once much larger after the French had helped to conquer the redoubtable Krim, there are three-quarters of a million natives, as against 5,000,000 in French Morocco, 35,000 Spaniards, two or three thousand other Europeans, and 11,000 native Jews. Here there has been no such economic progress as on the French side, likewise little of the endeavor to aid the natives themselves economically that, as even the most prejudiced must admit, has characterized French colonial policy in North Africa.

For that and other reasons the Moors in the Spanish section have always been even less reconciled to their European overlords than their brothers in the French zone. Which very fact makes it all but certain that some further inducement than even the opportunity to fight the unbeliever must have been held out to bring the Moors willingly into Europe. If that is correct, the conclusion is inevitable that in case the promises are not fulfilled, either through a failure of the Spanish rebels to win the civil war or for any other reason, the Moors in Spanish Morocco will mutiny on a large scale, thus starting a conflagration almost sure to sweep into the French sphere and hardly less likely to throw its sparks into Algeria.

Here, as a matter of fact, is perhaps the most sensitive spot in all the French colonial empire today. Morocco is possibly a little more dangerous, more resentful of foreign dominance and anxious to implement that resentment. But it is far from being as rich or as populous or so valuable as an economic asset. There are a million Europeans in Algeria, mostly French colonists. To protect them in the midst of six times as many natives France maintains an army of more than 100,000,

some of it white troops, more blacks from the Sudan and the banks of the Niger, loyal enough, no lovers of the Arab though of the same religion, but by no means of dependable fighting quality as against an equally well-equipped Arab host. Realizing it, the French apparently expect to put their main reliance on the air-force in case of a large and dangerous native uprising.

Chiefly for military defense purposes, too, has been the remarkable development of transportation facilities in Algeria. There now exist more than 3,000 miles of railways and a perfect network of motor highways. Everywhere within three hundred miles of the coast, that is to say, through the cultivated districts, the roads are hard-surfaced. Beyond that they are generally known as *pistes*, or trails, but even then smooth and well-maintained.

You can, of course, cross the desert by air in many directions, gazing down on limitless stretches of white sand dotted by isolated oases with their date-palms altogether unknown to the white man until within this generation—the country of the Touaregs, where even yet no white man is safe unless in large and well-armed company. Here the natives are kept in subjection only by the presence of garrisons of African French Colonial Infantry, European-officered, and their perfervid Mohammedanism would snatch avidly at any opportunity to declare itself in ruthless hostility to the infidel usurper.

Besides being the richest economic asset of all France's far-flung colonial possessions, Algeria, out of an annual budget of approximately a billion francs, contributes 6,000,000 to French military expenditures. In return for this France permits a measure of autonomy somewhat in advance of the usual colonial status—three Deputies in Paris and a local government which is half elective and half appointed. Considerable authority, too, is granted the whole range of native sheiks, caids, and headmen; likewise, generous remuneration. In Biskra lives the highest sheik in all Algeria, the Cheik el-Arab si Bou Aziz ben Gana. He is a commander of the faithful under French overlordship, indeed once of the most important and significant figures in all Islam. But what is more to the point is his French rank. He holds the highest civil distinction in the gift of the Republic, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

### *Seeds of Resentment*

But the Sheik of Sheiks is detestable to the Arabs all about, as you soon discover if you mention his name in any native group. They consider that he has sold out to the French. The high walls of his palace are well guarded, and the French garrison in Biskra, gateway to the "Garden of Allah," is strong, else the Cheik-el-Arab would be in personal danger.

It is significant that this tendency in French colonial policy, to subsidize the leading chiefs with high-sounding titles and generous emolument, is resented more in North Africa, especially in Algeria, than elsewhere in the French possessions. The Arab is not an unintelligent fellow, and he understands quite well whither it all tends. And in the case of a general uprising it is certain that the subsidized sheiks would be the first victims. But they are all of high religious as well as secular rank, and ben Gana is a very exalted ecclesiastic indeed in Islam, an influence still potent even while resentment against him smoulders.

From a distance the danger of this resentment flaming into devouring proportions may seem remote. But if you visit the more isolated settlements along the desert's fringe and just within, you find keen apprehension of an Arab rising in the near future. To understand that anxiety you have only to seek the nearest native café with a trusted interpreter and discover that prac-

tically all the talk is of the fighting across the Mediterranean, the Moslem participation in it, and the probable results. The conviction of the Arabs, based on vague and exaggerated rumors coming from the coast by word of mouth, is that the insurgent Moors are gaining a great victory over the unbeliever on his own soil and that the outcome will be the liberation from the infidel usurper's dominance of all Islam, certainly in North Africa.

### *An Historical Turning Point?*

And so the throwing of the Mohammedans into the Spanish cauldron may not impossibly mark a turning-point in history. For if an uprising does come in North Africa it will be entirely traceable to it and may have consequences quite incalculable now. Nobody realizes this better than Mussolini, which accounts for his recent tour of "conciliation" in Libya. The natives there, crushed and silenced for the moment by terroristic methods of a medieval character, are not less resentful than those in the French possessions and with far more reason. In sullen silence they greeted the appearance of the Duce except when and where they were driven to acclaim him by the well-known methods. Not for an instant do their leaders accept his assurances, laughing in their voluminous sleeves at his "blessings," and sneering to one another at his sonorous periods.

Either the Spanish Moors will get what they have almost certainly been promised or they will not, and whatever the outcome the future in North Africa is full of uncertainty. Certainly no such boon as independence, or even a large measure of autonomy, can be granted one group of Moslem natives in this part of the world without greatly exciting all the rest. Just as certainly if any group, having been promised it or even led to believe it forthcoming, finds itself deceived, resentment will not be slow in manifestation nor long restrained from spreading in more than one direction.

Islam is united by a closer bond than the Occident realizes. It brings Indian and Egyptian and Iraqian and Malay and Sudanese and Moor alike into the common brotherhood. The more imminent becomes a conflict with Europeans and the larger the scale that conflict may assume the closer the bond will draw, and it is there the great danger lies.

And so, among the causes of the present North African unrest, have been the troubles in Palestine and the concessions by England to Egyptian nationalism. True, the latter was forced by the political position in the Mediterranean and the presence in Egypt of 35,000 Italians. But the Arab in Algeria and Libya knows little of all that or of the plot and counter-plot, machination, and intrigue of European politics. He marks only that his brothers in Islam on one side are free or nearly so and that those on the other are, as he is informed, about to be. Why them, then, and not he? It is a question that at the moment is on half a dozen millions of Arab tongues from Tangier to Tripoli. And it may be that a satisfying answer will have to come before very long.

# THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

## *Current history in the world of the arts*

### By V. F. CALVERTON

CHICAGO, which H. L. Mencken declared not so many years ago was destined to become the new literary and cultural hub of the United States, has just made a bid to assume leadership in architectural reform. Whereas Chicago as a literary center failed to live up to its promise, shared by so many in the teens, this new development may make it possible for it to realize it in the field of architecture.

The opening, several weeks ago, of The New Bauhaus, American School of Design, marks the beginning in this country of a new shift and emphasis in architectural outlook and esthetic philosophy. It means that the architectural world in America will tend to gravitate swiftly about this Chicago orbit, that leading architects will be drawn to it and influenced by it, and, what is even more important, that many of the best of the young architects of the future will be products of this school, which is derived from the old Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, where its achievements were so brilliant and significant that Herbert Read, the leading English art critic, called it "the greatest experiment in esthetic education yet undertaken."

This new Bauhaus, founded upon the same principles as the old Bauhaus, will carry out the ideas of Dr. Walter Gropius, one of the world's leading architects, and now a professor at Harvard University, who founded the original school in Germany and who gave to the word *bauhaus*, which merely means "building house," its present esthetic, architectural and social significance. Dr. Gropius, an exile from Nazi Germany, is fortunate to see his Bauhaus experiment, which Hitler scrapped in 1933 (in its place a *Landschule* has been opened where domestic science is taught to country girls), revived in Chicago, under the generous auspices of various Chicagoan intellectuals and philanthropists. The Bauhaus at Dessau "was inaugurated with the specific object of realizing a modern architectonic art," Dr. Gropius declares, "like human nature [art] should be all-embracing in its scope. Within that sovereign federative union all the different 'arts' . . . could be coordinated and find their appointed place."

In a word, what the Bauhaus idea insists most firmly upon is that although architecture is the core of structure it is indisseverably and interstitially related to all the other aspects of structure, internal as well as external. "What we preached in practice," Dr. Gropius states in his volume *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, "was the common citizenship of all forms of creative work and their logical interdependence on one another in the modern world. We wanted to help the formal artist to recover the fine old sense of design and execution being one, and make him feel that the drawing board is merely a prelude to the active joy of fashioning. Building unites both manual and mental workers in a common task. Therefore, all alike, artist as well as artisan, should have a common training; and since experimental and productive work are of equal practical importance, the basis of that experience should be broad enough to give every kind of talent an equal chance. As varieties of talent cannot be distinguished before they manifest themselves, the individual must be able to discover his proper sphere of activity in the course of his own development."

Such a declaration of principles would signify little if it were confined to the realm



***ART IN ARCHITECTURE:*** *Stressing simplicity, the design for this gymnasium was conceived and executed by Walter Gropius, eminent German architect. The gymnasium was designed for a cooperative apartment house.*

of theory or the printed pages of a book; what makes it important is that the Bauhaus idea is a living practical idea—practical and serviceable as a bridge—which has resulted in the creation of some of the most interesting and striking architectural work of our day. Dr. Gropius's own architectural achievements, as embodied in his Bauhaus School, his City Employment Office building, his Cooperative Store and Apartments building in Dessau, all of which are based upon the same fundamental concept, prove how exquisitely and effectively practical the idea is. Moreover, the work of the school itself in Germany is but an additional evidence of its indubitable practicality. Dr. Gropius's main idea, condensed into a phrase, is to develop an architecture immediately and ideally fitted to the industrial age. He is eager to introduce a new spirit into all forms of architecture but especially into those where the machine is the dominant determinant of structure. His use of glass in winding staircases and as an etherealization medium, his resort to hard, uninterrupted surfaces, his stress upon weightlessness and resiliency and his genius for kaleidoscoping space, endow his architectural work with superlative distinction and originality. What he has done better than any other architect of our age has been to house within the simplest and yet most graceful structures those media of modern life which are closest to the source of its productive and creative power.

Professor L. Moholy-Nagy, a quondam associate of Dr. Gropius's in Germany, is the Director of the Chicago School. Dr. Gropius will act as adviser to the School. Professor Moholy-Nagy states that the American Bauhaus School will be more than a continuation of the German school; it will adapt itself to the American medium and as such he feels that it can "go considerably further." It will aim not only to produce architects with fresh vision but also to develop many other talents in cognate fields. In the old Bauhaus school, for instance, many electrical devices and fixtures were invented as also was tubular furniture which has become so internationally popular. In addition to the technical courses given by the School, there will be courses in culture, sculpture, music, drawing, and design—in other words, in all those fields where a coordinated perspective is necessary for those who aim to

understand the properties and potentialities of architectural materials and structures.

### *Soviet Architecture*

Frank Lloyd Wright, one of America's best architects, has just returned from the Soviet Union, and in an article in the magazine *Soviet Russia Today* he relates his impressions of Soviet architecture. Mr. Wright minces no words in attacking various Soviet buildings which he believes carry on some of the worst traditions of the old Tzarist structures. His main attack is launched upon the famous Palace of Soviets, which he declares suffers from "grandomania of the American type in imitating skyscraper effects way up to the soles of the enormous shoes of Lenin, where the realistic figure of that human giant begins to be three hundred feet tall."

Mr. Wright, as would be expected by anyone knowing his own brilliant work, prefers the simple, the unpretentious, the unexaggerated in architectural design. He regrets the fact that nothing pleases the Russian people so much in architectural detail than "the gleam of marble columns under high ceilings, glittering chandeliers, the unmistakable signs of luxury as they looked up to it when it decided their fate." This is due, he believes, to the cultural infancy of the Russian masses, who have not yet been educated up to the point of lamenting rather than lauding such monstrosities of design and embellishment. "Several more generations must pass away," he suspects, "before a more natural way of life and building can take the place of the old order. The Russian people see viciousness in that old order where human rights are concerned, but the masses of the people are yet unable to see the viciousness of the old order in that higher realm of created things of which architecture is the highest."

Mr. Wright, however, is deeply impressed with the new wide avenues and park spaces which have been designed; he likes the *Pravda* building, and the Moscow subway which he asserts "makes the New York subway look like a sewer when one returns to compare them." Nevertheless, even in the Moscow subway, he likes the simpler sections best because they are less elaborate and pretentious. All in all, his main complaint is epitomized in his own words that "mere size seems to captivate the Russians as it seduced us earlier."

His conclusion is most optimistic. He believes Russia will grow out of its present architectural backwardness, with its false emphases upon size and its artificial resort to fake embellishment, and will develop the most progressive architecture in the world. He believes this for two reasons: first, because of his profound faith in the Russian people, and second, because "the attitude of the Russian architects is sincere, and, I am sure," he adds, "far in advance of the social consciousness of our own American architects."

### *Women and Culture*

Turning away from architecture to the matter of education, especially in terms of the feminine equation, the recent centenary held at Oberlin College is most worthy of comment. Oberlin is, historically speaking, one of the most interesting experiments in college education ever attempted in the United States. Founded in rebellion, which began with the non-conformist pioneers who insisted upon admitting Negroes as well as women into their college and who had non-alcoholic, non-tobacco prejudices and who at the same time were vegetarians and dress-reformers, the College has managed to keep in the public eye ever since by virtue of an ever-increasing series of innovations, one more provocative than another. Today, however, on the celebration of this centenary, the main innovation for which Oberlin is remembered, and for which all Oberliners are proud, is the fact that it was the first American college to admit women as students in a co-educational scheme. In those days when the women resided, just four to be exact in the beginning, in "Ladies' Hall," it was generally believed that the feminine mind was not adaptable to education beyond that of the family pale. There were girls' schools, of course, which strove to teach young

ladies how to play the piano badly and how to talk French worse, but beyond that they did not believe that striving would be of any avail. Those were days when the average American as well as the average Englishman believed in the Russian proverb: "A woman's hair is long but her brain is short."

Too many people forget that at that time women had practically no rights at all. They could not own property; they could not vote; they could not get a divorce except under the most extreme of circumstances; and they could not cultivate their minds because men didn't believe they had any to cultivate. Even those rare women who managed to escape the restrictions of their environment had to resort to subterfuge in most cases to do so. Mary Ann Evans, for instance, had to adopt the male name of George Eliot, as she openly declared, in order to win her original recognition as a writer, and Mary Somerville had to conceal most of her mathematical calculations beneath her crochet basket to prevent her friends from suspecting "that she had a mind."

In the light of such circumstances, Oberlin College deserves far more laudation than most people imagine for its courage in opposing such a condition of affairs. It defended the right of women to educate themselves, it put itself on record in favor of the potentialities of the female mind, at a time when public opinion was violently at variance with that point of view.

It must not be thought that the Oberlin officials were not wary of the difficulties and dangers involved in their venture. They knew the hazards full well as these words quoted from the first catalogue of the College attest:

> Young ladies of good minds, unblemished morals, and respectable attainments, are received into this department and placed under the superintendence of a judicious lady, whose duty it is to correct their habits and mould the female character. They board at the public table and perform the labor of the Steward's Department, together with the washing, ironing, and much of the sewing of the students. They attend recitations with young gentlemen in all the departments. Their rooms are entirely separate from those of the other sex, and no calls or visits in their respective apartments are at all permitted.

Although girls in college today would be loath to accept such restrictions, it must be remembered that even such restrictions were mild in those days.

As evidence of the soundness of the coeducational theory upon which Oberlin was founded, or at least by which it is mainly remembered, there are the careers of its graduates which provide the best proof of the same. There is Robert Millikan, a Nobel Prize winner; Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago; Charles M. Hall, the inventor of the electrotype process for aluminum; Elisha Gray, co-inventor of the telephone; and, outstanding among its women graduates, Lucy Stoner, in whose name so much of the struggle for women's rights has been waged.

There can be little doubt but that Oberlin is entitled to its claim that its experiment in co-education "has had a profound effect upon the subsequent history of the whole world."

### *Women as Judges*

Coincident with the Oberlin centenary, there is the hue and cry being raised in England today for the right of women to be judges. Dr. Alfred Cox, Secretary of the London Medical Service, states that "if women are fit to be called to the Bar I fail to see why they should not be considered fit to be judges." In this country where women judges in various courts are no longer an uncommon phenomenon, or in Soviet Russia where women judges are a familiar sight even in the higher tribunals, the issue has lost pertinence, and it is not an exaggeration to say that the fight put up by Oberlin and other colleges for women's rights in the United States has undoubtedly contributed vastly to our advance in that respect. Some of the comments of English women in this connection are revealing. Incidentally, the struggle which is being car-

ried out in England today is for women judges to be introduced into the Divorce Court, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst declares that "most cases in the Divorce Court go by precedent. Women judges would set up new and useful precedents." In the same connection, Rebecca West puts herself on record as saying: "I am all for the proposal because the Divorce Court is the only place where women judges would find life worth living. *The other courts being subject to appeal, I trust very few judges to let the opportunity slip of reversing any decision made by a woman judge. To resist such a chance would be too much for the 'Old Adam.'*"

### *Reading as a Cultural Index*

Dr. Ralph Tyler of the Ohio State University is conducting a seven-year survey of the reading tastes of the American public, and at a meeting of the Progressive Education Association he announced that from his present findings stenographers and clerks read the most, whereas business executives read the least. Most of the stenographer's reading, he admitted, consisted of books "on romance and glamour," and that most of the clerk's reading was made up of mystery and adventure fiction. Professional and business people, he pointed out, read little fiction; they are most concerned with books dealing with social and economic questions.

What is most odd is that Dr. Tyler found that college students read less than high-school boys and girls, although both groups read more than adults. High school students read 40 per cent fiction and 60 per cent non-fiction. Another interesting and revealing aspect of Dr. Tyler's survey, which to date includes 20,000 adults, 12,000 college students, and 8,000 high school pupils, is that students who were forced to read the classics in school dropped this kind of reading entirely after graduation. Dr. Tyler's own words in comment upon that fact are pertinent and wise:

> When you rub a person's nose in classics and force him to accept them whether he wishes to or not, he is glad to get through with this kind of reading and drops them immediately after class is finished.

### *Passions and Prejudices*

In Georgia recently, Governor E. D. Rivers announced that the State Board of Education had cancelled its contract for a book by Sherman R. Wilson entitled *Descriptive Chemistry and Physics,* which had been recommended for adoption in the Georgia schools by a committee of the State Board of Education. The reason for the cancellation revolves about the fact that the book declares that: "In 1846, Morton and Warren, of Boston, used ether in performing an operation and since that date civilized society has been freed from the horrors of the barber surgeons." The Georgians contend that Crawford W. Long was the discoverer of ether as an anesthetic in 1842, four years before Morton and Warren claimed to have used ether in that manner. In the Governor's memorandum it is pointed out that this fact is attested not only by the American Encyclopedia but also by the General Assembly of Georgia and by the Georgia State Medical Association.

Bostonians replied to the Georgian challenge with a vengeance. Although Dr. Crawford long used ether in a few cases in 1842, Dr. Frederic A. Washburn, former head of the Massachusetts General Hospital, admitted, the fact is it was only when Warren and Morton used it in a public operation that "the news spread through the world and almost immediately ether was in use in England and France." Dr. Washburn goes on to suggest that the chances were that Long did not grasp the significance of his discovery.

At all events, Ether Day will continue to be celebrated at the Massachusetts General Hospital on Oct. 16, *and Sherman R. Wilson's book will continue to be cancelled from the Georgia school lists.*

In Nazi Germany far worse, and far less arguable prejudices exist, as was recently attested by the publication of the German Encyclopedia, in which Albert Einstein is described as "a participant in

all salon Bolshevist activity" and is attacked as "the author of the so-called theory of relativity, which attracted much attention because of the strong propaganda in the Jewish press." Even worse, in the teacher's handbook for this fall, there is a complete manual of instruction, in which Herr Fritz Fink, the author of the Jewish section, states that his aim is to instruct teachers how to inject "the Jewish angle" into every subject in the curriculum. Herr Fink stresses the fact that throughout history stress should be laid upon the fact the real heroes have been those who have told "the truth about the Jews." Among the great men cited for study, it is interesting to observe, are Jesus Christ "who was crucified by the Jews," Tacitus, Luther, Frederick the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, Bismarck, and Hitler.

Herr Fink's program is extremely inclusive. He wants to interpret history so that its cultural significance can be traced through struggles with the Jews. Fact concerns him little. It is the Jewish question with which he is mainly concerned. Ancient history should be taught so as to show how Egypt suffered from the Jews, and then how the Jews conquered Palestine, "slaughtering natives and transforming into a desert a land which formerly flowed with milk and honey." Children should then be taught about the "blood bath" engineered in behalf of the Jews by the beautiful Esther, and how eventually it was the dispersion of the Jews throughout the Roman Empire which caused its downfall. Medieval history, in his opinion, and again it should be noted that his regard for fact is about as inverted as Ben Turpin's vision, should be considered in terms of the struggles of the Spanish, Polish, and German peoples against Jewish domination.

Little is left of the good old Biblical Satan. He is shorn of his horns, of his tail, and of the wonder of his redness. In his place, in Herr Fink's catechism, is the Jew who has become the Satan of his new Aryan bible.

### *The Art of the Negro*

Turning from one oppressed people to another, this time the Negro, we find in the work of William Edmondson, a native of Tennessee, a brilliant illustration of a form of art that stems in its inspiration at least from the African coastland. Edmondson is a simple, uncultured, practically illiterate Negro who awoke one day and heard God's command to cut tombstones and preach his word. He soon found he could "sculp" better than he could preach, and it has been with sculpturing that he has spent most of his time in recent years. All his sculpturing is symbolic, stemming from the Bible, and in his exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art the stamp of Biblical things can be discovered upon every piece of limestone upon which his fingers have worked. There is about his work something that is more African than American. Negro art in this country, especially as noted in music and dancing, is exuberant, and endowed with an exhilaration and exuberance which are melodramatically dynamic. African art, on the contrary, is without that exuberance. On the whole, it is rigid, economical of energy, and almost classic in its discipline. It has all the constrictions and compulsions of tabu written into its structure and design, and it is terms of this African fact rather than its American origin that William Edmondson's work can be best understood and interpreted.

# THE REALM OF SCIENCE

AN ENTIRELY new approach to the problem of cancer has been suggested by Dr. Temple Fay and Dr. George C. Henny of the Temple University School of Medicine of Philadelphia. Speaking in Chicago at a symposium upon cancer arranged by the American College of Surgeons, Dr. Fay detailed the results of the experiments which he and his colleague have been carrying on. Only time and further research will prove how fruitful this new approach is.

Five years ago the two scientists began experiments to measure the temperature of various portions of the human body. They found that the temperature of the extremities was below the average of the body while that of the head, neck, and breast regions was higher.

It occurred to them next to compare this data with that for the locations of secondary cancers which result from the spreading or metastasis of a primary cancer. They found that metastasis almost always occurred only in those body segments of high temperature.

Recalling the necessity for a critical temperature in many growth processes, as for example, the incubation of a hen's egg, they decided to see if the growth of cancerous tissue could be retarded by the application of cold. Accordingly, they designed a special apparatus of hollow metal tubing by means of which cold solutions could be circulated in cancerous tissues.

Dr. Fay told the American College of Surgeons that in five cases where there was pain, this method resulted in the relief of the pain and in decrease in the size of the cancerous growths.

### *2,500,000 Operations a Year*

More than 1500 surgeons attended the sessions of the American College of Surgeons' annual clinical congress held in Chicago from October 25 to 30. Daily, they crowded into Chicago hospitals to see clinics at which operations of all types were performed.

Officials of the college estimated that more than 2,500,000 major surgical operations are performed in the United States each year. These take place in hospitals whose personnel in surgeons, physicians, nurses, and others totals about 1,000,000 men and women and whose investments in land, buildings, equipment, and endowments amount to billions of dollars.

The American College of Surgeons devotes its attention to maintaining standards in these hospitals and in the ranks of surgeons. Each year, it publishes a list of "approved hospitals." Surgeons must pass rigorous inspection of their records to be eligible to fellowship in the college.

### *Broken Hips Nailed Together*

How broken hips are literally nailed together again today was demonstrated at several of the clinics during the course of the surgeons' meeting. Medical men hail this new technique as one of the important advances in the art of surgery.

What is known to the layman as a "broken hip" is actually a fracture of the neck of the femur, the big bone of the leg. This bone ends in a knob which fits into the hip socket. The neck is the portion just behind the knob or head of the femur.

Old people are particularly prone to sustain such a fracture in a fall. Former methods of treatment required keeping the patient in bed for three months with the leg either in a cast, an elaborate brace, or in a device which applied a constant traction or pull to the leg.

None of these methods proved satisfactory. The ordeal of three months in bed is more than most old people can stand and medical records showed that 20 per cent of

the patients died. In another 40 per cent, the bone either failed to grow together again, or did so in a faulty manner. The result, therefore, was that these 40 per cent remained permanent cripples.

In the new technique, the surgeon makes an incision in the hip, exposing the broken bone to view. The parts are then fitted together accurately, and one or more nails driven into the neck and head of the femur to hold them together properly. A month later, after the bone has knit together, the nails are removed.

Surgeons reported that many patients were able to sit up in wheel-chairs on the day following the operation. Within periods ranging from four to six weeks, they were able to walk with the aid of crutches or braces and eventually they were able to discard all aids entirely.

They contrasted this with the agony of three months in a heavy plaster cast or brace. They also pointed out that during such a three-months' period, the inactivity of the leg results in atrophy or withering of the muscles so that frequently, even though the bone knits, the person is still left with a permanent disability.

It was pointed out that the method of nailing together a broken femur was first advocated in America by Dr. Smith Petersen of Boston.

### *The Problem of Malnutrition*

Malnutrition constitutes a world-wide problem of the first importance. Despite the amazing advances of agricultural and medical sciences, millions of people in all parts of the globe are suffering from malnutrition today.

This is the finding of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on the Problem of Nutrition, whose final report has just been issued by the International Documents Service of the Columbia University Press. Viscount Astor is chairman of the committee.

The committee spent two years studying the relation of nutrition to health, agriculture and economic policy in 30 countries. It concluded that there was no country in which malnutrition did not present a serious problem.

"That this situation can exist in a world in which agricultural resources are so abundant and the arts of agriculture have been so improved that supply frequently tends to outstrip effective demand remains an outstanding challenge to constructive statesmanship and international cooperation," the committee states in its report.

Inadequate physical development, subnormal health, and disease due to malnutrition could all be eliminated by proper attention to the problems involved, in the opinion of the committee.

### *The Vitamin Alphabet*

The time has come to unscramble the vitamin alphabet, according to Dr. C. M. McCay of the Laboratory of Animal Nutrition of Cornell University. Dr. McCay nominates no less a distinguished body than the League of Nations for the task.

Since vitamin research is an international activity, some international organization is needed to supervise the job. Perhaps the League would have better results with vitamins than it has had with Spain and China.

The system of naming vitamins after the alphabet seemed a simple and happy idea in the beginning. But discoveries in the field of the vitamins have come so swiftly that, in Dr. McCay's words, "the average vitamin student is now afflicted with as many alphabetical vitamins as Job was with boils."

A decade ago the situation was simple. Scientists were acquainted with four vitamins, known conveniently enough as Vitamins A, B, C, and D. There was little enough trouble when Vitamin E was discovered, but a substance which was named Vitamin F turned out to be just a mistake and so there is no Vitamin F in the alphabet today.

But the real trouble started when Vitamin B turned out to be a mixture of several vitamins. These have been named B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, and B6. But what is called B2 is also known as Vitamin G.

It now begins to appear that Vitamin D is at least quintuplets. Some authorities, Dr. McCay says, would separate Vitamin D into eight components.

In addition, three different investigators, in three different countries, have recently discovered three entirely different substances and in each case christened the particular discovery "Vitamin H." Obviously only one of the three can maintain its right to the title. Otherwise the literature on vitamins will be quickly thrown into impossible confusion.

Astronomers have a system whereby all new discoveries are reported to the International Astronomical Union. The discovery is given a temporary number which is telegraphed to all the important observatories of the world. Later when it is definitely decided whether the object in question is a new or old comet, a new or old asteroid, or whatever else, another bulletin is sent out. If the object is new, an appropriate name is conferred upon it.

### *Lord Rutherford Dies*

Only one name bulks larger upon the pages of contemporary scientific history than that of Lord Rutherford, who died at the age of 66 on October 19. It is that of Professor Albert Einstein.

The two of them, Einstein and Rutherford, laid the foundations upon which the whole structure of modern science is reared. Einstein originated the theory of relativity and developed the quantum theory to its present-day concept that all energy consists of individual bullets or packets. (Quantum theory grew out of the original experiments of Dr. Max Planck.)

Lord Rutherford established the present notion of atomic structure, that the atom consists of a central nucleus with electrons surrounding it. Because of the work which Dr. Neils Bohr did upon these outer electrons, this type of atom became known as the Bohr atom. But Bohr was a pupil of Rutherford's, and the idea of a nucleus in the atom originated with Rutherford. The present-day atom is a Rutherford atom.

Bertrand Russell once wrote that he was not certain which was the larger revolution in modern thought, the revolution brought about by Einstein or the revolution brought about by Rutherford. Lord Rutherford now rests in Westminster Abbey with the illustrious dead of England.

### *Plant Hormone Isolated*

Isolation of a "wound hormone," a chemical substance in plants which stimulates their cells to new growth when injuries have occurred to their tissues, is announced by Dr. James Bonner and Dr. James English Jr., of the California Institute of Technology. The two investigators have suggested the name of "traumatin" for the newly discovered substance.

Recent experiments have demonstrated that certain plant tissues which previously refused to grow on artificial media in test tubes, could be made to grow by the addition of this hormone.

DAVID DIETZ

# HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

"BUSINESS," said the Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Ernest G. Draper, in a recent address, "is entitled to have its rules of conduct defined in a clear and understandable manner. Under present conditions, many of those who are making a sincere attempt to comply with these rules are hopelessly at sea over what they are and are not permitted to do. Court decisions are usually depended upon to clarify controversial points but our anti-trust laws in particular have become more and more muddled as a result of judicial interpretation so that now you can quote a judicial decision for almost any act of business conduct in the anti-trust field. As a part of its service to industry, government should redraft these laws so that they will be both intelligible and fair to the average business concern."

This address, entitled "The Changing Relations Between Government and Business," was delivered several weeks before the President's "Fireside Chat" announcing the Special Session of Congress and assigning as one of its objectives the revision of the anti-trust laws. In his radio address the President stated in effect that private monopoly, in harmful derogation of competition, is rife and the present anti-trust laws are inadequate to combat it; accordingly the Administration is studying and will recommend to Congress new and strengthening legislation.

### *Labor and the Consumer*

In the two foregoing paragraphs reference is made to the interests of business men and the needs of democracy respecting anti-trust legislation. Two other considerations are mentioned by Mr. Draper; namely, social security and the common standard of living:

> Progressive social legislation designed to improve the status of the under-privileged and to add to the economic security of industrial workers, will, I feel sure, prove to be profitable to business in the long run. After due consideration has been given to human welfare, however, business should not be burdened with State or Federal legislation which unnecessarily penalizes efficiency. The interstate character of many types of industrial activity has now been clearly established. If consumers, and by consumers I mean the whole American people, are to enjoy the advantages of mass production methods, the distribution of commodities should not be subjected to a wide variety of regulations every time a political boundary is crossed. American business has given us many necessities and many luxuries because of its ability to develop new improved methods and new techniques. We all desire this progress to continue. If it is seriously retarded by unnecessary restrictions, the consumer will be the loser in the end.

Although in his Fireside Chat the President referred to anti-trust legislation studies, the subsequently released Annual Report of the Federal Trade Commission does not reveal that any such study has been prosecuted by that body. The comment has been made that new legislation passed without the full cooperation of the agency which has had most to do with anti-trust law enforcement, and which is committed pretty deeply toward certain policies revealed in trade practice conference agreements, on the one hand, and successive prosecutions for anti-trust law violations, on the other, would operate to "jeopardize whatever continuity this country's anti-trust policy now possesses."

The principal Federal anti-trust laws are the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and the two recent laws, the Robinson-Patman and Miller-Tydings Acts. It is the last two, complicated by the State Fair Trade Acts,

the State Unfair Trade Acts and other local legislation, descending upon the business world already occupied with problems arising out of the Social Security Act, Securities and Exchange Commission, Labor Relations Board, and Excess Profits Tax, which have caused so much confusion and uncertainty.

### *Lay Off, Macduff*

It has never been claimed that any more than a "certain amount" of fleas are good for a dog. In the present state of indecision, according to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, business men are puzzled. It is natural in these circumstances, that observers should exhort the Federal Trade Commission to devote all of its energies to the eradication of the great and substantial evils that affect our national life, in accordance with its broad mandate, as well as toward the establishment of standards of conduct to which the honest and law-abiding can repair for guidance; they would have it soft-pedal for a while the ordinary run-of-the-mine type of investigation. The badgered business man, already grappling with the long arm of monopoly, and sometimes finding that monopoly can only be fought with its own illegal weapons, dislikes the menacing shadow of an impending prosecution and a cease and desist order over what he believes to be inconsequential lapses. "It was never intended that the Commission should act the part of a petty traffic officer in the great highways of commerce," said the Court. This thought was echoed in the pungent style of Judge Learned Hand in a recent case:

> It is true that the Commission is not to sanction unfair trade practices merely because they are of long standing; its duty is to bring trade into harmony with fair dealing. To the discharge of that duty it should not, however, bring a pedantic scrupulosity; too solicitous a censorship is worse than any evils it may correct and a community which sells for profit must not be ridden on so short a rein that it can only move at a walk.

The Commission's annual report for the year ended June 30, 1937, was released November 1, and the paragraphs referring to the Robinson-Patman Act alone bear ample witness to the skip and flutter in the arteries of trade. The report reveals that before a year had elapsed from the time when the new Act (which "made substantial changes in the law through a restatement of the basic principle prohibiting sellers from engaging in price discrimination which injuriously affects competition" and "broadened its scope to include forms of discrimination not directly connected with price discrimination and similar stark simplicities") burst warm and moist from the Government Printing Office presses, the Commission had launched field investigations in 306 cases, "each case involving alleged violations of the Act by from 1 to as many as several hundred concerns," covering commodities including "many phases of production and distribution, at least some of which touch the life of every citizen."

Ergo, as my old professor would have pronounced with obvious and logical satisfaction, the field investigations themselves touch the life of every citizen. No wonder that "hundreds of business men or their attorneys have called at the Commission's offices" and "thousands of letters respecting the new law and its applications in particular circumstances have been received and answered."

### *Restatement of Anti-Trust Law*

Far from offering any plan for the general revision of the anti-trust laws, the need for which is so widely recognized, the Federal Trade Commission makes in its report only two recommendations. Both may be, in proper surroundings and correct perspective, desirable in themselves; the lingering fear of the business man is that their immediate effect will be merely to add another set of regulations to a rule-ridden business world. The first, which would make unlawful "unfair or deceptive acts and practices" (in addition to the present "unfair methods of competition") is already approved by the Senate in the

Wheeler Bill and is pending in the House in the Lea Bill. It is intended to reach those "unfair" practices which affect the public but which do not relate to competition, and is an amendment to Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Bills are pending also for the second, which is an amendment of Section 7 of the Clayton Act. The present law prohibits the acquisition by one corporation of the capital stock of a competing corporation where certain monopolistic tendencies and conditions may result. In September 1932, the Arrow-Hart and Hegeman Electric Company was ordered to cease and desist from acquiring the stock of two competing companies. The Company thereupon effected a merger or consolidation of assets, and sued to set aside the Commission's order. The Supreme Court, in March 1934, by a 5-4 decision upheld the Company, excluding the acquisition of assets from the terms of the Clayton Act (291 U. S. 587). Mr. Justice Stone, in a characteristically forthright dissenting opinion, concurred in by Chief Justice Hughes and Justices Brandeis and Cardozo, said "I am unable to construe so narrowly a statute designed, as I think, to prevent just such suppression of competition as this case exemplifies." Congress is now asked to patch up the statute to conform to these ideas.

The only definite indication that the problem as a whole of protected free competition versus regulated cooperation—of old anti-trust theories versus modern conditions—is receiving study with a view to action is the Attorney General's call for a broad revision. Some of the background of this study was revealed in an address by Assistant Attorney General Robert H. Jackson before the Trade and Commerce Bar Association at New York City. Mr. Jackson asked whether we can identify a field where competition still may function and be protected, and, if so, what changes should be made in patent laws, tariff laws, tax laws, and laws concerning federal incorporation or licensing of interstate corporations, in order to mobilize all the powers of government against monopoly. Should we except natural resource industries from competition and regulate them in the interest of prudent utilization now, and conservation for the future? Where competition has vanished and cannot be revived, should we recognize and regulate existing monopoly?

### *The Good Old Days*

These are only a few of the larger questions which loom ahead for any study which seeks to return to fundamentals instead of merely soldering and tinkering the statutes the original objects of which have in forty years of legal attrition slowly settled into unctuous obscurity.

The average business man who is interested in business efficiency rather than business imperialism reasonably expects that any general revision of the law will take into account his fight against unfair competitors, waste, increased labor and social security costs and, above all, uncertainty as to the exact rules of the game he is obliged to play. He should be able to look to Government not only for discipline, but for guidance. Indeed, since he has a stake in the Government as important to him as, say, labor or agriculture, he would seem to be entitled to positive aid.

If regulation is coming, it might happen that industry may well grow nostalgic over the good old NRA days, if unwise legislation is enacted. Indeed it has been said that industry should step forth now with proposals which will formulate the principles of NRA on a voluntary basis under new, comprehensive, fair and streamlined laws.

GUERRA EVERETT.

# ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

THE *first Church to take official action on the proposal of the World Conferences of Oxford and Edinburgh* (*for the establishment of a World Council of Churches*) was the *Protestant Episcopal* Church in the U.S.A. Assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, for their triennial General Convention, both the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies endorsed the proposal and voted to send delegates to the meeting which will be held in Holland in May, 1938. The movement for Church unity through cooperation of the various Christian bodies was thus given added impetus.

For nearly fifty years the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States have been groping about for some means whereby a more direct approach to Church unity might be achieved. The Cincinnati General Convention, in view of the approval of the Oxford Affirmation, voted favorably on a proposal looking toward the achievement of organic union with the Presbyterians. A commission was empowered to take steps toward that end.

Another important action of the Episcopal General Convention was the change of tenure of the Presiding Bishop. Formerly elected for a term of six years, the Presiding Bishop will henceforth be elected to serve until he reaches the retirement age of 68. Provision was also made so that, in the event of the creation of a primatial see, the Presiding Bishop will be able to assume the post as its head. The office and work of the Presiding Bishop was also expanded to include along with the chairmanship of the House of Bishops the work of Head of the National Council of the Church. The Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, Bishop of Virginia since 1927 and for twenty-five years previously a missionary in Japan, was elected as the new incumbent. He and his successors will be freed of almost if not all of their diocesan work, so that they may devote their whole attention and energies to the supervision of the work of the Church as a whole.

The Lutheran World Almanac for 1937 lists 219 religious bodies in the United States. There were, according to these statistics, 244,147 ministers, rabbis, and priests ministering to the congregations of 245,422 churches and synagogues. The membership of all 219 bodies totalled 63,493,036, of whom 51,745,907 were thirteen years old and over. The first ten religious groups in the U. S. in the order of their numerical strength are: Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Jewish, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, Eastern Orthodox, and Congregational-Christian.

The Council of Church Boards of Education in a recent survey made an effort to determine the cultural attitudes within the various denominations. Many junior colleges, colleges, and universities replied to the questionnaires sent out. As a result the fact is apparently established that college youth is not opposed to religion and the Church. Eighty-eight and three-tenths per cent of the students in 1,171 institutions of higher learning maintain definite religious preferences. Five and one-half per cent of the remainder declared that they had no preference, and no information could be secured concerning 6.2 per cent.

Dr. Gould Wickey, commenting on this survey in the October issue of *Christian Education*, said:

> We do not deny that there are dangerous influences at work in some institutions, but we do wish to affirm that college

youth have not lost their faith as some would have us believe. It is admitted that going to college causes a radical change in childish views and that during the sophomore year there is a distinct tendency away from religion in contrast to the situation in the freshman year. On the other hand, during the junior and senior years there appears to be a return to or more interest in religion and religious activities. The evidence of this survey abundantly supports the conclusion that, if students are not interested in the services of the Church and in religious service, most of the disinterest started before they went to college or university.

In this study of the Educational Council, it is interesting to note that the first ten religious groups among college youth ranked differently than the numerical strength of the denominations would indicate. The first ten were, in order: Methodist, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational-Christian, Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, Jewish, Disciples of Christ, and Christian Science. A comparison of the two lists indicates some striking contrasts.

### *German Jewry's Last Chapter*

At the annual convention of Hadassah in Atlantic City, N. J., Dr. Joachim Prinz, author and lecturer from Berlin, told some 2,500 delegates that the last chapter in the history of German Jewry is now being written.

"When the next ten years are completed," he said, "the last chapter will have been completed. The facts in the case are plain. The National Socialist Government is in to stay because it truly represents the will and character of the German people. It is nonsense to deny that Adolf Hitler is admired and loved by the overwhelming majority of the German nation. And as long as the great power system continues to exist as it does, every condition will favour the continuance of the National Socialist regime. The position taken by the German Government can have but one meaning: the ultimate dissolution of Jewish life in Germany."

Both the Catholics and the Confessional synods continue to be the subjects of press attacks in Germany. Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi cultural leader, insists that the Oxford Conference last August was proof that Protestantism is "going back to Rome." Apparently every effort is being made to arouse contention between Catholics and Protestants who have been giving one another mutual support in the Church-State struggle.

The number of Protestant leaders under arrest and waiting trial has again increased. The Confessional Synod's reports show that the number dropped to 45 in the middle of October, but that it has now increased again to 85. Protestant laymen and pastors are arrested and rearrested so routinely that it has ceased to create much surprise. The Rev. Martin Niemoeller, pastor of the Jesus Christus Church in Dahlem, suburb of Berlin, has now been in prison four months without trial. The majority of the other Protestants under arrest are charged with having collected funds for Confessional synods, which was prohibited by a decree of Dr. Hans Kerrl, Reich Church Minister, last spring. The decree intended to break down Church opposition to the State's religious policy by depriving rebellious pastors and their congregations of all support except that received from the State. Collections continue throughout the Reich, despite the decree and wholesale arrests for its violation.

### *Return to Religion in Mexico*

Dispatches from Mexico indicate that the "return to religion" is continuing. The authorities are not assisting this movement for the resumption of religious services, but where the people are insisting that the churches be reopened, opposition on the part of the officials is noticeably on the decline. This partial loosening of church restrictions is even apparent in the field of education. Official (government-controlled) education is developing rapidly, in accord with President Cardenas' hopes to have adequate school facilities for the whole population. WILLIAM B. SHARP

# ☆ THEY SAY ☆

***Translations and quotations from the press of the world***

## ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

The reconstruction of life as a whole on a socialist basis also requires a reconstruction of the daily mode of life on the same basis. Very many are still uncertain as to how to build their daily life anew. Formerly men lived according to the legacy of their fathers. One cannot live according to the old ways—that is understood by everyone—but how is one to live now? This question agitates the masses. Uncertitude on this point is often the reason why people are afraid to break completely with religion.

The recently taken census has shown that the masses, and the women in particular, were greatly agitated by the question: "Are you a believer or a non-believer?" Many who had long ceased to observe religious forms found it difficult to answer this question, did not decide to answer "non-believer," and registered as believers.

If you take the Bible or the Gospels you will see what a great amount of space is devoted in them to topics on the morals of everyday life. On the mutual relations of men, on standards of behavior, every religion has a great deal to say. The Catholic Church pays a great deal of attention to the problems of daily life. She is not alone, of course, in showing an increased attention to these questions. And now that the priests have received the right to vote, they particularly emphasize this phase of their work. . . .

We sometimes approach the problem of anti-religious propaganda without realizing their complexity. For instance, we forget about the activity of the Church in the field of art. We forget that the Church was something like a club. People met each other at Church; a choir sang or an organ played there. It was beautiful in the Church, and some of the services, in the Catholic Church for instance, had a theatrical touch. Our working women sometimes say: "I go to Church because theater tickets are hard to get."

We forget that the Church at times organized social work such as taking care of the sick, the children, etc. We lose sight of the fact that we must embrace the widest layers of the population in our social work. We forget that certain sects, the Old Believers of the Black Earth Regions for instance, took care of the health of their followers, requiring individual dishes for food, and so on.

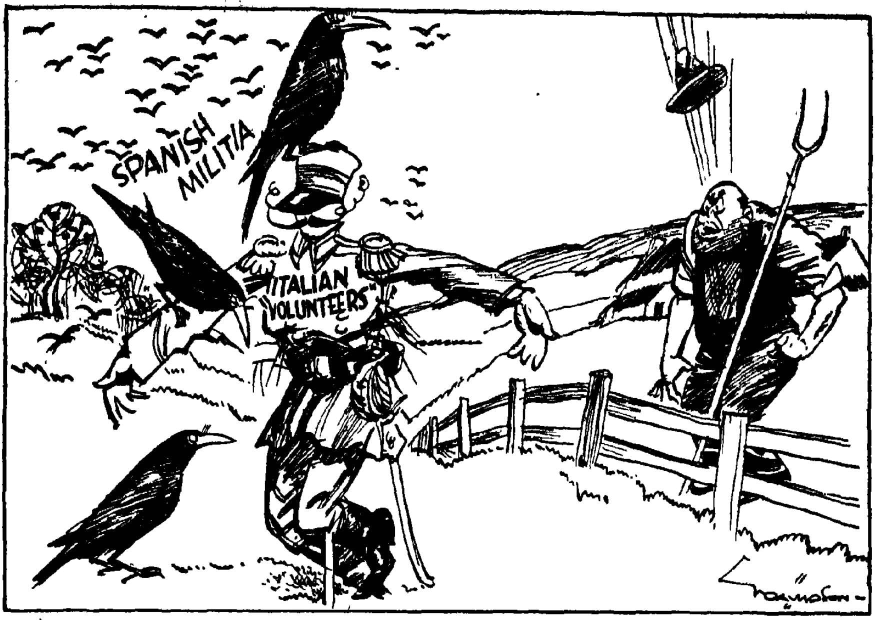
Only widely-organized social work, attracting the broadest layers of the population; work directed toward a well-ordered life, toward the elimination of a thousand petty impediments to the achievement of a bright, cultured life for the masses; only the mastering by the masses of all the achievements of science, technique and art will enable us finally to overcome the influence of the Church on daily life.

—Krupskaya, (Lenin's widow), *Izvestia*, Moscow.

## RECOVERY IN FRANCE

In France statistics of the collection of taxes for the country as a whole are published monthly. This furnishes us with a reliable indicator of economic activity with a lag of only a few weeks.

Revenue from direct taxation is slightly lower. What does this signify? In France every person gives his income for the preceding year at the beginning of the new year and is taxed accordingly for the coming year. He has a year to pay. One can thus say that the collection of direct taxes is two years behind




*Glasgow Ev. Times*

the current trend of affairs. If the present revenue from this source is lower, it means that two years ago, or more precisely from April 1935 to April 1936, average incomes in France had diminished.

On the other hand revenue from indirect taxes has considerably increased. It exceeds government estimates by over a fourth, or 500 million francs, for this month alone. These taxes are collected far more rapidly, some of them at the moment of exchange, others with a year's delay. They seem to indicate that, for a year, the level of exchange is rising in France. If France was a country primarily dependent upon foreign exchange, like Switzerland or England, one could say that this recovery of exchange was largely illusory—that it was only based on the fall of the franc. But this is not the case. France is far closer to economic autarchy than Germany, England or Italy. She is a country where one eats bread and drinks wine, and where one produces that bread and wine. Hence there can be no increase in the revenue from indirect taxation without an actual increase in interior exchange.

Recovery has been slowest in the luxury trades. It hardly corresponds with the increase in prices. This increase shows however that old stocks in hand—a source of constant worry during the crisis—have been disposed of. We may add that the luxury trades in France partly depend on tourists. And the tourist season promises to be highly successful this year.

What are the trades and industries with the highest degree of recovery? All those dealing with the working and middle classes. Food is the poor man's luxury in France (as means of transportation play the same role in other countries). The quality of the French workman's food has remained, even during the depression, higher than in any other large European country. Now it has been increased. Consumption of wine and cider have simultaneously risen.

Small business has also shown a large measure of recovery. Small hotels, for instance, in the vicinity of large cities have been greatly benefited by the introduction of the forty-hour week and long week-ends.

Indirect taxes from small French towns, which are really agricultural centers depending solely on rural trade, show an encouraging new factor. The peasants are buying again. During the crisis the peasants' buying power had been largely curtailed. If they are deciding to buy again they must feel more certain about the future.

This does not mean that excessive optimism




*United Feature Syndicate, Inc.*

***THE BOUNDER!***

will prevail. The different ministries concerned with the economic life of the country feel that even the latest tax returns are favorable from a negative viewpoint. They indicate that France is adapting herself to new social conditions without panic or economic paralysis. The period of transition over, a further surge of prosperity is to be expected.

—*Courrier des Etats-Unis,* New York.

## BELGIUM AND THE LEAGUE

The Government of the Reich has expressed an undisguised satisfaction at the Belgian decision to pursue a completely independent foreign policy, but it considers that this policy will become truly independent only when Belgium will repudiate her obligations as a member of the League of Nations. Then only will Germany be able to give to our country a guarantee similar to those given by France and England.

But even if we think that collective security may be only an illusion, we feel, nevertheless, that Belgium would commit a dangerous error in leaving the League of Nations.

No one, absolutely no one in Belgium has ever maintained that the policy of effective neutrality, upon which all Belgians agree, would lead us to break our bonds with Geneva. Nobody maintains this, and M. van Zeeland least of all.

That the Wilhelmstrasse seems unwilling to resume its relations with Geneva does not help matters. Hence this is hardly the time to resume direct discussions of a Western Pact.

—*L'Indépandance Belge,* Brussels.

## THE DUCE SPEAKS

It was only towards the end of 1936 that the first Italian volunteers began to leave for Spain. Given the Spanish and international developments of the war, the Blackshirts could not remain indifferent any longer; even if Franco had had no need of men, the moment had come to give him a proof of solidarity and come down into the ring against anti-Fascism. It was the Reds who gave the civil war in Spain the character of a European war of doctrines—it would have been suicide not to take up the glove.

In February this year the non-intervention committee in London agreed to the proposal of these same British and French who would not hear of it in August to ban the departure of volunteers for Spain. From then onwards Italy has scrupulously respected the agreement. France, on the other hand, has not. Marseilles was, and still is, a centre of enlistment, while many other centres are at work in Paris and in other French cities without risk of disturbance under the more than benevolent eye of the Popular Front police.

Now, although it has proved impossible to prevent the continual passage of volunteers from France into Spain, it is proposed to recall those already there. The question arises, why?

The British reply that the withdrawal of volunteers would shorten the war, as it is prolonged by their continued presence. That is all hopelessly childish and betrays a complete ignorance of history. The two armed masses now struggling in Spain amount to 300,000 men each; the two masses of foreign volunteers are reduced to some 20,000 to 25,000 each—so only a very modest percentage is concerned. It is simply grotesque to think that ten foreign volunteers can force 90 Spaniards to fight, especially against their will.

Before the members of the London committee subject their brains to a severe if not exhausting distillation in the alembics of procedure and of possible control systems, we

would warn them that the recall of foreign volunteers is too complicated to be practicable. Who has the power to recall that gang of expatriates, Italians, French, Swiss, Jews and generally homeless who are not amenable to any government? As for the Italian volunteers, they were not sent by the Government, and the Government has therefore no means to recall them. From the day on which they disembarked in Spain and became part of the Spanish national forces, they depended, and still depend, on Franco. Only the Spanish generalissimo, before or after the victory, can release them from their imperative moral duty; the Italian Government cannot do it and, in the present state of affairs, will not do it.

Finally, it is high time to say that British non-intervention is a fable in which only fools can believe. The truth is that volunteers, both officers and soldiers, have left Great Britain; arms, aeroplanes and munitions have left Great Britain; public subscriptions have been announced, which, in fact, have not reached very brilliant totals; the whole of Great Britain has become the scene of violent activity in the shape of propaganda and apologias in favour of the Valencia bolsheviks; the movement is supported by members of parliament and important figures in the religious and political worlds; even the evacuation of the civil populations, first from Bilbao and now from Santander, is only, under the modest guise of a humanitarian fig-leaf, a form of direct intervention in favour of the Spanish Reds, for whom it smooths the path of military resistance.

To take all the wind out of the sails of the British move with regard to volunteers, it is enough to hope that the withdrawal is chiefly demanded by Valencia and Moscow. The conclusion to draw is that it will help only or mainly the Reds.

—*Il Popolo d'Italia*, Milan
(Attributed to Signor Mussolini)

## ARAB-FASCIST BOND

Another outstanding feature noticeable in the Birthday (of the Prophet Mahomet) celebrations, was the appearance of German Nazi and Italian Fascist flags, and the displaying of the pictures, beside those of Arab kings and leaders, of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini.

Many people will undoubtedly misunderstand the significance of such action on the part of the Arabs, while foreign and Zionist



*Die Welt am Sonntag*, Munich

***THE JAPAN-CHINA CONFLICT***

***Peace: "I seem to be superfluous here"***

propagandists have most probably deliberately misunderstood it, supposing it to be the fruit of the alleged Nazi and Fascist propaganda in the country. The fact, however, is that it was a significant gesture of sympathy and respect. "Sympathy" because, feeling the whip of Jewish pressure and influence, the Arabs sympathise with the Nazis and Fascists in their agony and trials at the hands of Jewish intrigues, and international financial pressure; and "respect" because knowing the strength of Jewish finance and Jewish intrigues, the Nazis and Fascists have been able to withstand the influence of the Jews.

Another political element also comes in. The Nazis and Fascists are, at present anyway, concentrated in one camp, while in the opposing camp Great Britain leads. . . .

—*Palestine and Transjordan* (Arab organ), Jerusalem.

## BOLSHEVIK BOGEY

"Compared with Stanley Baldwin," said a famous politician at a private dinner the other night, "Machiavelli was just a clowning simpleton." Certainly Lord Baldwin's successor at Number Ten has none of the political subtlety which was hidden behind the famous pipe and the pose of rough and simple British honesty. But Mr. Neville Chamberlain is acting with a vigorous directness which is very refreshing to those of us who hold that the greatest Empire in the world should not timorously avoid the acceptance of even the

smallest responsibilities for the future of that erratic globe.

There have been moments during the past month when there was almost a probability of war. Europe has come through them a little more confident of peace. I have never believed reports of a fundamental divergence of views between Mr. Eden (alleged to be "pro-French") and Mr. Chamberlain (alleged to be "pro-German"). On the contrary, they worked in cordial collaboration during the Abyssinian crisis and that collaboration is still maintained. It is one of the principal reasons why Europe has regained a little self-confidence.




*Glasgow Record*

***THE CONCERT OF EUROPE***
***("The trumpeter is the hardest-worked man in a dance band."—Jack Payne.)***

Since the Spanish struggle began, this *Review*—or that section of it in which the Editor has his little and often unpopular say—has emphasised two points. One was that the Italian and German intervention in Spain amounted to a grave threat to the British Empire. The other was that Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler would help General Franco as long as Mr. Eden and M. Delbos merely said how nice it would be if they refrained from doing so. Very late in the day those strange patriots whose interest in Imperial communications is less than their panic of the Bolshevik bogey have begun to wake up. They wonder whether Signor Mussolini's increasingly threatening attitude in the Mediterranean and Herr Hitler's claim that he has supported General Franco because he wanted Spanish iron which has hitherto come to Britain are not, after all, greater dangers than a mythical "Red Spain" organised by Russians who can scarcely keep their own show going in their own country.

—Vernon Bartlett, in the *World Review*, London.

## BLOOD AND IRON

Now everyone knows that iron ore is used in the manufacture of pig-iron and steel. It is a raw material of which Germany has the greatest need at the present time.

On March 20, 1915, the representatives of the principal industrial and agricultural associations of Germany, in a confidential memorandum addressed to the German Chancellor, wrote as follows:

"The quantity of iron and steel needed for the manufacture of shells is one which surpasses the imagination of the 'man in the street.' . . . If the production of pig-iron and steel had not been doubled from August onwards, the continuation of the war would have been impossible. . . . Lorraine iron ore is responsible, at the present time, for 60-80 per cent. of our output. If the production of this mineral had been stopped, the war would soon have been over—and lost!"

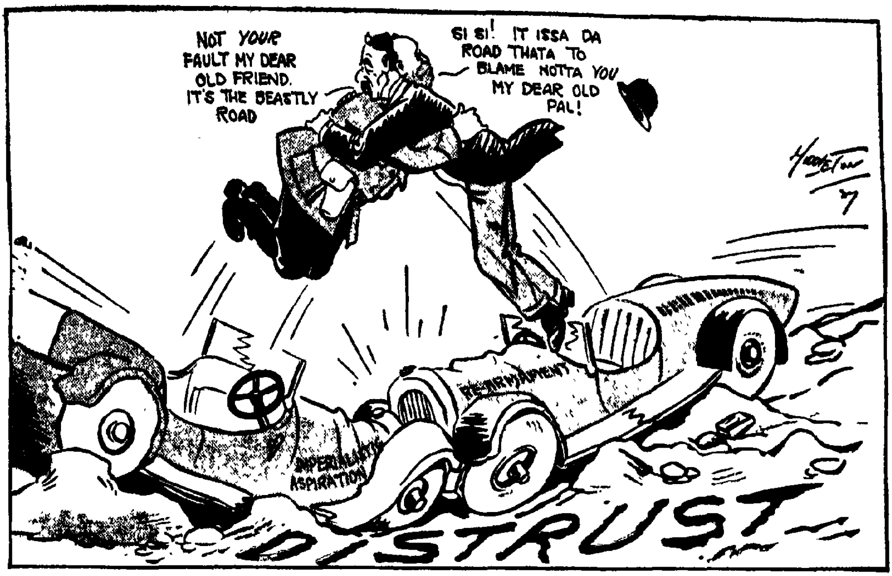
The Briey basin (near Verdun) *which contains a third of the world's known reserves of this mineral,* continued to supply the Krupp factories throughout the entire course of the war! It could easily and quickly have been destroyed by French shells and bombs, and yet, thanks to some mysterious external intervention, coming from high quarters, this territory was spared by our aircraft and artillery.

Further, the Briey basin, *which again became French territory after the War,* has continued to pour forth its treasure to German factories, *and is thus in great measure responsible for the gigantic re-armament preparations now going on in Germany.*

This was quite logical, and in accordance with the practice of certain important French industries which, as is well known, extend their ramifications well beyond our frontiers, and whose domains are practically separate states within the French state.

"Germany is fighting us with our own iron," wrote Maurice Barrès, in 1916. Twenty years later there is a danger that the same phrase will again become grim reality, and the lessons of the past—and what a past!—will have been useless! Today, as yesterday, we are threatened with the most terrible of catastrophes because we have been unable to put a brake on the insatiable greed of certain powerful industrial magnates!

—*Le Mutilé de l'Algérie*, Algiers.




*Birmingham Gazette*

***THE ANGLO-ITALIAN EMBRACE***

***The Oxford County Surveyor blames bad roads for most of the road fatalities. Speed, he says, plays a negligible part.***

## THE AMERICAN CLIMATE

I suggest that a study of the American boom today would help us to understand the nature of our own boom here [in England]. I think that always by studying American conditions, we have our own position explained to us. The signs are written there in larger lettering. There are those who will argue that during the last ten years Americans and particularly New Yorkers ricochetted from one exaggerated emotional condition to another. But it is those who are unfamiliar with the idiom of American life who argue in that way. The American scene, the American temperament, more than anything the American climate, inevitably set the stage for limelight and melodrama. We enjoy, or at least endure, what is called a temperate climate. In New York there are only periods of extremes. In March the streets are rutted with frozen snow. The atmosphere is so arctic that when you shake hands after stepping out of the streets into a steam-heated drawing room you get an electric shock. In June the restaurants will be air-cooled: the streets like the Sahara. It is inevitable that such a climate should produce those violent extremes: extremes that provide for the visitor much of the charm that makes New York so fascinating and so loved a city: extremes that provide also for the sociologist much valuable material. He can discern there changes that in a less dramatic atmosphere would be unapparent. In the same way that you can get no accurate idea of the time by watching the sun, that the hand of a clock is needed to record the minute movements of a spring, an English student of New York life during the last ten years will have got a clearer idea of what has been happening in his own country than he would have done by remaining all the time in London. To the Englishman who finds himself puzzled for a diagnosis of conditions here, I should suggest "Spend two months in New York. You'll probably know then what *we're* about."

—Alec Waugh, in the *World Review*, London.

## LET'S GET TOUGH

Modesty is doubtless a fine quality and British subjects are seldom credited with it except by themselves. But there are times when one would welcome a little desk-thumping, loud-speaking conceit. During a recent visit to Sweden I was amazed by the number of people who assured me Mr. Anthony Eden was a sick man because he appeared to have lost all his self-confidence. There is in most European capitals a mingled distrust and distress that a government so strong as the British



Daily Herald, London

***"There's a burglar in the House!"***
***"Is there—the cad!"***

should be playing so small a part in world affairs. England, the argument runs, must be either decadent or up to some very shady work.

Two developments of the last few weeks should destroy at least the decadence theory. The decision of Congress Party in India to work for reforms by constitutional methods and the reaction on Arab and Jewish opinion of the Palestine Report both suggest that the British have not yet lost that art of compromise which is the secret of successful politics and one of the attributes of a great nation. It is impossible to be enthusiastic about progress that is slow but steady, and yet for people involved in it it is so much less uncomfortable than the progress by jerks which is the most sensational feature of dictatorships.

The British Government may conceivably even be right about Spain. As one who has felt very bitterly about the indirect aid which British-bred non-intervention has given to General Franco, I shall nevertheless take off my hat with deep respect to Mr. Eden if his calculation should prove correct that the Spanish rebels will, at the end of their war, have no greater ambition in foreign affairs than to turn out of their country every Italian and German who helped them. This would be an impressive justification of the British policy of patient non-resistance even though it would have been wiser not to wait until the civil war had been going on for twelve months before we made it clear that we would allow no change in the status of the Western Mediterranean.

—Vernon Bartlett, in the *World Review*, London.

## ABSENTEE LANDLORDS

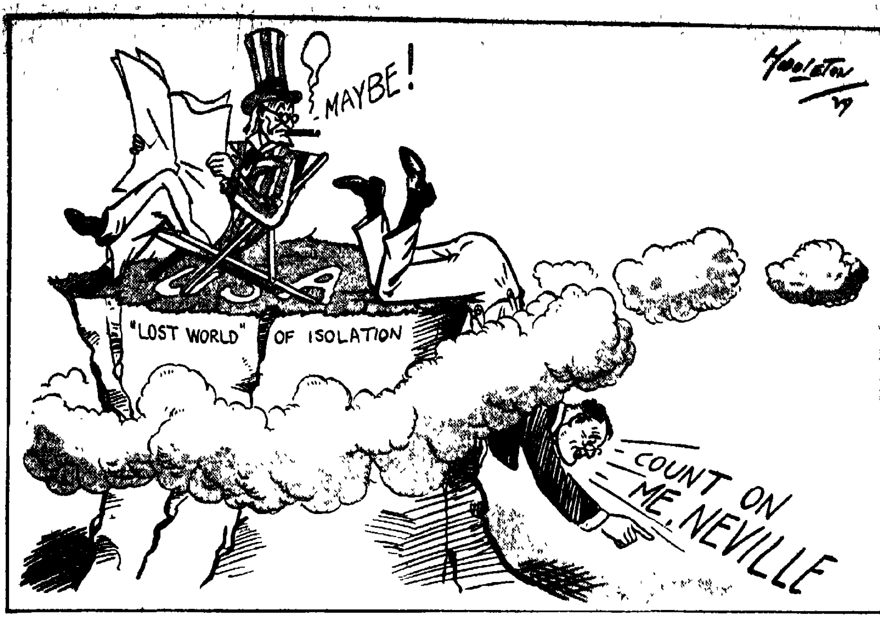
The feudal caste of Spain have for centuries not only exploited the peasants, but the soil as well. Under their domination Spain's once abundant forests have disappeared; hundreds and thousands of acres of once fertile ground have gone to waste. Whilst other countries went ahead with agricultural development, in Spain 74,100,000 acres remained uncultivated; 46,930,000 unirrigated acres grew only grass and only 2,470,000 acres were irrigated.

The absentee landlord was one of the most evil features of life in Spain before the formation of the Republic. These men, owning in some cases more than a hundred thousand acres, were interested in one thing only—the collection of rents. They seldom saw the land they ruined or the peasants they exploited.

The amount of land owned by one man can be seen from the fact that the Duke of Medinaceli owned 197,600 acres; the Duke of Penaranda 123,500; the Duke of Villahermosa 116,090; the Duke of Alba 86,450; fourteen other landlords possessed between them 988,000 acres.

And while the landlords lived abroad in luxury from their rents and from the land they exploited so unintelligently, the peasants eked out an existence that would be called miserable even by the standards of the Middle Ages. They crowded to regions where they were able to have a little land of their own, leaving other areas almost deserted. In the Province of Leon there is one region divided into 27,000 tiny farms—of ten metres each. In Pontevedra there are innumerable tiny properties of from ten to twenty metres. In Vera, in La Coruna, there is a piece of land 32 metres square that has three proprietors. One of them owns the land, another the single chestnut tree that grows there and the third draws a rent of six eggs laid upon it. In countless places in the Spanish countryside three or four families were living in one room. These were their circumstances, and until the formation of the Popular Front Government they had no reason to hope for better. And one half of Spain's population of 22 millions were peasants and farmers.

—*Spanish Press Agency*, London.




Birmingham Gazette

*HE STOOPS TO "CONCUR"*

***Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, will address a meeting to-night in connection with the Conservative Party conference at Scarborough, and will deal particularly with the Far East question.***

## LET'S GET TOUGH

The Prime Minister, I am told, is alarming his colleagues by a desire to put the British Empire on the map again. He hopes to make the name of Chamberlain as famous as that of Palmerston. Even Mr. Anthony Eden, whose gratitude he has won in the past by supporting him against the more defeatist or reactionary members of the Cabinet, is now supposed to be worrying lest Mr. Neville Chamberlain, throwing his weight about in this way, should break the frail bridges the Foreign Office is trying to build between London and Rome, London and Tokyo, London and Berlin.

This may all be the invention of a notorious and lying jade. If, on the other hand, it is sober fact it suggests that Mr. Chamberlain, who has started with a pretty poor Press, will quickly become a very popular Prime Minister. For even those millions of his compatriots who are so frightened of possible war tomorrow that they quail before the risks which must be faced if we are to avoid certain war the day after would like a more vigorous and decisive British foreign policy. I have developed the habit of eavesdropping in clubs ever since I heard one elderly and important old gentleman in the smoking room say, almost timidly, to another: "Have you ever seen a paper called the *New Statesman*?" And it was illuminating to hear the comments about the bombing of Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen which passed between the few August survivors of a famous club. The very men who have most bitterly attacked the League of Nations lest its insistence on morals and law should drag us into war were most violent in their denunciation of Japan, whose lawlessness they so encouraged by their attitude during the Manchurian invasion in 1931. The one mildly liberal man among them, whom they habitually consider a dangerous firebrand because he supported the plea for sanctions against Japan and Italy, was obviously quite pleased to hear them—for the British Empire is more likely to survive if it quarrels with outlaws than if it cultivates their friendship at any cost—but he suggested that the attack on the British Ambassador ought not to give rise to the danger of war.

A much stronger British foreign policy is likely to relieve the anxieties of both these sections of opinion—the nationalists and the




*Glasgow Bulletin*

***LET'S HOPE THE BRIDGE WILL HOLD!***

internationalists. Even anarchists like Mr. Garvin and Lord Rothermere could scarcely object if their own government indulged in a little of the bullying they so admire in other governments.

—Vernon Barlett in the *World Review*, London.

## A MILITARY PEOPLE

The victory of Santander, after those of Malaga, and Bilbao and the glorious battle of Guadalajara; the war in Spain after that in Abyssinia; they all show that the mother country is conserving intact her power of offence and defence, and clearly prove that Italy is a military country.

But anyone who tried to maintain this fact in the years preceding the World War, or in the years from 1919 to 1921, would have seen a smile of compassion on the face of his listeners. The common opinion was that Italy was the anti-militarist country *par excellence*, because the Italians are supreme individualists, rebels against any kind of discipline, or order. In reality, the nature of the Italian people is rich enough, and their vitality intense enough, to permit them to have at one and the same time a rebel intelligence and a disciplined character, and to allow the one or the other to prevail according to requirements. A splendid proof of this can be seen in the Garibaldi era, in which the most liberty-loving men obeyed fanatically and adored at the death.

But the military character of the Italians would not have been revealed so quickly and fully, on account of the confused and tormented manifestations of their intelligence, if Benito Mussolini had not had two clear conceptions: that our times are soldiers' times; and that the Italians *are* soldiers.

A military people are those who live in peace, contented with peace; but so disciplined in arms that they are ready, rapidly and easily, to fulfil the duties of war. They do not love war for war's sake, or prefer the sword to the spade, but they are always prepared to fight, and to seize the sword with the same vigour as the spade. Their mode of feeling and thinking is ordered and disciplined; they have an austere conception of life, unadorned, often hard, they love life, but are ready to renounce it for a greater good —the life and fortune of all. In action they are united and ready to sacrifice. Deeply religious, a military people believe in something and someone higher and greater than themselves, be it in heaven or on earth, and they are, in battle, splendidly warlike. A military people, to sum up, possess tranquillity, order, reflection, tenacity. The Romans are the most famous example of a military people, and the Italians are a military people.

A *warlike* people, on the other hand, love war for its own sake. . . . The Gauls were, in ancient history the best example of a warlike people; today, many of their characteristics have passed, with the modifications imposed by almost twenty centuries, to the French. Listen to their National Anthem, "*Allons, enfants de la patrie, le jour de gloire est arrivé.*" Look at their flags and medals: "*Honneur et patrie.*" These, honour and country, are for them great ideals, beyond sorrow and death—glory, honour; also pride. For that reason the sceptical, joking Frenchman of the city or back lines changes into the brave soldier of the trenches; but by way of how many fraternal disputes, how many insults, how much hard work, how much waste of immediate effect.

—*Il Popolo d'Italia*, Milan.

## FRIVOLOUS FRENCH

In spite of the agitation of the Left, and their strident demand for "guns and munitions for Spain," even for intervention, it is a

fact that there is absolutely no one in France except for the Communist masses who is ready today to go through with all the imaginable consequences of an active foreign policy! All Mussolini's diplomatic skill, and all Hitler's, too, has consisted in persuading Europe that their two countries ask nothing better than immediate war (entirely untrue, at any rate in Hitler's case), because they knew very well that in France, at any rate, there was no one except the Communists and their chiefs ready to plunge into a war, and that all other classes of Frenchmen and all the statesmen, even those of the most advanced opinions, shrank from such a possibility.

And the reason for their shrinking is that Frenchmen, still at the moment in the "frivolous" stage, want two contradictory things simultaneously. They want to preserve the integrity of their Colonial Empire. But at the same time they refuse to agree to the slightest sacrifice for their ideal.

When M. Dupont or M. Durand calls out in a loud voice at a meeting: "The French Government knows very well that the country does not want to go to war. It should act accordingly!"—and when you reply: "Yes, certainly, but then, are you ready to give up Tunisia to Italy, Spanish Morocco to Germany and Indo-China to Japan?"—M. Durand or M. Dupont at once becomes very serious and replies with some indignation: "Ah no, never that!" But, we repeat, the Frenchman is for the moment still in a frivolous mood and so long as the masses, and even some of the leaders, have not truly realised that Indo-China, Morocco, Tunisia, and perhaps even more, are demanded by our ancient enemies as pledges of our inaction, the position of the French Government, as far as its foreign policy is concerned, will remain extremely difficult. And a proof of this is the fact that, today, when the torpedo attacks in the Mediterranean have shown that even in times of peace France cannot count on her communications with Algeria and North Africa, the mass of the people, the business men, the bankers, and, of course, the aristocrats still refuse to grasp the situation.

—Genevieve Tabories, in the *World Review*, London.

## INTERNATIONAL MALTA

In the opinion of many Maltese it is only the strength and resources of Britain which in recent years have restrained the Fascist Government from their early declared ambition to annex Malta and so gain control of a base which, with Pantellaria, would command both entrances to the central bottleneck of the Mediterranean.

The overwhelming advantage of a scheme to internationalise Malta would be that it would place control of that narrow zone between Sicily and the north coast of Africa not in the hands of any single power, not in the hands of Britain alone, whose interests in the east Mediterranean demand her close attention, but it would invest the safety of this vital area in the armed force of all. Dutch ships bound for Java, smart German cargo vessels of the Deutsche Levante Line, Khedivial Mail boats sailing since the first week in August under the Egyptian flag, ubiquitous Greek tramps and the shipping of Yugoslavia, Turkey, Bulgaria and Rumania pass to and fro between Malta and Pantellaria. They have their interests to serve no less than the excellent boats of the Italian lines, no less than the P. & O., the British India and the Australian Commonwealth shipping. The Mediterranean issue can never be "a life and death struggle between the British and Italians" as one American writer said at the time of the Italo-Abyssinian war. It is not a fight for supremacy that will go on "to a show-down one way or the other." So far from being two-sided it is a multi-sided question and would gain fuller recognition as such with the conversion of Malta into a base from which all interested countries would be able to patrol and police the Mediterranean.

Worked out in detail and operating, perhaps with a view to permanence, an international system at Malta would undoubtedly be a bold experiment in wide-scale naval co-operation. But it has an interesting precedent, curiously enough associated with Malta itself. For it was from this island, held by the Knights of St. John from 1530 until 1798, that the Order, financed and recruited from Spain, Italy, France, England and Bavaria, checked the incursions into Europe of the Turk and acted as a stabilising influence in the Middle Sea.

—Michael Langley in the *World Review*, London.

## PERFIDIOUS ALBION, AGAIN

The tactics employed by perfidious Albion have always been to confuse international issues, like the cuttlefish squirting its ink in the surrounding waters, in order to conceal

the plans she has made for her own advantage. Thanks to this double game, England has succeeded in extending her tentacles to the four quarters of the globe. There is no single apparently noble action performed by this great democracy which does not conceal an ulterior purpose, which is not fundamentally bound up with some utilitarian aim coldly and deliberately worked out with diabolical secrecy and subtlety. It is true that in 1914 England hurled herself blindly against Germany with all the appearance of noble indignation as soon as Germany set foot on Belgian soil; but she certainly did not do so to defend a Belgium violated by brutal invasion, but in order to strike down her great rival Germany and to remain sole mistress of German trade.

In the particular case of Spain there are other material reasons enough for democracies of the English sort to be able, without great compulsion and without any democratic scruples, to remain shivering on the non-intervention brink, even though that means that the most elementary principles of human justice are being trampled on.

The chief of these reasons is the fact that the fascist rebellion, by a natural reaction, had the merit of stirring up a revolution which lay dormant in the conscience of the people, a revolution which should deal a death-blow to everything which smells of the private interests and prerogatives of the capitalistic world. For this reason, apart from the numerous interests which these democracies have possessed on Spanish soil, it is easy to understand why they aim only at emerging unscathed themselves from the Spanish Revolution, even if the safeguarding of these interests cause the total extermination of the Iberian people.

—*Frente Libertario,* Madrid.

## GIPSY HOME

Signor Mussolini is reported to have offered to allow Gipsy tribes roaming Europe to make a home in Abyssinia. Januz Kwek, styled King of the Gipsies, with "court" in Hungary is said to be in contact with the Duce and to have considered putting the gipsies' case before the League of Nations. The spread of political totalitarianism in central and south-eastern Europe has proved unpopular to the gipsy to whom enforced discipline is anathema, and one may strongly doubt whether Mussolini has actually offered Abyssinia as a "national home" for the alleged descendants of Ishmael. Are we to conclude that it is difficult to persuade Italians to colonise Abyssinia and thus necessary to bring in the gipsies who, heaven knows, have never shown a penchant for colonisation.

The English gipsies have been "warned off" Epsom Downs—but the tribe of caravanning poachers and palmists are not likely to pitch their camp at Addis Ababa even if Marshal Graziani does institute an Abyssinian Derby! Besides, as fortune-tellers "par excellence," the gipsy crones may well see "an angry dark man" in the cards of the Italian troops and even Radio Bari's propaganda fades in effect before that of a clever Romany fortune-teller.

—*Malta Chronicle.*

# CHRONOLOGY

## Highlights of Current History, Oct. 11–Nov. 9

### DOMESTIC

OCTOBER 11—Ogden L. Mills, former Secretary of the Treasury, dies.

Mayor La Guardia of New York vetoes five-day week for city workers; calls bill unworkable.

President Roosevelt, in radio speech, declares the nation united for freedom and liberty.

Supreme Court rejects challenges on Justice Black.

A. F. of L. convention authorizes expulsion of the C. I. O.

OCTOBER 12—C. I. O. proposes a joint peace conference with the A. F. of L. to unify American labor.

President Roosevelt calls a special session of Congress for November 15; wages and hours and crop-control bills on program.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., assails the C. I. O. peace offer as insincere.

OCTOBER 13—A. F. of L. demands that Roosevelt purge Labor Board of C. I. O. sympathizers.

Testimony before Labor Board in Boston links Ford employes with both the Nazis and the Klan.

OCTOBER 14—C. I. O. pushes drive to unionize the Ford Company; votes support to the Brooklyn *Eagle* strike.

Three Federal Communications Commission departments abolished in drive for reorganization.

Winthrop W. Aldrich attributes break in stock market to taxes and Federal curbs.

A. F. of L. votes to accept peace-parley bid from the C. I. O.; William Green re-elected president.

OCTOBER 15—Administration bill for revision of Federal tax structure to be ready for special session.

Secretary of State Hull opens series of broadcasts to Latin America for the Pan American Union.

OCTOBER 16—Labor peace conference assured as both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. agree to meet at parley.

Secretary Perkins invites Governors of industrial States to annual parley on labor legislation.

Representative Maas backs bill to replace general board of Navy with general staff like Army.

OCTOBER 17—Bureau of Air Commerce imposes new rigid regulations for all plane traffic to promote public service.

Governor Quinn of Rhode Island declares martial law at Narragansett race track to prevent opening.

Strike of 8,000 dock workers cripples ports from the Carolinas to the Gulf.

President Roosevelt confers with Secretary Perkins on labor problems.

OCTOBER 18—New York stock market has worst decline in six years.

President Roosevelt puts deficit at $695,000,000, but sees relief cut; PWA and RFC in liquidation.

FCC extends regulation over short-wave range, opening a new field of service.

Airliner wrecked on peak east of Salt Lake City; nineteen dead.

Republicans propose mid-term rally; Senator Borah opposes plan.

OCTOBER 19—Landon calls on the Republican Party to curb President Roosevelt's "one-man rule."

President Roosevelt fixes Congress with the responsibility for huge deficit.

Labor Board upholds A. F. of L. union in vote over the C. I. O.

OCTOBER 20—President Roosevelt aims at coordinating Reserve System with Federal policies to avoid booms and slumps.

Secretary Wallace urges Roosevelt to make 46-cent corn loans at once.

Landon in radio speech makes bid for Republican Party leadership.

Princeton survey reveals steel workers pay at record high level as result of C. I. O. bargaining help.

OCTOBER 21—President Roosevelt names son, James, as coordinator of executive work of 18 large independent agencies.

In drafting new crop control measure, AAA officials shun drastic compulsion.

Postmaster General Farley, in California, denounces "panic strategists" who deny the Administration brought back recovery.

OCTOBER 22—I. C. C. grants freight rate rise insuring $47,500,000 new revenues to Class I Roads.

Contract signed by Maritime Commission for $15,750,000 "safest" liner to replace the *Leviathan.*

Secretary Hull and Prime Minister King denounce treaty breakers in Toronto speeches.

President Roosevelt delays tax revision; to wait for committee report.

OCTOBER 23—President Roosevelt warns Congress that additional costs of farm bill must be covered by new taxes.

HOLC warns against Congressional move to ease loan terms fearing Treasury raid.

John Hamilton speaking for the Republicans charges Roosevelt as responsible for stock market decline.

OCTOBER 24—Prospects for agreement remote as C. I. O. and A. F. of L. representatives prepare for parley.

Banking groups headed by J. P. Morgan accused of dominating coal production and transport.

National Economy League says uncertainty over Roosevelt fiscal policy is unsettling business.

Foreign Policy group criticizes Puerto Rican police for Ponce killings.

OCTOBER 25—A. F. of L. and C. I. O. delegates begin Washington conference called to end dual labor movement.

Patterson, Scottsboro Negro, denied review of 75-year sentence by the Supreme Court.

AAA reduces 1938 cotton acreage by 2,000,000.

President Roosevelt confidently predicts the passage of the wage legislation during special session.

OCTOBER 26—Charles G. Dawes, returning from Europe, derides possibility of immediate war.

Committee of National Lawyers Guild charges that Spanish arms embargo violates treaty.

A. F. of L. rejects C. I. O. terms for labor peace.

Secretary Perkins cites farm income rise and September job figures as indication of improved business.

OCTOBER 27—Navy Day celebrated with laying of $60,000,000 warship keel.

Reserve Board cuts stock margin to 40% for buyers; demands 50% margin for short sales.

C. I. O. rejects A. F. of L. counter-proposals while both agree to November 4 meeting.

Secretary Hull defends trade treaties as valuable aid to farmers.

OCTOBER 28—Mayor La Guardia reported a sure victor in New York election.

Administration considers revision of both surplus profits and capital gains tax.

Senator Vandenberg demands a fair chance for business; sees a "preview of chaos."

William S. Knudsen, auto head, warns that taxation of capital has approached confiscation point.

OCTOBER 29—President Roosevelt cites millions of underpaid citizens when tax reforms are suggested.

Railroads appeal to I. C. C. for $508,000,000 rise in rates to offset increased costs.

OCTOBER 30—Presidential policy cutting age of average judiciary; "young blood" appointed to bench.

State Department reports total collection for Spanish relief in this country amounted to $548,765.

Violence marks strike of New York State dairymen.

OCTOBER 31—Trade Board demands, in annual report, more effective laws against monopoly.

Army lays groundwork for effective mobilization of citizens through local committees.

Executives of utility companies charge the New Deal with a $2,500,000,000 construction deficit.

NOVEMBER 1—President orders RFC to advance $85,000,000 to the Commodity Credit Corporation for corn loans.

Jesse Jones advises railroads to rely on savings rather than appeal for higher rates.

James Roosevelt assumes duty of "clearing house" for heads of eight Federal agencies.

NOVEMBER 2—La Guardia, Dewey, McGoldrick and Morris victors in New York election; Labor Party emerges from balloting with the balance of power.

C. I. O. candidate beaten in Detroit in first major bid for political power.

United States rejects Cuban bid to join American nations in mediating Spanish conflict.

Senator Borah asks for anti-trust action as aid to farmers.

NOVEMBER 3—On eve of new parley, C. I. O. and A. F. of L. peace hope waning.

Florida oil men challenge Justice Black's presence on the Supreme Court.

Nathan Straus, administrator of United States Housing authority, announces plans for a downward revision of rentals.

NOVEMBER 4—Ways and Means Sub-committee lists profit tax at top of list for enactment.

A. F. of L.-C. I. O. peace plan formula calls for craft-industrial jurisdiction within federation.

Administration's plan for general farm legislation blocked by disagreement of leaders.

NOVEMBER 5—Secretary Wallace predicts cotton plantings must eventually be cut 8,000,000 to 12,000,000 acres.

Labor peace conference reports progress; industries considered where vertical unionism would be acceptable.

President Roosevelt warns press conference that stock speculation is dangerous.

Government Reorganization Bill to receive first consideration in the Senate.

NOVEMBER 6—AAA acts to stabilize potato price; $1,500,000 offered to growers who feed surplus to stock.

Social Security Council adjourns; no decision reached concerning the reserve fund.

United States to investigate seizure of 250,000 acres of American companies' oil land.

State Department aroused over reported massacres in Haiti by Dominican troops.

NOVEMBER 7—Treasury officials report gold flow out of the country; reverse laid to improved conditions abroad.

Admiral Leahy reports naval construction program retarded by strikes.

Secretary Perkins issues plea for the employment of older men.

NOVEMBER 8—Business appeals to Roosevelt for more pump priming to overcome recession in industry.

Supreme Court upholds the right of States to tax outside firms for right to transact business.

A. F. of L. and C. I. O. progress in peace conference; discuss appointment of committee on jurisdiction.

November 9—President Roosevelt studies new RFC loans, revised tax burdens, and use of security reserve to stimulate business.

Chairman Kennedy of the Maritime Commission reports a demand for increased shipping subsidies.

Admiral Bloch designated by President Roosevelt to become commander-in-chief of fleet February 1.

Haiti Foreign Secretary informs President Roosevelt that Dominican troops precipitated massacre on border.

## INTERNATIONAL

October 11—Berlin officials declare Germany determined to assure Franco victory in Spain; France indicated that Pyrenees border will not be opened at present.

Plans for Nine-Power Conference await Belgian consent to hold it in Brussels.

Duke and Duchess of Windsor enthusiastically received by Nazi.

October 12—Japanese machine-gun three British Embassy cars.

Britain and France lack plan for withdrawal of volunteers from Spain.

October 13—French and British warships patrol Balearic islands to prevent seizure of Minorca.

Paris and London conciliate Rome by moving discussion of volunteer withdrawal to Non-Intervention Committee.

In exchange of words Germany pledges herself to respect inviolability and territorial integrity of Belgium.

October 14—Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain tells Italy that England will let bygones be bygones.

Premier Mussolini withdraws two chief commanders in Spain.

October 15—President Roosevelt favors mediation of Sino-Japanese war.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden asks for immediate action on withdrawal of volunteers from Spain.

October 16—United States formally accepts invitation to Brussels Nine-Power Conference, but reserves independence of action.

Italy offers to withdraw volunteers from Spain on condition that equal numbers leave Loyalist forces.

October 17—Germany offers to cooperate with Britain and France on Spanish issue in return for colonial concessions; Italy stands firm on equal withdrawals of volunteers.

October 18—Italy claims that only 40,000 volunteers are helping Franco.

German press attacks Czechoslovakia, denouncing actions taken against Henlein Party.

October 19—In London Non-Intervention Committee, Germany, Italy, and Portugal crisis upon belligerent rights for Franco before withdrawal of volunteers.

Japanese reported willing to discuss peace terms on basis of their present gains.

October 20—Germany and Italy agree to "token" withdrawals of volunteers before further discussion of belligerent rights; Commission envisaged to count volunteers.

Czechoslovakia protests German press attacks.

Secretary Hull visits Ottawa.

October 21—Prime Minister Chamberlain announces that he accepts unconditionally Italian assurances regarding designs on Spain, Balearic Islands, or Spanish colonies.

Japan receives invitation to Nine-Power Conference.

Danzig Nazi Party dissolves Catholic Center Party effecting "anschluss" with Germany.

October 22—Italy demands unanimous support for British compromise plan for withdrawal of volunteers from Spain; Russia refuses.

Secretary Hull and Premier Mackenzie King, of Canada, denounce treaty-breakers.

October 23—Following talk with German Ambassador von Ribbentrop, Mussolini declares that Italy will make no more concessions over Spain.

October 24—French freighter *Qued Mella* bombed by "air pirate" in Mediterranean.

October 25—Premier van Zeeland and Belgian Cabinet quit over charges of irregularities at the National Bank; Nine-Power Conference postponed.

Powers ready to isolate Russia at London non-intervention conference.

October 27—British send *Hood*, world's largest warship, to the Balearics.

Japan declines invitation to Nine-Power Brussels Conference.

October 28—Mussolini pledges support to Germany's colonial claims and to Franco victory. Britain, France, Italy, and Germany to act independently on Spanish volunteers if Russia does not agree to British plan.

October 30—Germany expected to ask for colonies and autonomy of Czechoslovakian Germans.

German Ambassador von Ribbentrop saves Russia's face by unexpectedly demanding unanimity at London Non-Intervention Committee.

Germany refuses to attend Nine-Power Conference; Norman H. Davis agrees to speak first, but refuses to take lead in drawing up agenda.

Italy withdraws Ambassador from Paris, piqued by French refusal to appoint full Ambassador in Rome and to recognize Ethiopia.

October 31—Tokyo expects early inclusion of Italy in German-Japanese pact against communism.

November 1—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden tells British House of Commons that any action taken in Far Eastern conflict would depend upon extent of American cooperation.

November 3—At Brussels Conference, U. S. Ambassador Davis says means will be sought to aid Far Eastern conflict by peaceful methods; British and French support U. S. stand; Italy warns against interference; Japan considers declaring war in order to enforce full blockade.

November 4—Hitler seeking to arbitrate Far Eastern conflict; Japanese willing. Nine-Power Conference thwarted by mutual distrust.

Prime Minister Chamberlain discloses talks with Spanish rebels concerning appointment of British trade agents.

NOVEMBER 5—Report of Hitler mediation in Far East held premature but not without basis.

Duke of Windsor cancels trip to United States because of hostile labor criticism of his sponsor Charles E. Bedaux.

Germany and Poland sign pact guaranteeing minorities; Reich hopes to draw Warsaw into anti-communist pact.

NOVEMBER 6—Nine-Power Conference sends Japan conciliatory note asking her to exchange views concerning Far Eastern conflict.

NOVEMBER 6—Italy joins Germany and Japan in pact against communism; Washington fears effects in South America.

NOVEMBER 7—Brussels conference seen as futile by observers.

NOVEMBER 8—British Foreign Secretary Eden denies that negotiations with Franco weaken Anglo-French unity.

NOVEMBER 9—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain hopes for "closer understanding" between Great Britain and U. S.; asks for German and Italian friendship.

Tokyo favors German mediation of Far Eastern conflict.

## SINO-JAPANESE WAR

OCTOBER 11—Chinese army in full retreat in South Hopeh; Japanese attempt to land in Hangchow Bay near Shanghai repulsed.

OCTOBER 13—Unrest in Manchukuo disturbs Japanese; heavy fighting in Shanghai threatens Britons.

OCTOBER 14—Chinese land forces in Chapei try to sneak through Japanese lines; Japanese capture capital of Suiyuan, but Chinese repulse invaders in Shansi.

OCTOBER 15—Japanese checked in Shansi by unit of former Communist Eighth Route Army; Shanghai war-loss estimated at $785,000,000.

OCTOBER 16—Chinese claim to have recaptured Yenmen Pass and to have trapped 50,000 Japanese in North Shansi.

OCTOBER 17—Chinese bombs Japanese ships; some planes reported obtained from Russia and France; Chincse reported attacking Yuanping in Shansi, but Japanese reported advancing in Hopeh and Shantung.

OCTOBER 18—"Death Battalion" of 1,400 Chinese wiped out near Shanghai; Japanese advance into Honan region.

OCTOBER 20—Two Japanese forces blocked in Hopeh and Chahar; Chinese make seven raids in Shanghai.

OCTOBER 21—Heavy fighting on all fronts; Chinese trap Japanese in Shansi.

OCTOBER 22—Chinese take initiative at Shanghai; Japanese report gains in Shansi.

OCTOBER 23—Both sides claim victory at Shanghai after 4-day battle.

OCTOBER 24—Fifth day of battle marked by Japanese advances at Shanghai.

OCTOBER 26—Japan rushes troops to Manchukuo to quell uprisings.

OCTOBER 27—Japanese capture Chapei.

OCTOBER 28—Chinese take up stronger position on new, straightened Shanghai front; Japanese claim advances in Hopeh and Shanghai.

OCTOBER 29—Japanese advance towards Taiyuan, capital of Shansi; Chinese army crosses Yellow River to oppose invaders.

OCTOBER 30—Japanese shell International Settlement and French Concession at Shanghai.

NOVEMBER 1—Japanese force way across Soochow Creek, west of International Settement.

NOVEMBER 2—Chinese claim to have driven Japanese back across Soochow Creek.

NOVEMBER 3—Chinese believed preparing for early retreat from contact with International Settlement and French Concession.

NOVEMBER 4—Japanese claim large gains in Shansi.

NOVEMBER 5—Japan masses troops on Siberian border; Nipponese troops reach gate of Taiyuan, capital of Shansi.

NOVEMBER 8—Fierce battle rages at Taiyuan.

NOVEMBER 9—Chinese retreat from Shanghai for winter front farther west; Taiyuan captured by Japanese after bitter siege.

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

OCTOBER 11—Rebels attack on Asturian, Aragon, and Pozoblanco fronts; Madrid bombed.

OCTOBER 12—Madrid expects new rebel drive.

OCTOBER 13—Loyalists open offensive along 150-mile Aragon front; heavy air attacks on Saragossa feature drive.

OCTOBER 14—Loyalists try to break rebel lines southeast of Saragossa; insurgents make important advance east of Gijon.

OCTOBER 15—Extreme left of rebel force in Asturia pushes towards Pena Lasa.

OCTOBER 16—Loyalists stiffen resistance on Gijon front.

OCTOBER 17—Government drive for Saragossa involves 400,000 men and bitterest fighting of war.

OCTOBER 21—Franco captures Gijon; loyalists' siege of Oviedo collapses.

OCTOBER 22—Franco plans drive on Aragon and Madrid fronts, with 100,000 rebel troops released from northern front.

OCTOBER 28—Floods stop rebel drive in northeastern Spain to cut Valencia from Barcelona; Government announcing moving of capital from Valencia to Barcelona.

OCTOBER 31—*New York Times* correspondent finds 500 Italian and German fliers stationed at Majorca.

NOVEMBER 1—Loyalists preparing for general offensive in Madrid sector.

NOVEMBER 2—Rebel air raid in Lerida, 75 miles west of Barcelona, kills 120.

NOVEMBER 5—Forty loyalist fliers attack Saragossa.

NOVEMBER 7—Madrid celebrates first anniversary of siege.

# FOREIGN

## Brazil

OCTOBER 18—J. A. Flores da Cunha, Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, resigns with entire secretariat, following break with President Vargas.

OCTOBER 19—President Vargas orders Federal intervention in Rio Grande do Sul and places that State under military rule.

OCTOBER 20—Stringent censorship of all news established.

## Czechoslovakia

OCTOBER 11—Hans Rutha, Foreign Ambassador of Konrad Henlein's pro-Nazi party, arrested.

OCTOBER 19—Investigation shows that disorders in Teptitz-Schoenan staged by Sudeten Deutsche Party with cooperation of Nazi Germany.

OCTOBER 24—Government postpones November 14 elections and forbids political meetings to counteract Henlein's Nazis.

OCTOBER 29—Henlein Deputies walk out of Parliament, protesting alleged beatings by police.

NOVEMBER 7—Czechoslovakia feels confident of her ability to withstand Nazi pressure.

## Ecuador

OCTOBER 23—President Federico Paez resigns for undisclosed reasons; General Enriquez, Army leader and War Minister, succeeds to Presidency.

## France

OCTOBER 11—Full returns from cantonal elections show Communist, Socialist, Republican, and Nationalist losses, and large Radical-Socialist gains.

OCTOBER 13—Split develops in Popular Front as Socialists refuse to withdraw candidates from run-off cantonal elections.

OCTOBER 16—Popular Front political machine succeeds in healing split on eve of run-off elections.

OCTOBER 17—Results of second ballot of cantonal elections shows no important shift in French opinion; Socialists gain but fail to take leadership from Radical-Socialists.

OCTOBER 19—More than 80 first-line planes sent to North Africa; Radical-Socialists charge Italian agitation among Moslems.

OCTOBER 23—Colonial forces strengthened to prevent riots in Morocco.

OCTOBER 26—Ex-Premier Tardieu discloses that he subsidized Colonel de la Rocque and Croix de Feu with government funds when in office. Vast Arab plot disclosed in Morocco.

OCTOBER 29—French suppress Arab revolt in Morocco.

NOVEMBER 7—Vice-Premier Blum swings Socialist Party to continued support of Popular Front.

## Germany

OCTOBER 30—Record-breaking potato crop may mitigate food shortage; Professor Friedrich Bergius announces that Germany will soon be self-sufficient in gasoline.

NOVEMBER 8—Military chaplains warn Hitler that Nazi church policy is dividing army.

## Great Britain

OCTOBER 15—Fascist movement dealt crushing blow when Lord Camrose, publisher of *The London Daily Telegraph*, is awarded £20,000 damages for libel by Mosleyite organ, *Action*.

OCTOBER 26—King George VI opens Parliament.

NOVEMBER 2—Labor, under Herbert Morrison, again sweeps London Borough Council elections, gaining control of 17 out of 28 boroughs.

NOVEMBER 9—Ramsay MacDonald, three times Prime Minister and former labor leader, dies on way to South America.

## Italy

OCTOBER 14—Official announcement states that 102 Italian troops, including 41 officers, killed in Ethiopia last September.

OCTOBER 19—Cabinet announces a 10 per cent capital levy on all stock companies and an increase in sales tax from 2½ to 3 per cent to cover costs of rearmament.

NOVEMBER 2—Orders to district Governors to economize in use of gasoline and other imported raw materials disclose economic rigors in Ethiopia.

## Mexico

OCTOBER 11—President Cardenas starts division of landed estates in State of San Luis Potosi, despite opposition of General Cedillo, State's political boss.

OCTOBER 14—Ramon Beteta, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, warns foreign investors that Mexican policy is "the reconquest of Mexico for Mexicans."

NOVEMBER 4—Government seizes 350,000 acres of oil land under lease to Standard Oil Company of California as part of program of nationalization of 2,000,000 acres of oil territory.

## Palestine

OCTOBER 15—Two British constables slain in riots.

OCTOBER 16—Mufti of Jerusalem, president of Arab High Committee, escapes to Syria.

OCTOBER 18—Arabs attack police post and disarm police.

OCTOBER 21—British to take vigorous steps to combat Arab terrorism.

OCTOBER 28—Sir Arthur Wauchope to retire as British High Commissioner.

## Russia

OCTOBER 21—Sixty-two executed in Irkutsk on charges of espionage and sabotage.

OCTOBER 29—Mikhail A. Chernoff removed as Commissar of Agriculture for laxity; death sentences passed on 52 in agricultural regions.

OCTOBER 31—Joseph Stalin appeals for mutual confidence in talk to 400 members of coal and steel industries.

NOVEMBER 3—Treason case, involving 47 persons and two attempts to assassinate Stalin, under way in Georgia.

NOVEMBER 7—Military display and parade of 1,500,000 mark celebration of twentieth anniversary of Revolution.

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## October, November, December 1937

## Completing VOLUME XLVI

# HOW TO BE LIKED WHEN TRAVELING

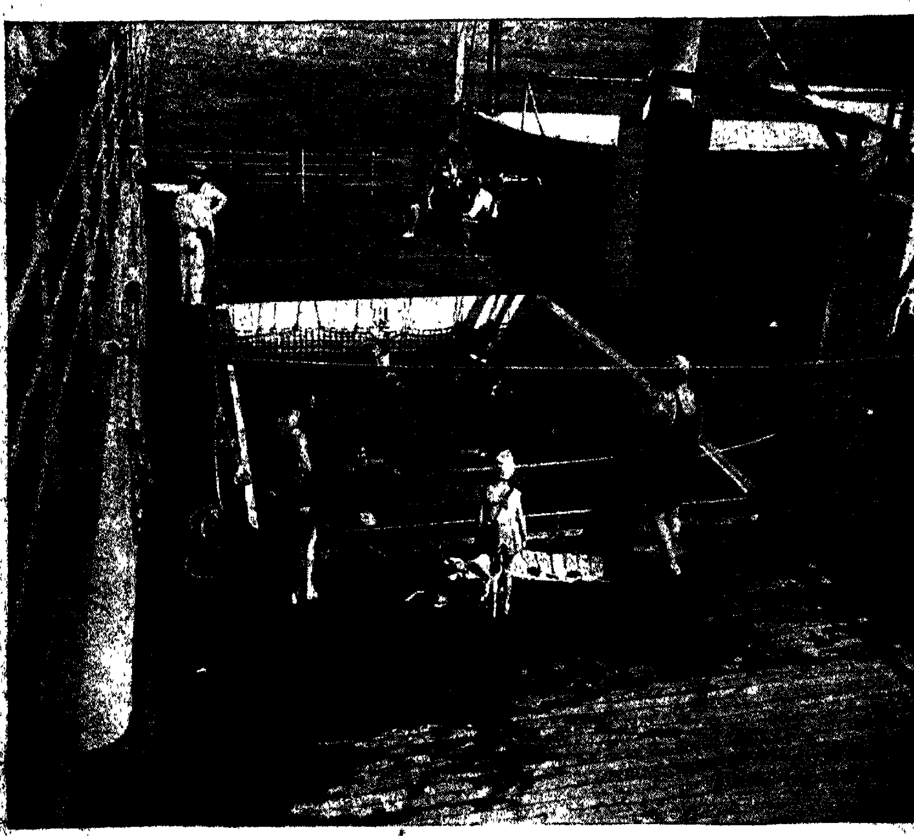
IT IS fairly well conceded by now that nothing so quickly brings out the best—or the worst—in human nature, as traveling! Musing over the biggest travel year since 1930, it gives one pause to contemplate the thousands and thousands of Americans who either (1) behave in such a way as to endear themselves to their fellow-passengers and, incidentally, have a good time themselves, or (2) behave exactly the opposite.

Since cruise and tour directors, in the nature of their business, encounter literally every type of human being, it seemed logical to *Current History* to take a poll of the young men at Cook's booking counter. They all emphasized that it was difficult to give rules for getting along with other people, since it varied so with the individual—but, pressed for suggestions, their combined ideas evolved six points which, they seem to think, apply whether the traveler is a man or a woman.

Briefly, then, according to the poll, a traveler will get along well with his fellow-passengers, by land or by sea, if he

(1) meets people half-way
(2) keeps appointments on time
(3) cultivates people with tastes similar to his own
(4) behaves in a friendly manner
(5) joins in arranged activities to some extent
(6) appears interested in other people's views and experiences

These suggestions, it should be explained, are listed in order of the number of times each was



***TOWARD A BETTER TIME: Cruise authorities declare that a willingness to participate in ship activities lends more enjoyment to the trip.***

offered by the twelve cruise experts talked with—eleven men and one woman—and of course they were amplified considerably. *Meeting people half-way*, for example, covers a lot of things—matters as diverse as being considerate if one happens to be sharing a cabin with either an older *or* a younger person; not using all the clothes-hangers and dressing-table space, no matter who one's cabin-mate is; remembering that other people may also want to use the sports equipment ("deck-hog" is the regulation term for people who monopolize same!); taking care to buy an occasional drink for the other person, rather than merely accepting all his hospitality; not monopolizing the limited space at the ship's bar, etc., etc., etc. All in all, it would seem, a cruise is a small section of the world, and give-and-take, a genuine willingness to compromise occasionally for other people's enjoyment and comfort, are just as essential as anywhere else.

*Keeping appointments on time* is stressed as second in importance and quite rightly, one would think. When a group is starting out on schedule, by motor, whether it's to see Notre Dame, the Louvre, or Paris night-life, they certainly can't be expected to look with favor on a traveler who has kept the whole group waiting while she was just 'round the corner, picking up a bargain in gloves!

*Cultivating people with tastes similar to one's own* is often possible, merely from fifteen to twenty minutes' casual conversation; for when traveling, and especially on shipboard, people "open up" far more readily than they would at home. Short cruises and long cruises, however, differ considerably in the matter of choosing one's friends. On a short cruise, for obvious reasons, it is desirable to get acquainted quite early, but on longer cruises, say of two to five months, it is better not to pick one's boon companions too hastily, since they may or may not wear as well as those one meets a little later. Selecting someone with tastes similar to one's own is particularly vital, of course, when traveling on an independent itinerary, with another person. As Jean Berke, Cook's woman travel expert, puts it: "No matter how willing two people may be to compromise, if one is preeminently the monument-and-cathedral type and the other the bazaar-and-shopping type—or vice versa—complications are likely to follow!"

*Be friendly* does not mean be familiar. Travelers make their own laws, and although one may find himself or herself among utter strangers on shipboard, one need not behave as though on the New York subway. The man or woman who pleasantly says good morning to other passengers with whom he has had some contact, however slight, is bound to make a better, more heartening impression than one who does not; while a like courteousness, extended to stewards, will certainly pay dividends in more accommodating service.

*Joining in arranged activities* means a willingness to cooperate, for example to make a fourth at bridge or deck-tennis when asked. Also, it is advisable to take part to some extent in organized shipboard events, especially if traveling alone, as this is a good way of getting acquainted.

The time-honored adage about *seeming interested in other people's views and experiences*—and its corollary, not talking too much about oneself—is of course by no means confined to traveling. Nevertheless, it was emphasized that this earns one a sixth gold star in the estimation of one's fellow-travelers!

A whole chapter, of course, could be written on how cruise and tour directors get along with their passengers. The cardinal point stressed, however,

by those polled, is that one should study the individual traveler, with a view to being able to introduce those with similar tastes, and knowing those who would like activity, as well as those who would prefer to be left to their own devices. As one personable young cruise-director expressed it: "You can do just as much to make things enjoyable for the passenger who doesn't feel like joining in shipboard activities as you can for the one who does. You can introduce a man to a girl he'd like to dance with, or give a girl a few pointers on her deck tennis, or play bridge with someone else—and then, for the passenger who doesn't feel like being social there are things to suggest that he, personally, would enjoy. Perhaps he'd like a special wine he hasn't heard about—or an introduction to the head of a shop in Curaçao where he could get unusual liqueurs. Perhaps his hobby is riding and he'd like an opportunity to ride an Arabian horse at Cairo. Perhaps a woman is interested in special bargains in linen or jewelry, or in the best native dishes of a particular country. It's unlimited!

"The point is"—concluded this young man—"that as cruise or tour director your job is to find out what each individual likes—whether it's theatre tickets, a special permit in the British Museum or simply some 'blini'—and see that he or she has it!"

The first major racing meeting at beautiful Oriental Park, Havana, since 1933 gets under way on Christmas Day and continues to March 15. Thousands of visitors from the States are expected for the opening. The winter and early spring attractions for tourists all radiate from Havana, but Havana is by no means all of Cuba. Seven hundred miles of polished highways enable the traveler to visit many colorful and historical points of interest, such as Matanzas, Camagüey, Trinidad, and Santiago de Cuba.



## Books for Christmas

(*Continued from page 11*)

technique, the English historian has dramatized the events of the last hundred years, from that quiet June morning in 1837 when a little girl became Queen Victoria to the death of George V in January of last year.

*The Ultimate Power*, by Morris L. Ernst, Doubleday Doran, $3.00. In years to come, this book will be referred to for an accurate understanding not only of the legal but the political and emotional aspects of the President's fight to enlarge the Supreme Court.

*Animal Treasure*, by Ivan T. Sanderson, Viking, $3.00. Mr. Sanderson's adventures, in jungle and out, make lively and engaging reading. His book has an almost universal appeal. The drawings are extremely interesting.

*Tombs, Travel, and Trouble*, by Lawrence Griswold. Hillman Curl, $3.00. Rich in anecdote, this story of an American archaeologist takes the reader through 400,000 miles sprinkled with adventure.

*The Soviets*, by Albert Rhys Williams, Harcourt Brace, $3.00. Authoritative and easily adapted for ready-reference, this is a handbook on Russia of the first importance.

*Blood on the Moon*, by Linton Wells, Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00. A foreign correspondent writes of his life, which has been heavily flavored with adventure and unusual experiences.

*The Woodrow Wilsons,* by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, Macmillan, $3.50. The daughter of President Wilson writes of her parents. Unaffected and with great ease, she tells of the simple but genuine life on a New Jersey college campus; the more restrictive life of a Governor's family; and finally, life in the White House.

*King Edward VIII,* by Hector Bolitho, Lippincott, $3.00. Without indulging in adhesive sentimentalities, the author conveys the poignancy of the drama that is the life of David Windsor. Particularly timely now that the former king has decided to forego his intended trip to these shores.

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*Middletown in Transition*, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Harcourt Brace, $5.00. A penetrating inquiry into the American way of life, with Muncie, Indiana, as the laboratory. This is the second sociological study by the Lynds of Muncie. The first, published eight years ago, was called *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture.*

*Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, by John Dollard, Yale University Press, $3.50. Somewhat similar to the work by the Lynds with a small town in the South as the subject of the study. Dr. Dollard's writing and description of characters have given a three-dimensional character to the work.

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